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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More." SPENSER.

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THE IMPERIAL
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JANUARY, 1893.

RUSSIANIZED OFFICIALISM IN INDIA.

THE FLA IN THE OINTMENT.

BY SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.

My friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has, in the last number of this Review, described the feelings of the educated Indian community towards British rule in India. There could not be a better authority on this point. For there is no man living whom the people of India would more gladly name to speak on their behalf. And he is certainly no unfriendly critic towards ourselves, for he has spent many years in England, and has so identified himself with our interests that an English Constituency has chosen him as its representative. What then does he say? He most cordially and fully acknowledges the great benefits conferred upon India; placing above all others the gift of Western literature, science, and art, which, through our schools and colleges, have revived the national life, and given to India the hope of resuming her ancient place among the leaders of civilization. And then as to political benefits: "England has also freely given to India some of her most cherished institutions—institutions for which England has herself fought hard and bled. She has given freedom of speech and freedom of the press—security of life and property, and law and order. Never in all past history have the rulers of any empire bestowed such

blessings and earned a corresponding reward." This is no half-hearted friend of British rule who writes thus. And he endorses the words of the Government of India which has declared that to educated Indians "any idea of the subversion of the British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion." India is not strong enough to stand alone, and it is for her a choice between England and Russia. Educated Indians know this well. And they have no wish to exchange the rule of England, the freest and most enlightened in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde. This was once strikingly expressed to me by an Indian friend of mine. Speaking of the Russian advance towards the North West frontier, he said to me, "If India is lost, it is we Indians who are the chief losers. You can go to your ships and will be safe in your distant homes. We, on the other hand, should lose all, our country, our liberties, and our hopes for the regeneration of our race."

All this is gospel truth. But would it not be common sense to take the bitter with the sweet? to hear what Mr. Naoroji and his friends have to say regarding the defects and dangers of our rule as well as its merits? Here are well-informed and candid critics, who desire the good of India in the first place, but who also desire the good of England. Should we not rejoice if they are willing to tell us what they know of the real situation? Are we such babies that we cannot bear to hear the truth? We are the possessors of a splendid inheritance in the distant East, and know little of its real condition. Our paid agents on the spot say that all is well. But others, who claim to be equally well-informed, tell a different story. These speak of extreme poverty and serious discontent among the masses. They tell us that 1/3 of the whole population go through life with their hunger unsatisfied; that over 5 millions of people died of starvation in the last great famine; that, in spite of the excessive poverty, taxation in

India is in proportion double what it is in England ; that the fertility of the land is becoming exhausted ; and that year by year the people find it more difficult to live. Now what does Mr. Naoroji say on these points ? He tells us that all this is true ; that though our principles are good, our practice is bad ; that the pledges given by Parliament and the Crown are sufficient, but that they are not fulfilled ; that the official system of administration in India is such that these principles and these pledges are not carried out in practice ; nor ever can be, so long as the system remains the same. Aye, there's the rub. It is the system that is in fault. The intentions of the British people are all that could be wished, and the instructions given to their official agents are admirable. But the professional interest of these official agents is in direct antagonism to the reforms they are required to carry out. And no redress is possible so long as the only appeal lies to the official authors of the grievance. This is the gist of the complaint made, calmly and loyally, by the leaders of public opinion in India. Mr. Naoroji puts their case well and truly when he says, "I am not writing this in any indignation, nor do I mean to blame any individual official. I take it for granted that every official does his duty as required of him. It is the system which the British Indian Government have adopted and persistently adhered to, that is in fault. . . . The Indians have given up all hope from the officials. They appeal to the British public ; and they ask the British public to insist that the pledges and word of the British people shall be faithfully carried out."

What then is this official system which is thus condemned, so dispassionately and yet so emphatically, by those whose interests are chiefly affected ? The British public may naturally wish to know some of the facts at first hand. So with due humility I offer myself as a witness, as one who knows the Indian public service by experience from the bottom to the top of the ordinary official ladder ; not an unfavourable witness, but one who,

from hereditary association, was inclined to view the profession in its most favourable light. My father entered the Bombay Civil Service near the beginning of the century, and served in India for 30 years. My eldest brother followed him, in the Bengal Civil Service, and lost his life in the Mutiny of 1857. And when I went out 3 years later to join the Bombay Civil Service, I felt very proud to enter what I believed to be the finest service in the world. If therefore, I now hold an opinion unfavourable to the system, that opinion has been painfully forced upon me by personal experience of its working. I will briefly give a sketch of this experience.

But before doing so it may be well to indicate the general surroundings among which the young Indian Civilian finds himself when he takes up his duties. As the key to successful administration in India, we must in the first place bear in mind the fact that in that country there are very few large towns; that 80ths of the population is rural, grouped together in village communities; and that it is within those village communities that the best part of the administrative work is done. To use the phrase of Dr. Max Müller, "the political unit or the social cell in India has always been, and, in spite of repeated foreign conquests, is still the village community." And the late Sir James Caird, in his Famine report, calls the village organization "the sheet anchor of Indian Statecraft"; and regards the "disruption of the mutually helpful bond of village society" as the most fatal misadventure that can befall the people in their struggle for life. From Sir Henry Maine and other writers the constitution of these village communities, self-contained and self-governing little republics, is pretty generally known. The village is the property of the resident cultivators or "ryots," who form the village Council, and are careful that the crops are raised and distributed, and the village affairs administered, according to the ancient local usage, which is the fruit of immemorial experience. From the crop is paid as a first charge a certain share,

under the name of Land Revenue, to the "Sirkar" or government of the country. And smaller shares go to the village officers, including the Headman or Patel, and the village Accountant; to the village servants, such as the watchmen and messengers; and to the hereditary village artisans, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the barber, and the rest, who work for the ryots during the year, and receive their dues in kind at harvest time. And in the same way the village organization carries out the other branches of the village administration:—the settlement of disputes by arbitration, the detection and prevention of crime, the trial and punishment of petty offences, the repair of the village walls, the temples, and other public buildings, the entertainment of strangers and care of the poor, the removal of dead animals and other sanitary work, the management of the communal forests and pastures, the distribution of water from the irrigation tanks:—all these and other similar matters have always been managed with marvellous precision and skill by the village officers, the whole body of villagers jealously watching and checking any deviation from the ancient custom, which for them is the unwritten law.

Under the Native Governments to which we succeeded, these villages were grouped together for administrative purposes, perhaps 3 or 4,000 of them being included in a Zillah or District, which was the unit of the central imperial administration, having its local headquarters at some notable town, like Ahmedabad, Surat, or Poona. The Tehsildar or chief officer of the District, was responsible for the villages under his control. But under the easy-going methods of native rule the village communities were little interfered with. And this was what best suited them. In order to be happy and prosperous, all that they asked was to be protected from external violence, to be taxed moderately and in accordance with custom, and to be let alone in the management of their internal affairs. And under the best native rulers not only were these conditions

fulfilled, but active steps were taken to improve the general condition of the District. Thus under the good Emperors, like the great Akbar, provincial governors were expected to promote agriculture by works of irrigation and reclamation, to open up communications, and provide generally for the welfare and progress of the people. The results of this policy are exemplified in the noble reservoirs and water-works which still remain, a monument of the skill and wisdom of our predecessors. This beneficent tradition dates back from the earliest times of which we have record. For we see from the ancient rock inscriptions that, even before the Christian era, King Asoka appointed a Minister of Justice and Religion, and maintained officers to promote education, among the women as well as among the youth; he caused wells to be dug and trees planted along all the high roads, while a system of medical aid was established throughout the kingdom for man and beast.

The above was, roughly speaking, the sort of system we inherited from our predecessors; and in the earlier period of our rule the same system was continued. The collector with his English assistants represented the "Sirkar" or central authority in all departments, and exercised a paternal despotism in each District, dealing with the village communities through their Headmen and Elders, but interfering little in their internal affairs. And this patriarchal method gave satisfaction on the whole, the Pax Britannica, and the improved purity of the administration making up for the defects arising from imperfect knowledge of the language and usages of the people. But it was quite evident that this was only a transition stage. For it was not in the nature of things that such a system should long continue under a government inspired by western official ideas. And soon our present purely bureaucratic system began to take shape, the change being marked by the decay of personal influence and authority, and the rise of the great centralized departments which have now usurped practically the whole authority in the administration; and

transformed the old easy-going personal government into a rigid official despotism of the Russian type.

As to the methods and spirit of these centralized departments, I would ask the verdict of the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service, that is, all outside the charmed circle of the headquarters cliques; and I think they will confirm me when I say that these departments have all the narrowness of the specialist, and that their working is secret, impersonal, unsympathetic, and harsh. Each caring only for its own interests, feels little responsibility for the general welfare of the ryot, who falls crushed under their combined oppressions. This is the "system" regarding which Mr. Naoroji and his friends make so earnest a complaint; a system which by its working eliminates from our administration all its best elements, whether European or native; and renders all redress impossible because the departments have absorbed into themselves all the ultimate sources of power. I will frankly state that this New Russianized Officialism is an abomination to me in every way. Where development was wanted it has brought revolution and destruction, and reduced the noble activities of the Indian Civil Service to a dreary waste.

This change in great measure took place under my personal observation. I will therefore now revert to the sketch of my own experiences, which I left at the point of my arrival at Bombay in 1860. After passing his preliminary examinations in the languages and local codes, the young Civilian is sent up country to learn his practical duties. Accordingly 6 or 8 months after my arrival, I found myself posted as one of the Assistants to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, a rich cotton district in the south of the Presidency, about twice the size of Gloucestershire, with a large population consisting mainly of sturdy and industrious peasant cultivators. Now nothing could be pleasanter than the life of an Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the old times, when he had considerable

independent authority and responsibility, and when his opportunities of doing good to the people under his charge were almost unlimited. Much of his time was spent in the saddle. Being placed in personal charge of a large division of the District, he was supplied with a sufficient establishment of clerks and attendants, and travelled about in tents ; camping where he thought best, under a grove of ancient trees, by some clear running river, or perhaps in the keep of a ruined fort ; bringing as well as he could justice to the people's doors : redressing local grievances, and settling disputes ; planning and supervising roads, irrigation tanks, rest-houses, dispensaries, and what not, useful to the local public. At one time engaged in following up a gang of dacoits with a posse of policemen ; at another time inspecting schools, and establishing new ones ; while he was at all times accessible to the ryot, to inspect crops and decide knotty points as to the rent to be paid to Government as the universal landlord. Nor was it a case of all work and no play. Abundant sport was to be had, some of it with its spice of danger ; while the glorious scenery of the neighbouring ghauts, with their prima-val forests and mighty waterfalls, was all that an artist's heart could desire.

But even in those good old times there was a drop of bitterness ; not so noticeable then, but destined eventually to make the cup of the District officer undrinkable. I mean of course the gradually increasing interference of the centralized departments in the affairs of the District and the village. The name of these departments is Legion : Revenue Survey, Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkari, Salt, Opium, Education, Registration, Sanitation, Vaccination, etc., etc., etc. Each of these departments has now formed for itself an Imperium in Imperio ; and has framed a rigid and searching code of rules, which it administers through a hierarchy of executive officials, the written orders emanating from the Head of the Department, who has his headquarters hundreds of miles off at the seat of Government, and ultimately, taking effect through the hungry

departmental peon, who squats in the village at the Patel's house, and represents our administration in its concrete form. When the subordinates of all these different departments are in active work throughout the District, taking their orders from their respective chiefs at Bombay, the question may well be asked where the Collector's functions come in? He nominally represents Government in all departments. But his authority is the mere shadow or phantom of what it used to be: like a beam eaten by white ants, externally as before, but inside nothing but dust and ashes.

I have watched this process with my own eyes, and have seen the growth of these departments from very small beginnings. I do not say they should not exist. Their existence is unavoidable, and they would be exceedingly useful if kept in their proper place. They should be advisers only. Like fire they are good servants but bad masters. But let us go back to our District and see how these departments take their rise. By way of illustration I will take one of the Collector's most important functions, the collection of the land revenue. Originally the Collector, through his own local subordinates arranged for the measurement and assessment of the village lands upon the basis of the old native settlements. As examples of such settlements we have that of Sir Thomas Munro in Canara; of Colonel Pottinger in the Dekkhan, and of General John Jacob in Sind. These settlements followed local usages and were different in every District, the Collector going round his District each year and settling at the "Jamma-bandi" what each ryot was to pay with due regard to the condition of the crops. This sort of thing suited the people, but it did not satisfy the central authority, which desired uniformity and greater scientific accuracy. Accordingly a special skilled agency was organized under the name of the Revenue Survey and Settlement Department, to conduct a scientific survey and prepare proper maps and registers. This was good and useful work. But the

mischiefs began when the department undertook to frame a system under which the land revenue should be assessed and levied throughout the whole Presidency. The fact is each District has different conditions. The black cotton soil of the Dekkhan has nothing in common with the spice gardens in the forests of Canara; and no rules suited to the terraced cultivation among the rocks of Ratnagiri could possibly be made applicable to the alluvial plains of Sind, irrigated by the rise of the Indus. Each District should therefore have been dealt with separately, the local customs being studied and worked up into some scientific form convenient to government and satisfactory to the ryot. The failure to consider local requirements, and the attempt to stretch all upon the official bed of Procrustes, together with periodical enhancements of the rent, produced sooner or later an agrarian crisis in every District dealt with. I myself witnessed the effects in the four districts which I have named above. In the Dekkhan it was particularly serious. Thus in 1873-4 there were no fewer than 4,341 defaulting ryots in one division alone of the Poona District. Rs 82,421 were due from them as arrears of Land Revenue, and to realize this amount ryots' holdings, mostly ancestral land, amounting to 200,000 acres were attached and sold by auction, fetching the miserable price of Rs 15,010. These are the official figures. A year or two later there was a general agrarian rising in this part of the Dekkhan, which had to be put down by military force. Again, take the Forest Department. Government possess extensive forests, especially in the Ghaut Districts, and trained foresters are needed to manage the valuable timber reserves, and create others where they are required. It was therefore necessary to form a Forest Department possessing technical knowledge, and the officers of this department would have been most usefully employed in advising the village and District officers as to the management of the Communal forests, and in reporting the results to Government, who would see that the proper measures were carried out through their

executive officers. But instead of this the Forest Department has become a great executive machine, with a swarm of low paid subordinates, armed with despotic power, far away from any control, and quartered in the villages where they have unbounded opportunities for plunder and oppression. Everyone knows what is the result. I remember once when I was on tour, as a District Judge in a Ghaut District, coming to a miserably poor forest village, and the whole population came out to complain that their buffaloes, 80 in number, had been seized by the forest peons, and put into the pound, Rs 20 being required for their release. It appeared that the buffaloes had been grazing in the village forest, as had been the custom for generations past, but Government had recently notified this forest as reserve, and therefore their buffaloes had been seized for trespass. It will be asked how the Forest Department had notified the reserve? By a notice in the English Government Gazette at the Presidency town, many hundred miles away. No local notice had been given, and not a yard of fencing had been put up to mark the forbidden area. What were the poor villagers to do? The same thing might happen to them every day of the year. I referred them to the Collector, but I knew perfectly well that he could do nothing for them. I could tell similar tales of the other departments, Abkari, Salt, Irrigation, and so forth; but I have not here space to do so. With all these departments at work upon him the life of the ryot is like that of a toad under a harrow.

Now let us sum up, and see what is the gist of the complaint against this "Russianized Officialism." My proposition is that the present system of working through centralized departments is destroying all the best elements in our administration, and developing the worst. Let us see how this is, beginning from the very top of the official hierarchy. There is no more potent or valuable factor in our Indian administration than the personal character and independence of the Viceroy and Governors. They are men of high position, with experience in English

public life, and almost invariably come out from England full of generous impulses, and with a keen desire to do justice to all. But too often these sentiments are choked, like the good seed in the parable. From his first arrival the Governor is surrounded by Secretaries and Heads of departments, and he generally finds it only too easy and too pleasant to look through the spectacles with which they provide him. He is quite unaware of this, and thinks he is acting upon his own judgment, but the whole Indian public recognize with sorrow that he is a mere puppet in the hands of the clique at headquarters, and that they cannot hope for redress from an appeal to the head of the Government. And worse remains behind. For these departments have not only usurped the executive power, but have also got hold of the legislative machinery, and can practically pass any laws they like to strengthen their position. For many years past all important legislation has been initiated and promoted by one or other of these departments, Revenue, Forest, Abkari, Salt, and so forth. And anyone who will examine the Indian Statute Book will find that the chief business of the Legislative Councils has been to enact, re-enact, and amend, Codes for these several departments, of ever-increasing unpopularity, the object in each case being to enhance the powers and revenue of the department, to shut up all loopholes for escape from its operation, to make penalties more stringent, and generally to encroach upon the liberties of the subject. These different departments seem indeed to vie with each other as to which will do most to bring us to ruin, all racing together down a very steep place. Where is the remedy? The remedy lies to a certain extent in the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a popular basis, as contemplated by the Indian Councils Amendment Act, which last year received the Royal Assent. If the Viceroy and Governors will harden their hearts and boldly make use of the elective method permitted by that Act, and thus surround themselves with men of experience and independence, men who know the

wants and wishes of the people, and who possess the confidence of the Indian Community, then they may emancipate themselves from their present thralldom, they will become the masters of the situation, and the plague may be stayed. A few words must suffice regarding the next class, the District Officers, the men who have always borne the burden and heat of the day. The secret of our power in the country is to re-establish their independence, and personal influence, by bringing them more and more into touch with the people, encouraging them to work in sympathetic co-operation with popularly elected Councils for the District, Division, and Village. And I would give them as far as possible a free hand in all the matters in which they can secure the support of these Councils. In this way each of our Districts would work out its own salvation, and enjoy the contentment of a well governed Native State, where the administration is in accordance with the wants and wishes and usages of the people. Fruitful development would thus take the place of the sterile uniformity produced by our centralizing departments. Finally we must reconstitute and strengthen the village organization, that ancient bulwark against political disorder, and the home of the simple domestic and social virtues. "The foundation of Indian Society" said Sir C. Trevelyan before the Select Committee of 1873, "is the village municipality; that has been the salvation of India. One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own *Kusa* grass, which they liken it to; it is a kind of grass which it is impossible to tear up by the roots, because it grows in bunches, and they say that the village constitution is like that." Unfortunately what foreign conquerors could not do, our great centralized departments are rapidly accomplishing. And under British rule these little strongholds of ancient local custom and self government find themselves undermined and shattered by a machinery which they cannot resist, an unseen enemy more powerful and more

destructive than Mogul, Mahratta or Pindari. What we have to realize is that, whatever system we follow, the actual details of administration must be done through native agency. What we want now to do is to substitute the best kind of native agency for the worst, to restore the village management to the decent quiet villagers themselves, instead of leaving it to a swarm of greedy hirelings, the offspring of ages of despotism, who are attracted into the ranks of these departments, not by the scanty pay, but by the power they enjoy, and the unlimited opportunities for exaction.

On behalf of his unfortunate fellow countrymen Mr. Naoroji now makes his appeal. He says they have given up all hope from the officials. Why is this? Might they not hope for redress at the India Office? No, because in the place of power at the India Office they find the very men against whom their complaint is made. The Council of the Secretary of State for India is filled with the ablest men from among the headquarters cliques at Simla, Madras, and Bombay. And it is not surprising that they should confirm at Westminster the decisions which they themselves passed while in India. The appeal is therefore made to Cæsar, to the British people. And it is well that this appeal should be heard, and righteously adjudicated on; or the results will be disastrous for India,-- and for England. The path of safety lies, not in making our administration a parody of Russian despotism, but in emphasizing in every possible way the difference between our methods and those of Russia. If we wish the masses of India to stand solid with us in resisting external aggression, we must gain their respect and affection, by honourably fulfilling our pledges, by a ready redress of practical grievances, and by giving to the people a reasonable voice in the management of their own affairs.

OUR INDIAN TRANS-FRONTIER EXPEDITIONS :

THEIR AIM AND THEIR RESULT.

BY J. DACOSTA.

I.

NEWSPAPER articles of a semi-official character, published during the last few months, have created the impression that the recent collision between Russian and Afghan soldiers at Somátash, is likely to involve us in war with our great northern ally. The *Times* of August the 25th contains a leading article in which it is said : " When we had established the present ruler of Afghánistán upon the throne of Kábul, we undertook the obligation of defending him against foreign aggression. That engagement we are bound scrupulously to observe ; and should the Russians resolve to encroach upon territories which belong to Afghánistán, it will be our duty to repel them."

Now it is well known that *we neither established the present Amir on the throne of Kábul, nor undertook any unqualified obligation of defending him against foreign aggression.* In support of this negative statement, it may suffice to remind the reader of the following incidents connected with the present Amir's accession to the throne.

In the spring of 1880, when we sent a mission to Abdar Rahman, offering to acknowledge him Amir of Kábul on condition of his renouncing sovereignty over Kandahár and Herát, he simply ignored our condition and intimated that, as the heir of Dost Mahomed, he claimed sovereignty over the entire kingdom that had been ruled by his grandsire. When later, our offer, somewhat modified, was pressed for his acceptance, he clearly gave us to understand that he neither desired nor needed our sanction to his installation on the throne which was his by right. Lastly, when our conditions were communicated to him in the stern language of an ultimatum, requiring his absolute renunciation of Kandahár and the Kuram valley, our conditions were once

more ignored, and we were left in the unenviable position of having dictated terms which we were powerless to enforce.

Meanwhile our Kandahár army was defeated with great loss by Ayub Khán at Máiwand, and we saw no prospect of our being able to relieve the remnant of that force, unless we received immediate assistance from Abdar Rahman. The pick of the troops we then had at Kábul, was required to march to the relief of our besieged garrison in the South, a distance of 316 miles ; but the risk of being delayed by hostile clans on the road, made it hopeless for the relieving force to reach Kandahár before the place had fallen. Already the tribes around Kábul were assuming a threatening attitude, and our scouts reported that a Jehád, or religious war for the extermination of the "infidel," was about to be proclaimed. In these difficulties we negotiated with Abdar Rahman, and prevailed on him to use his influence in restraining the tribes who were likely to oppose our progress ; and, at the same time, to detain near his person the chiefs of the Ghilzái tribes, through whose territories the remainder of our Kábul army was to return to India. This device of temporarily depriving the Ghilzáis of their leaders, prevented them from carrying out the traditional Afghán policy, of exterminating to the utmost a hostile army on the retreat—a policy which was ruthlessly executed against us after our first invasion of Afghánistán.

The timely aid thus received from the new Amir, enabled us to effect our immediate purpose ; but it had to be paid for by a heavy sacrifice of national pride. We had to revoke our imperious ultimatum, to acknowledge Abdar Rahman's sovereignty over Afghánistán without limitation of territory, to renounce the fine we had imposed on the city of Kábul for its connivance at the murder of our Envoy, to pay ten lakhs of rupees to the new Amir as *an earnest of British friendship*, and to refund the value of the treasure we had seized in Kábul during the invasion. We had moreover to give up a number of our guns, and to leave intact the defensive works with which we had strengthened the position of Kábul.

To bring these harrowing reminiscences to mind, is certainly not a grateful task ; but it becomes a duty, when it is sought, through misleading statements, to deprive us of the fruit of dearly bought experience, and to expose us to fresh calamities which, in the light of that experience, might successfully be averted.

As regards the alleged obligation of defending the Amir's territories, no treaty binding us absolutely to perform that service has, as far as it is known, been subscribed by any authorised servant of the British Crown ; and, in the absence of such an instrument, we must hold ourselves free to act, in each case, as its circumstances render advisable. In the present instance, at all events, no obligation of the sort can exist, seeing that we have come to no definite understanding with Russia or with the Amir, as to the north-eastern line of the Afghán frontier, and are, therefore, not in a position to contend that such frontier has been violated in the Pamirs.

Under all these circumstances, the scare about a war with Russia arising out of the Somátash incident, must be dismissed as groundless ; while the motive for having raised it in the present conjuncture, may not be difficult to surmise.

II.

Another serious danger, however, is also foreshadowed in the newspaper articles referred to above ; namely the danger of a third Afghán war, or British invasion of Afghánistán. This danger, looking at existing circumstances, is not only real, but seems imminent. A leading article in the *Times* of September the 12th refers in the following terms to the cause of our present dispute with the Amir :—" The turbulent population of the Zhob valley has been pacified by us.—At Chaman we have built a railway station on land which the Amir claims as within his territory.—We have no aggressive intentions towards him ; but he takes a different view of the situation." The significance of these sentences will more fully appear when they are

considered in connection with the following events which brought about the present situation.

Numerous expeditions, as it is well known, have been employed during the last sixteen years for the subjugation (or "pacification" as it is officially termed) of the border-tribes of Afghánistán, and the construction of roads through their territories. Among those expeditions, the following were charged specially with the "pacification" of the country between Gomul, a village on our frontier at the foot of the Sulimán mountains, and our railway from Quetta to Chaman; a tract which extends in a south westerly direction through the Zhob valley to Pishin.

In 1888 an expedition was sent to survey the Gomul pass which opens into the Zhob valley; but as its mission was frustrated by the opposition of the Makhind tribe, a considerable force was organised the following year, which entered the Zhob country from Baluchistán, accompanied by the late Sir Robert Sandeman as Political officer. The Kidarzáis arrested the progress of that force, and it was only in 1890, that our agent succeeded, by diplomacy and subsidies as well as by military force, in establishing a post at Apozái, and in obtaining promises from the Mashud Waziris, the Shirínis and the Darvesh Khel of Wána, that they would keep the Gomul pass open, in consideration of certain sums of money to be annually paid to them by the British Government. Surveys were then made for a projected railway through the Gomul pass and the Zhob valley on to Pishin, to serve as an alternative line to our Bolán Railway which has been found unreliable, owing to the autumn floods, by which it is annually destroyed.

The chiefs in the Zhob valley, who have been receiving subsidies from us, are said to have maintained a friendly demeanour up to the present time; but their tribesmen never ceased to manifest their objection to our presence, by night-shooting into the British agent's camp, and by cutting off our sepoy within a few hundred yards of their lines. These hostile manifestations latterly became more active; a circumstance which we ascribed to the presence

of an official of the Amir. We threatened, therefore, to send an expedition for subduing the clans, unless the official was removed; and the Amir informed us that, in compliance with our request, he had ordered him to retire, pending the conference we had proposed, and an understanding as to the boundary of our Empire.

Now, this suggestion of the Amir for the delimitation of our frontier, is most inopportune and embarrassing for the British Government, seeing that it has, for many years, been striving to advance our frontier into Afghánistán, and is still struggling for that end. On the other hand, our Government contends that the Amir's kingdom does not include the territories of the border-tribes, and that we are consequently at liberty to conquer and incorporate those territories in our Indian Empire. In support of this view, a new map of Afghánistán has been brought out, in which the green border defining the limits of that country, and the red line marking our frontier (as laid down in all our maps until 1890) have been removed, and nothing has been left to show where our territory ends and Afghánistán begins. Furthermore we have assumed the character of protector, and almost that of Suzerain, over the tribes whom we subsidise, and from among whom we have induced a number of men to engage in our service.* To entertain the Amir's suggestion for a delimitation of the British frontier, would, therefore, interfere with our scheme and our pretensions; and

* Simultaneously with the new map of Afghánistán, a chapter was published on the "North-West Frontier of India," in which the author, the Hon. George Curzon, late Under Secretary for India, significantly remarked: "The attitude of the border-tribes has, in recent years, become much more friendly towards England than towards Afghánistán . . . they are gradually being transformed into an irregular frontier guard of the Indian Empire." Then, Mr. Curzon, assuming the border-lands to have actually become British territory, says: "It is the forward move from the old Indus valley line across the Middlebelt, and the relations entered into with its occupants, that have, during the last five years, transformed our unscientific frontier into the scientific frontier which I will now proceed to delineate." In his delineation Mr. Curzon includes Lundi Kotal, Peiwar Kotal, the Gomul Pass and Chaman, but the conduct of the tribesmen shows that they take a different view of the matter.

this will probably account for the blustering language and the threats that were subsequently resorted to. The *Times* of November the 2nd contains a leading article in which it is said :—" We hope that the Amir is wrongfully charged with an attempt at evasion, which, if really made, might compel the Government to modify the benevolent and friendly attitude it is desirous of maintaining towards the Amir and his kingdom.—The Government will not be lightly turned from its settled policy ; it possesses the means of bringing considerable pressure to bear upon its ally in a disciplinary way.—The Government can do without the strong and independent Afghánistán it strives to maintain : but whenever it shall cease to struggle for that end, Afghánistán as a kingdom will disappear."

III.

After a threat so clearly and loudly proclaimed, the British Government is not likely to recede from the position it has assumed. On the other hand it is equally improbable that the Amir would agree to territorial concessions, when his doing so is certain to destroy his power and influence over the tribes ; and, as regards the latter, we well know that they will not submit to the rule of the " infidel " without a hard struggle. Under these conditions war seems imminent, and it behoves us to estimate its probable issue. For estimating that issue we have invaluable data for our guidance in the history of the last fifty-five years ; as, within that period, we twice invaded Afghánistán in circumstances similar to those of our present situation. On both occasions the war was unprovoked ; it had been secretly schemed by the British Cabinet, and its object was simply to acquire control over the government of Afghánistán.

Of the final results of the war commenced in 1838 we have a succinct record in the following passages of the " Greville Memoirs " :—

" 1842. Sept. 10th.—A few days ago I met Sir Charles Metcalfe, the greatest of Indian authorities. He was decidedly opposed to the expedition originally, and said he

could never understand how Auckland could have been induced to undertake it. Nov. 30th.—In the midst of all our military success, the simple truth is that Akbar Khan and the Afghans have gained their object completely. We had placed a puppet king on the throne and held military possession of the country. They resolved to get rid of our king and our troops, and to resume their independence ; they massacred all our people, civil and military, and afterwards put the king to death. Our recent expedition was undertaken merely to get back the prisoners who had escaped with their lives from the general slaughter, and, having got them, we have, once for all, abandoned the country, leaving to the Afghans the unmolested possession of the liberty they had acquired, and not attempting to replace upon their necks the yoke they so roughly shook off. There is after all no great cause for rejoicing and triumph in all this. 1843. Jan. 16th.—The circumstances attending the termination of the war in Afghanistan have elicited a deep and general feeling of indignation and disgust. Ellenborough's ridiculous and bombastic proclamations, and the massacres and havoc perpetrated by our armies, are regarded with universal contempt and abhorrence. . . . Our greatest military successes have been attended with nearly as much discredit, as our most deplorable reverses. . . . On the whole it is the most painful chapter in our history for many a long day."

IV.

Now, if we turn to the war commenced in 1878, we find that it not only failed in its avowed object, which was the acquisition of an advanced frontier* (in other words the annexation of a portion of Afghánistán), but that it ended, like the previous war, in disaster and humiliation. At its conclusion, and with the advice of the distinguished officer

* At the opening of Parliament in February, 1879, Lord Beaconsfield said : " We are now in possession of the three great highways which connect Afghánistán and India. We have secured the object for which the expedition was undertaken. We have secured that frontier which will, I hope, render our Empire invulnerable."

who brought it to an end, we reverted, in our policy towards Afghánistán, to the lines we had originally followed, ever since the two territories became conterminous. Writing from Kábul on the 29th May, 1880, Sir Frederick Roberts said :

“We have nothing to fear from Afghánistán, and the best thing to do is to leave it as much as possible to itself. Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghánistán or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afgháns to our interests, if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime.”

This obviously sound policy, proclaimed under official responsibility by our highest authority on the subject, was nevertheless discarded suddenly in 1885, while public attention was diverted to the troubles in Ireland, and measures were immediately adopted for once more attempting the execution of the “forward frontier” or annexation scheme of 1876. A slight modification, however, was introduced in the plan of campaign ; it was considered advisable, before marching our armies into the heart of Afghánistán, to invest the eastern and southern portions of the country. Numerous expeditions were accordingly employed for the subjugation of the border-tribes, and the construction of military roads across their country ; but these operations completely failed in their object, and our frontier has not been advanced a single day’s march from our Indian boundary.

Disappointing and inexplicable as this result might appear to those who have only taken a distant and partial view of the operations, it is simply the effect of causes which have long been known to exist. Those who looked for a successful issue to our frontier expeditions, founded their hope on the superiority of our weapons and discipline, on the proximity of our base, and on the wealth of our material resources. But experience has conclusively shown that, in a barren and mountainous country like Afghánistán, those advantages are neutralised by the absence of roads, the scarcity of fodder and grain, and the fanaticism of the inhabitants ; whereby the movement of artillery and cavalry

is seriously impeded, and the transport of ammunition, stores and baggage is rendered slow and uncertain; while the proclamation of a Jehád, or religious war, is certain to gather overwhelming numbers of armed men, ready to lay down their lives in the defence of their faith and their traditional independence. The annals of the late war furnish innumerable instances in support of the above statement, a few of which may be cited here. Mr. Howard Hensman, referring to Sir Frederick Roberts's retreat before the tribes led by Mahomed Ján in Decr. 1879, recorded the following remark on the 27th of the same month:—

‘We may seem strong enough now when we have not an enemy within twenty miles; but we seemed equally safe three weeks ago, when we disbelieved in the possibility of 30,000 Afgháns ever collecting together.’

Sir Donald Stewart, on his march from Kandahár to Kábul in April 1880, telegraphed as under:

“On the 19th the division under my command encountered an armed gathering.—A body of some three thousand fanatic swordsmen poured down on our troops . . . the fighting lasted an hour, after which the entire body of the enemy spread broadcast over the country. The protection of the baggage prevented pursuit by the cavalry.”

Mr. Hensman remarks, in his letter of the 26th of the same month, that the baggage train on that occasion was six miles long; and he adds, with reference to the fight at Charásiá:—

“At 9.50 Colonel Johnson heliographed that the enemy was reinforced, and that his troops were debarred from anything but acting on the defence, as their baggage would have had to be sacrificed, if an attempt had been made to storm the hills.”

Then, Major Colquhoun, who was attached to the Kuram Field Force under Sir Frederick Roberts, records the following incidents:

“Novr. 29th 1878.—Owing to the exhaustion of the men and cattle, and *the impossibility of keeping up supplies with the troops*, it was decided not to attack to-day. Decr. 6th.—Only three guns and their ammunition were

brought up the hill ; the task was a severe trial. As there was no forage on the Kotal, the horses and drivers were sent down the hill again. 12th.—The Major General has decided to return to Kuram. . . . The baggage of the four regiments, even on the reduced scale, made a tolerably long column, and the Commissariat camels added to the length to be protected. 15th.—D. O. 347. Sick and wounded to be transported from Kuram to Kohât under escort of the 5th Punjab Infantry. Feby. 2nd 1879.—A convoy of sick men (including General Cobbe who has sufficiently recovered from his wound) proceeded to India under escort. The detachment was ordered to march *via* the Darwaza pass, as there was some chance that the Mangals might otherwise attack the party."

Turning now to the operations in Southern Afghánistán, we find the following entries in the diary of Major Le Messurier, Brigade Major of the Quetta army :

"January 10th 1879.—The prices we have to pay are startling ; the forage for a horse costs 2 rupees a day. The Commissariat has only four days' supplies for Europeans and seven for natives ; and yet there are only some 8,000 fighting men at Kandahâr, out of the 13,000 which form the Quetta army. The mortality among the beasts of burden is very great. The want of camel carriage added to the fact that *we have outstripped our convoys of provision*, is forcing itself to the notice of all. Jany. 18.—Marched 12 miles ; the water all along is strongly impregnated with nitre. 29th.—Thermometer 25°. Increased mortality among the camels. No more tobacco."

At this time, Sir Donald Stewart, finding it impossible to feed his army, sent back the greater number to India. Meanwhile sickness broke out among the men and the cattle, as recorded in further entries of the same diary, as under :

"Feby. 4th.—The Commissariat are out of wood. 7th.—Black frost last night : increased mortality among the camels continues. 12th.—The bread we have been having and the water combined will account for the sickness among the troops. April 6th.—The stench from the dead animals

along the line was scarcely bearable. 24th.—Rode back into Kandahár and heard of Colonel Fellowes' death. He was as fine a looking man as any in the force, and most active. June 23rd.—The Colonel is laid up, and Rogers, Hawskin and Oliver are all down with fever. July 14th.—Cholera has appeared, ending fatally in 14 cases. 17th.—Cholera still busy at headquarters and the two squadrons. 18th.—A telegram came in saying that Nicholetts was dead, having been seized with cholera at 1 p.m. and died at 6 p.m. 21st.—Hannel of the 1st Punjab Cavalry died of cholera. 29th.—Capt. Chisholme of the 59th was buried to-day. Augst. 6th.—Major Pawis of the 59th was buried this evening—cholera. Anderson of the 25th N. I. buried to-day. Our doctor in the Sappers died last night, also Corporal Boon R.E. 23rd.—Heard that Stavely had lost four Europeans and two natives out of his battery, that Dr. Blanchard had died at Gatur, and Lieut. Campbell of the Baluchis at Chaman, all of cholera."

These diaries show how powerfully the food and transport difficulties, and the absence of practicable roads, interfered with our military operations in the late war, and how cruelly our officers and men were decimated by sickness and death, owing to bad food, want of shelter and the severity of the climate. They testify, at the same time, to the imperative necessity under which the numerical strength of a British army in Afghánistán has to be limited by the scarcity of food, and show how its efficiency is further reduced by the detachments that have to be employed in guarding the baggage and ammunition, in escorting the sick and wounded to India, and in foraging for supplies. In any future campaign, the railway to Chaman, if not destroyed by the tribes, might facilitate the despatch of troops and stores from India; but it could not lessen the difficulties mentioned above, seeing that those difficulties arose only after we had penetrated into the interior of Afghánistán, while our railway scarcely goes beyond the border of the country. It should also be remembered that our railroad at Sibi was destroyed by tribesmen in 1880, as soon as our defeat at Maíwand became known.

V.

These considerations preclude any sanguine hope of our being able, in a future campaign, to contend successfully with the difficulties which caused our failure in the past. We might, as we did before, enter the country at the head of a victorious army; but our advance would, most probably, induce the Amir to retire beyond the Hindu Kush, as Shere Ali did in 1878; in which case we should be left to deal with the numberless tribes of the country, each jealous of its rights and interests and ruled by its own chiefs, but all united by a common faith, a strong love of independence and a fanatical hatred of the "infidel." Does experience warrant the slightest hope that we should succeed in concluding with those tribes any treaty which would secure the object of our invasion?—Supposing a treaty were obtained under the pressure of our arms, or purchased with our money; could we reasonably look for its fulfilment?—Have not faithlessness towards the "infidel," greed and treachery been repeatedly and advisedly declared by our officers to be prominent features in the Afghán character?—Have we forgotten how Pádshá Khan, whose friendship and loyalty we so liberally paid for in the last war, fought against us in December 1879, when our fortunes were on the decline?—How, after being forgiven for that "breach of loyalty," and continuing to receive his subsidy, he once more collected his men and attacked our troops in April and May 1880, when our situation again became critical?—Have we also forgotten our embarrassing and undignified position, when our magniloquent proclamation of the 28th October, 1879 (evidently the work of one deplorably ignorant of Afghánistán and its people), calling on the tribal chiefs to come and consult with the British officials on the future government of their country, was treated with the most marked contempt?

After such experience—after sixteen years of unsuccessful warfare and an appalling expenditure of blood and treasure, what can justify the Government in once more plunging the nation into a war of conquest, in which the

adverse chances would again preponderate, while even success would impair our present situation? The contiguity of our territory with that of Russia would afford facilities to our powerful rival, by an armed demonstration on our frontier, or by intrigue with our Indian subjects and feudatories, to disturb, at any time, the tranquillity of our Indian Empire.

If the fear of Russia, which has driven our Government to so many unprovoked attacks on the Afgháns, be well founded, and we eventually have to encounter a Russian advance, should we not be placed at very great disadvantage in having to fight a powerful enemy in a difficult country, far from our main resources, and amidst a hostile population thirsting for revenge, and ready to aggravate any reverse which may befall us in the contest?

As regards Chitrál and the surrounding countries, our diplomatic and military operations in those regions since 1886, seem to have been governed by the policy under which all our frontier expeditions of the last sixteen years were undertaken, namely, for bringing the territories which separate India from Afghánistán under British control, in order to facilitate the long-desired conquest of the latter country. Hitherto those operations have not achieved success, and the recent fall of Afzul-ul-Mulk, whose accession to the throne of Chitrál received our support and countenance, is doubtless regarded by the people of the country and the neighbouring States, in the light of a British defeat. This circumstance realises the danger so clearly indicated in the following passage of Earl Grey's letter published in the *Times* in March 1887, warning us against mixing up ourselves with the politics of the Central Asian States: "I am persuaded that the only wise policy for this country to pursue is to keep absolutely aloof from all the quarrels of the Afghans and our other neighbours, and to avoid all meddling in their affairs, unless, by plundering our subjects or by other acts, they inflict upon us injuries which ought to be promptly punished."

NOTES ON RECENT EVENTS IN CHILÁS AND CHITRÁL.

IN 1866 I was sent by the Punjab Government on a linguistic mission to Kashmir and Chilás at the instance of the Bengal Asiatic Society and on the motion of the late Sir George Campbell, who hoped to identify Kailás or the Indian Olympus with Chilás.* Although unable to support that conjecture, I collected material which was published in Part I. of my "Dardistan" and which the Government declared "as throwing very considerable and important light on matters heretofore veiled in great obscurity." That some obscurity still exists, is evident from the *Times* telegram of to-day (5th December, 1892), in which an item of news from the Tak [Takk] valley is described as coming from *Chitrál*, a distant country with which Chilás has nothing to do. The Takk village is fortified, and through the valley is the shortest and easiest road to our British district of Kaghán. It is alleged that some headmen of Takk wished to see Dr. Robertson at Gilgit, who thereupon sent a raft to bring them, but the raft was fired on and Capt. Wallace, who went to its assistance, was wounded. [Chilás is on the Kashmir side of the Indus, and the Gilgit territory is reached by crossing the Indus at Bunji.]

The incident is ascribed either to "*the treachery of the men who professed willingness to come in*" or to the mischievousness of "other persons." It is probable from this suggestion of treachery and the unconscious use of the words "to come in," which is the Anglo-Indian equivalent for "surrender," that the headmen of Takk were *not* willing to make over their Fort to the British or to open the road to Gilgit. The Takk incident, therefore, is not a part of the so-called "*Chitrál usurpation*," under which heading it

* I was again on special duty in 1886, and its result was Part I. of the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," of which a second and enlarged edition will appear shortly. My material, some of which has been published, has been collected between 1865 and 1889 in my private capacity as a student of languages and customs.

immediately appears, but is a part of *our* usurpation on the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Indus. In 1843, these tribes inflicted a severe loss on the Sikh invaders, and in my "history of the wars with Kashmir" the part taken by the manly defenders of Takk, now reduced from 131 to some 90 houses, is given in detail. It seems to me that as the Gilgit force was unable to support "the Chitral usurpation" of our protégé, Afzul-ul-Mulk, owing to his being killed by his uncle Sher Afzul, it is to be employed to coerce the Indus tribes to open out a road which ought never to have been withdrawn from their hold. About 50 years ago the Takk men were stirred into so-called rebellion by Kashmir agents in order to justify annexation. It is to be hoped that history will not repeat itself, or that, at any rate, the next 50 years will see the Indus tribes as independent and peaceful as they have been since 1856, especially in Chilas (before 1892), and as mysterious as Hunza ought to have remained till our unnecessary attack on that country caused practically unknown Russia to be looked upon as the Saviour of Nations "rightly struggling to be free" (see Baron Vrevsky's reply to the Hunza deputation). *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*; and no greater instance of folly can be conceived, than the construction of a military road through countries in which the chamois is often puzzled for its way. Nor was the attention of the Russians drawn to them before we made our own encroachments.

As for the Pamirs, whatever may be the present interpretation of Prince Gortchakoff's Convention, the Russians were unwilling to let political consequences or limits accompany the erratic wanderings of Kirghiz sheep in search of pasturage in that region. Prince Gortchakoff's advocacy of a Neutral Zone and of the autonomy of certain tribes was justified by the facts (which he, however, rather guessed than knew) and was worthy alike of that Diplomatist and of our acceptance in the interests of India and of peace. The incorporation of certain Districts in the domain, or

rather the sphere of influence, of Afghanistan, was distasteful to tribes attached to their hereditary rulers or to republican institutions and was not too willingly accepted by the Amir of Afghanistan, who now expects us to defend the white Elephants that we have given him better than we did Panjdeh. Some Muláís that had fled from Russian tyranny to Afghan territory assured me that "the finger of an Afghan was more oppressive than the whole Russian army." Indeed, so far as Central Asia is concerned, Russia, with the exception of certain massacres, has hitherto behaved, on the whole, as a great civilizing power.*

As for Sirdar Nizám-ul-Mulk, this is his *name* and not his *title*. He is the "Mihtar" or "Prince" Nizám-ul-Mulk, and neither an Indian "Sirdár" nor a "Nizám." He is also the "Badshah" of Turikoh, this being the district assigned to him in his father's lifetime as the heir-apparent. He was snubbed by us for offering to relieve that excellent officer, Col. Lockhart, when a prisoner in Wakhan! He has written to me from Turikoh for "English phrases and words with their Persian equivalents as a pleasure and a requirement." This does not look like hostility to the British. He spoke to me in 1886 of his brother Afzul's bravery with affection and pride, though he has ever maintained his own acknowledged right as the successor of his father Amán-ul-Mulk. If he has been alienated from us or has ever been tempted to throw himself into the arms of Russia, it has most assuredly been our fault. Besides, just as we have abandoned the Shiah Hazaras, our true friends during the late Afghan War, to be destroyed by their religious and political foe, the Sunni Amir Abdurrahman, so have the Amir Sher Ali and the Tham of Hunza, Sāfdar Ali Khan, rued their

* In spite of Russian attempts to conciliate the orthodox Muhammadans of Turkey and thus to take the place of the British as "the Protector of Islám," the news of the revision of the Korán by a Russian Censor and the *bévue* of putting up the Czar's portrait in Central Asian Mosques, have injured Russia's propaganda among Muhammadans, whom also the accounts of the persecution of the Jews have estranged from a Power that began its rule in Central Asia by repairing and constructing Mosques, helping Mosque Schools and even subsidizing an employé to call "the faithful" to fast and break-fast during the month of Ramazán.

trust in Russian Agents. I regret, therefore, to find in the *Times* telegram of to-day that "the Nizám" "is acting without the support of the British Agent" "who has not interfered," when he had already interfered in favour of the usurper Afzul-ul-Mulk.

As for the connivance of Amir Abdurrahman, my "rough history of Dardistan from 1800 to 1872" shows that, in one sense, Chitral is tributary to Badakhshán and as we have assigned Badakhshán to the Amir, he, no doubt, takes an interest in Chitral affairs. I believe, however, that interest to be somewhat platonic, and he knows that his friend Jehandár Shah (the late wrongfully deposed hereditary ruler of Badakhshán) never paid any tribute to Afghanistan. But Chitral once also paid tribute to Dir, with whose able Chief, Rahmat-ullah-Khan, "the Nizám" is connected by marriage. Chitral on the other hand has *received* a subsidy from Kashmir since 1877, but this was as much a tribute from Kashmir to Aman-ul-Mulk, as a sign of his subjection to Kashmir, for shortly after he made offers of allegiance to Kabul. With all alike it is

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

It is misleading to speak of their relations to neighbouring States as "tributary." Are the Khyberis tributary to us or we to them, because we pay them a tribute to let our merchants travel through their Pass? Have we never ourselves come, first as suppliants, then as merchants, then as guests, then as advisers, then as protectors, and, finally, as conquerors?

The procedure of Afghanistan, of Chitral, of Kashmir, and of our own is very much alike and so are the several radii of influence of the various factors in "the question." We have our fringe of independent frontier tribes with whom we flirt, or wage war, as suits the convenience of the moment. Afghanistan has a similar fringe of independent Ishmaelites round it and even through it, whose hands are against everybody and everybody's hands against them.

Chitral is threatened all along its line by the Kafirs, who even make a part of Badakhshán insecure, but are nevertheless our very good friends. Kashmir has its fringe on its extreme border, especially since, in violation of our treaty of 1846, it has attacked countries *beyond the Indus on the west*, including the Kunjútis of Hunza, who resumed their raiding--which had ceased in 1867--during and after Col. Lockhart's visit in 1886. Yet there can be little doubt about "the loyalty" of those concerned. The Amirs of Afghanistan consider themselves "*shields of India*," as I have heard two of them say, and so did our Ally of Kashmir, who ought never to have been reduced to a subordinate feudatory position. What wonder then that old Amán-ul-Mulk of Chitral should also have tried to become a buffer between Afghanistan on the West, Kashmir on the East, India on the South and, latterly, Russia in the North, if indeed the whole story of Russian intrigue in Chitral be at all truer than a similar mare's nest which we discovered in Hunza? It is the policy of Russia to create false alarms and thereby to involve us in expenditure, whilst standing by and posing as the future saviour of the tribes. Our tendency to compromises and subservient Commissions of delimitation and to "scuttling" occasionally, is also well known and so we are offered in Russian papers "*an Anglo-Russian understanding on the subject of Chitral*," as if Chitral was not altogether out of the sphere of Russia's legitimate influence! It is also amusing to find in the *Novosti* that Russia's sole desire is "to prevent *Afghanistan* from falling into British hands." We are already spending at Gilgit on food etc. for our troops more in one year than were spent in the 40 years of the so-called mismanagement of Kashmir, which I myself steadily exposed, but which kept the frontier far more quiet than it has been since the revival of the Gilgit Agency. There is every prospect now of heavier and continued expenditure, as the policy of the Foreign Department of the Government of India develops. On that policy a *veto* should at once be put

by the British Parliament and public, if our present Liberal Administration cannot do so without pressure from without. We should conciliate Nizam-ul-Mulk before it is too late. He is connected with Umra Khan of Jandôl and with the influential Mullah Shahu of Bajaur through his maternal uncle, Kokhan Beg. He has also connections in Badakhshan, Hunza and Dir, as already stated. Indeed, we ought to have given him our support from the beginning. I doubt whether it would be desirable to subdivide Chitral as stated in to-day's *Times*, letting Sher Afzul keep Chitral proper, giving Yasin to "the Nizam" and letting Umra Khan retain what he has already seized of Southern Chitral. As for Sher Afzul, I believe, that he is also "loyal."

As for Hunza, I am not at all certain that the fugitive, Safdar Ali Khan, really murdered his father. At all events when the deed was committed, I find that it was attributed to Muhammad Khan,* probably not the present

* "By the most recent account, Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar, has been killed by his own son, Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan's mother was the sister of Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nagyr. She was killed by her father-in-law, Ghazanfar, and thrown over a precipice from her house. Ghazan Khan treacherously killed his paternal uncle, Abdullah Khan, ruler of Gojal, who unsuspectingly met him. On ascending the throne, Ghazan Khan is also said to have poisoned his ailing full brother, Bukhtawar Shah, and another (by a different Sayad mother) Nanawal Shah. The fratricidal traditions of Hunza and of the Khush-waqtia family of Yasin have now been somewhat thrown into the shade by the parricide of Muhammad Khan. The father of Ghazan Khan, Ghazanfar, is said to have died from the effects of a suit of clothes, impregnated with small-pox, sent to him by his daughter, the full sister of Ghazan Khan, who was married to Mir Shah of Badakhshan, in order to accelerate her brother's accession to the throne. The father of Ghazanfar, Sullum, also poisoned his own father. This state of things is very different from the gentle rules and traditions of Nagyr, whose aged Chief, Zafar Khan, has nineteen sons, and who sent his rebellious eldest son, Muhammad Khan (whose mother was a full sister of Ghazan Khan of Hunza) to Ramsu in Kashmir territory, where he died. He was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, and tried to sell some of his Nagyr subjects into slavery, against the traditions of that peaceful country, in consequence of which his father, Zafar Khan, expelled him." (See Part referring to the History and Customs of Hunza and Nagyr.) Yet it is this patriarchal, loyal and God-fearing Zafar Khan, whose letter to me I published last year, whom we accused of kidnapping and aggressiveness, so that we might take his country.

Mir Muhammad Nazim who has acknowledged the suzerainty of England (through Kashmir) and of China. The latter power has always had something to say to Hunza, and the very title of its Chief "Tham" is of Chinese origin. The subsidy that China used to pay for keeping open the commercial road from Badakhshan and Wakhan through the Pamirs along Kunjût (Hunza) to Yarkand, was about £380 per annum, and this sum was divided between four States and ensured the immunity of the route from raids.* I doubt whether in future £380 a year on Hunza alone will enable us to keep it quiet, and I am sure that the lofty superciliousness with which Chinese officials discuss the Pamir question, as something that scarcely concerns them, is no evidence of that pertinacious power abandoning claims to a suzerainty in those regions which are historically founded, although their exercise has been more by an appeal to imagination of the glorious and invincible, if distant, "Khitái," than by actual interference.

Indeed, it is China alone that has a grievance—against Russia for the occupation of the Alichur Pamir—against Afghanistan for expelling her troops from Somatash (of subsequent Yanoff fame)—and against England for encroaching on her ancient feudatory of Hunza, whose services in suppressing the Khoja rebellion in 1837 are commemorated in a tablet on one of the gates of Yarkand.

NOTE.—We add a reproduction of the photographs of the Mihtar and Badshah Nizam-ul-Mulk, sitting in Council with his uncle, Bahadur Khan, now at Gilgit, where he represented Afzul-ul-Mulk. On the Nizam's left is his foster-uncle, Maimun Shah, whilst behind him stand our Indian Agent, Wafadâr Khan and a Chitrali office-holder, Wazir Khan, of corresponding rank. We also give the portrait of the Chitral Court poet and musician, the celebrated Taighûn Shah, one of whose songs, with its notation, was published in our issue of the 1st of January, 1891. He is seated with the two flute-players who always precede the King of Chitral when on a tour.

* Of the £380, Shignân received £170, Sirikul £100, Wakkan £50, and Hunza £60 in Yambus (silver blocks of the value of £17).





Although the period may be past in which a great English Journal could ask, "*what* is Gilgit?" the contradictory telegrams and newspaper accounts which we receive regarding the countries adjoining Gilgit show that the Press has still much to learn. Names of places, as far apart as Edinburgh and London, are put within a day's march on foot. Names of men figure on maps as places and the relationships of the Chiefs of the region in question are invented or confounded as may suit the politics of the moment, if not the capacity of the printer. The injunctions of the Decalogue are applied or misapplied, extended or curtailed, to suit immediate convenience, and a different standard of morality is constantly being found for our friends of to-day or our foes of to-morrow. The youth Afzul-ul-Mulk was credited with all human virtues and with even more than British manliness, as he was supposed to be friendly to us. He had given his country into our hands in order to receive our support against his elder brother, the acknowledged heir of the late Aman-ul-Mulk of Chitral, but that elder brother, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was no less friendly to English interests, although he has the advantage of being a man of capacity and independence. The sudden death of Aman-ul-Mulk coincided with the presence of our protégé at Chitral, and the first thing that the virtuous Afzul-ul-Mulk did, was to invite as many brothers as were within reach to a banquet when he murdered them. No doubt, as a single-minded potentate, he did not wish to be diverted from the task of governing his country by the performance of social duties to the large circle of acquaintances in brothers and their families which Providence bestows on a native ruler or claimant in Chitral and Yasin. A member of the Khush-waqtia dynasty of Yasin, which is a branch of the Chitral dynasty, told me when I expressed my astonishment at the constant murders in his family: "A real relative in a high family is a person whom God points out to one to kill as an obstacle in one's way, whereas a foster-relative (generally

of a lower class) is a true friend who rises and falls with one's own fortune" (it being the custom for a scion of a noble house to be given out to a nurse.)

The dynasty of Chitral is said to have been established by Baba Ayub, an adventurer of Khorassan. He adopted the already existing name of *Katór*, whence the dynasty is called Katoré. The Emperor Baber refers to the country of Katór in his Memoirs and a still more ancient origin has been found in identifying Katór with "Kitolo, the King of the Great Yuechi, who, in the beginning of the 5th century, conquered Balkh and Gandhara, and whose son established the Kingdom of the Little Yuechi, at Peshawur." (See Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," page 148.) General Cunningham asserts that the King of Chitral takes the title of Shah Kator, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian Kings in the Kabul valley. If Katór is a corruption of Kaisar, then let it not be said that the remnant of the Katoré exclaimed with the Roman gladiator: "Ave, Kaisar-i-Hind, morituri te salutant."

Amán-ul-Mulk, the late ruler of Chitral, was, indeed, a terrible man, who to extraordinary courage joined the arts of the diplomatist. He succeeded his elder brother, surnamed Adam-Khór or "man-eater." His younger brother, Mir Afzul, is said to have been killed by him or to have committed a convenient suicide; another brother, Sher Afzul, who is now in possession of Chitral, was long a fugitive in Badakhshan whence he has just returned with a few Afghans (such as any pretender can ever collect) and a hundred of the Chitrali slaves that used to be given in tribute to the Mir of Badakhshan, which itself never paid a tribute to Kabul before the late Sher Ali of Afghanistan installed Mahmud, Shah, who expelled his predecessor Jehándar Shah, the friend of Abdur-Rahman, the present Amir of Afghanistan. Another brother of Aman-ul-Mulk

was Kokhan Beg, whose daughter married the celebrated Mullah Shahu Baba, a man of considerable influence in Bajaur, who is feared by the Badshah of Kunar (a feudatory of Kabul and a friend of the British) and is an enemy of the Kamôji Kafirs, that infest one of the roads to Chitrál. This Kokhan Beg, who was a maternal uncle of Afzul-ul-Mulk, was killed the other day by his brother Sher Afzul coming from Badakhshan. I mention all this, as in the troubles that are preparing, the ramifications of the interests of the various pretenders are a matter of importance. Other brothers of Aman-ul-Mulk are : Muhammad Ali (Moriki), Yádgar Beg, Shádman Beg and Bahádur Khán (all by a mother of lower degree), and another Bahádur Khán, who was on the Council of Nizám-ul-Mulk. Nizám-ul-Mulk has therefore to contend with one or more of his uncles, and by to-day's telegram* is on his way to the Chitrál Fort in order to expel Sher Afzul with the aid of the very troops that Sher Afzul had sent to turn out Afzul-ul-Mulk's Governor from Yasin. I believe that Nizám-ul-Mulk has or had two elder half-brothers, Gholam of Oyôn and Majid Dastagir of Drôshp; but, in any case, he was the eldest legitimate son and, according to Chitrál custom, was invested with the title of Badshah of Turikoh, the rule of which valley compelled his absence from Chitrál and not "his wicked and intriguing disposition" as alleged by certain Anglo-Indian journals. Of other brothers of Nizám-ul-Mulk was Shah Mulk (of lower birth), who was Governor of Daraung and was killed by Afzul-ul-Mulk. He used to live at Dros (near Pathan in Shashi). Afzul-ul-Mulk of Drasun, whom we have already mentioned as a wholesale fratricide, was killed in his flight to one of the towers of the Chitrál Fort from the invading force of his uncle, Sher Afzul of Badakhshan. A younger half-brother is also Behram-ul-Mulk (by a lower mother), called "Viláyeti," of Moroi in Andarti. Other brothers are : Amin-ul-Mulk, a brother of good birth of Oyôn (Shoghôt), who was reared by a woman of the Zondré or highest class ; Wazîr-ul-Mulk (of low

* *Times*, 5th December, 1892.

birth) of Brôz; Abdur-Rahman (low-born) at Owir (Bar-pèsh), and Badshah-i-Mulk, also of Owir, who was reared by the wife of Fath-Ali Shah. There are no doubt other brothers also whose names I do not know. Murid, who was killed by Sher Afzul, is also an illegitimate brother.

A few words regarding the places mentioned in recent telegrams may be interesting: Shogôth is the name of a village, of a fort, and of a district which is the north-western part of Chitral, and it also comprises the Ludkho and tributary valleys. Through the district is the road leading to the Dara and Nuqsán passes, to the right and left respectively, at the bottom of which is a lake on which official toadyism has inflicted the name of Dufferin in supersession of the local name. Darushp (Drôshp) is another big village in this district and in the Ludkho valley, and Andarti is a Fort in it within a mile of the Kafir frontier. The inhabitants of Shogôth are descendants of Munjanis, whose dialect (Yidgah) I refer to elsewhere, and chiefly profess to be Shiahhs, in consequence of which they have been largely exported as slaves by their Sunni rulers. Baidam Khan, a natural son of Aman-ul-Mulk, was the ruler of it. The Ludkho valley is traversed by the Arkari river which falls into that of Chitral. At the head of the Arkari valley are three passes over the Hindukhush, including the evil-omened "Nuqsán," which leads to Zeibak, the home of the heretical Maulais (co-religionists of the Assassins of the Crusades) in Badakhshán. It is shorter, more direct, and freer from Kafir raids than the longer and easier Dora pass. *Owir* is a village of 100 houses on the Arkari river, and is about 36 miles from Zeibak. *Drasan* is both the name of a large village and of a fort which commands the Turikoh valley, a subdivision of the Drasan District, which is the seat of the heir-apparent to the Chitral throne (Nizám-ul-Mulk). Yet the *Pioneer*, in its issue of the 5th October last, considers that Lord Lansdowne had settled the question of succession in favour of Afzul-ul-Mulk, that Nizám-ul-Mulk would thus be driven to seek Russian aid, but that

any such aid would be an infringement of the rights of Abdur-Rahman. Now that Abdur-Rahman is suspected, on the flimsiest possible evidence, to have connived at Sher Afzul's invasion of Chitral, we seek to pick a quarrel with him for what a few weeks ago was considered an assertion of his rights. Let it be repeated once for always that if ever Abdur-Rahman or Nizám-ul-Mulk, or the Chief of Hunza or Kashmir or Upper India fall into the arms of Russia, it will be *maxima nostra culpa*. I know the Amir Abdur-Rahman, as I knew the Amir Sher Ali, as I know Nizám-ul-Mulk, and of all I can assert that no truer friends to England existed in Asia than these Chiefs. Should Abdur-Rahman be alienated, as Sher Ali was, or Nizám-ul-Mulk might be, it will be entirely in consequence of our meddlesomeness and our provocations. Russia has merely to start a will-o'-the-wisp conversation between Grombcheffsky and the Chief of Hunza, when there is internal evidence that Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, and certainly never went there by the Muztagh Pass, that we, ignoring the right of China and of the treaty with Kashmir in 1846, forgetful of the danger in our rear and the undesirability of paving for an invader the road in front, fasten a quarrel on Hunza-Nagyr, and slaughter its inhabitants. No abuse or misrepresentation was spared in order to inflame the British public even against friendly and inoffensive Nagyr. What wonder that a Deputation was sent from Hunza to seek Russian aid and that it returned contented with presents, and public expressions of sympathy which explained away the Russian official refusal as softened by private assurances of friendship? Whatever may be the disaster to civilization in the ascendancy of Russian rule, the personal behaviour of Russian agents in Central Asia is, generally, pleasant. As in Hunza, so in Afghanistan, some strange suspicion of the disloyalty of its Chief, suggested by Russia, may involve us in a senseless war and inordinate expense, with the eventual result that Afghanistan must be divided between England and Russia, and their frontiers in

Asia become conterminous. Then will it be impossible for England ever to oppose Russia in Europe, because fear of complications in Asia will paralyze her. Then the tenure of India will depend on concessions, for which that country is not yet ripe, or on a reign of terror, either course ending in the withdrawal of British administration from, at any rate, Northern India. Yet it is "*Fas ab hosti doceri*," and when Prince Gortschakoff urged the establishment of a neutral zone with autonomous states, including Badakhshan, he advocated a policy that would have conduced to centuries of peace and to the preservation of various ancient forms of indigenous Oriental civilization by interposing the mysterious blanks of the Pamirs and the inaccessible countries of the Hindukush between Russian and British aggression.

Instead of this consummation so devoutly to be wished, and possible even now, though late, if action be taken under good advice and in the fulness of knowledge, either Power -

"Thus with his stealthy pace
With Tarquim's ravishing strides, towards his design
Moves like a ghost."

If ever the pot called the kettle black, it is the story of Anglo-Russian recriminations. Russian intrigues are ever met by British manœuvres and Muscovite earth-hunger can only be paralleled by English annexations. *Here* a tribe is instigated to revolt, so that its extermination may "rectify a boundary," *there* an illusory scientific frontier is gradually created by encroachments on the territories of feudatories accused of disloyalty, if not of attempts to poison our agents. By setting son against father, brother against brother and, in the general tumult, destroying intervening republics and monarchies, Anglo-Russian dominions are becoming conterminous. Above all

"There's not a one of them but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd."

And it is this unremitting suspicion which is alike the secret of present success and the cause of eventual failure in

wresting and keeping Asiatic countries and of the undying hatred which injured natives feel towards Europeans.

The attempt to obtain the surrender of the Takk fort, and of the Takk valley, a short and easy road to the British District of Kaghán, has merely indicated to Russia the nearest way to India, just as we forced her attention to Hunza and are now drawing it to Chitral. David Urquhart used to accuse us of conspiracy with Russia in foreign politics. Lord Dufferin in his Belfast speech sought the safety of India in his friendship with M. de Giers and his Secretary popularized Russia in India by getting his work on "Russia" translated into Urdu. Certainly the coincidence of Russian as well as British officials being benefited by their respective encroachments, Commissions, Delimitations, etc., would show their "mutual interest" to consist in keeping up the farce of "Cox and Box" in Central Asia, which must end in a tragedy.

As an official since 1855, when I served Her Majesty during the Russian War, I wish to warn the British public against the will-o'-the-wisp of our foreign policy, especially in India. I can conceive that a small, moral and happy people should seek the ascendancy of its principles, even if accompanied by confusion in the camps of its enemies. I can understand that the doctrines of Free Trade, of a free Press, a Parliamentary rule, the Anti-Slavery propaganda and philanthropic enterprises generally, with which the British name is connected, should have been as good as an army to us in every country of the world in which they created a Liberal party, but these doctrines have often weakened foreign Executive Governments, whilst "Free Trade" ruined their native manufacture. What I, however, cannot understand is that a swarming, starving and unhappy population should seek consolation for misery at home in Quixotism abroad, especially when that Quixotism is played out. If bread costs as much now as in 1832, although the price of wheat has fallen from 60s. to 27s. a quarter, it is, indeed, high time that we should lavish no

more blood and treasure on the stones of foreign politics, but that we should first extract the beam from our own eye before we try to take out the mote from the eye of others.

What these foreign politics are worth may be inferred from the growing distrust on the Continent of British meddlesomeness or from what we should ourselves feel if even so kindred a race as the Prussians sought to monopolize British wealth and positions. It would be worse, if they did so without possessing a thorough knowledge of the English language or of British institutions. Yet we are not filled with misgivings when our Indian Viceroys or Secretaries of State cannot speak Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of India or when an Under-Secretary has a difficulty in finding Calcutta on the Map.

India should be governed in the fulness of knowledge and sympathy, not by short cuts. It should not be the preserve of a Class, but the *one* proud boast of its many and varied peoples. When Her Majesty assumed Her Indian title, it was by a mere accident, in which *pars magna fui*, at the last moment, that the Proclamation was translated to those whom it concerned at the Imperial Assemblage. This superciliousness, wherever we can safely show it, the cynical abandonment of our friends, the breach of pledges, the constant experimentalizing on the natives, the mysteriousness that conceals official ignorance, is the enemy to British rule in India, not Russia. A powerful Empire can afford to discard the acts of the weak, and *should* even "show its hand." India should be ruled by a permanent Viceroy, a member of the Royal family, not by one whom the exigencies of party can appoint and shift. When in 1869 the Chiefs and people of the Panjab deputed me to submit their petition that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales be pleased to visit India, it was because they felt that it was desirable in the interests of loyalty to the Throne. If it be true that H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught is going out as the next Viceroy, I can only say that the longer his admirers miss him in England, the better for India, which

requires its best interests to be grouped round a permanent Chief.

Dec. 7th.—As for the wanton aggression on Chilás which never gave us the least trouble, as all our Deputy Commissioners of Abbottabad can testify, it is a sequel of our interference last year with Hunza-Nagyr. The Gilgit Residency has disturbed a peace that has existed since 1856 and now continues in its suicidal policy of indicating and paving the nearest military road to British territory to an invader. In November 1891 I wrote of the possibility of driving even the peaceful, if puritanical, Chilásis into aggression and now the *Times* telegraphs the cock-and-bull story of the raft, enlarged in to-day's *Times* telegram into an attack of the Chilási tribesmen aided by those of Darél (another newly-created foe) on our convoy proceeding from Bunji the extreme frontier of Kashmir according to the treaty of 1846—to Dr. Robertson's Camp at (now) Talpenn (spelt "Thalpin" in the telegram) and (then) Gôr, with, of course, the inevitable result of the victory of the heroism of rifles against a few old muskets and iron wrist-bands (which the Chilásis use in fighting).

There are still other realms to conquer for our heroes. There is the small Republic of Talitsha of 11 houses; there is Chilás itself which admits women to the tribal Councils and is thus in advance even of the India Office and of the Supreme Council of the Government of India; there is the Republic of Muhammadan learning, Kandíá, that has not a single fort; there is, of course, pastoral Dareyl; there are the Koli-Palus tribes, agricultural Tangir and other little Republics. Soon may we hear of acts of "treachery," "disloyalty," etc. from Hôdur and Sazin, till we shoot down the supposed offenders with Gatlings and destroy the survivors with our civilization. I humbly protest against these tribes being sacrificed to a mistaken Russophobia. I have some claim to be heard. I discovered and named Dardistan and am a friend of its peoples. Although my life was attempted more than once by agents

of the Maharaja of Kashmir, I was the means of saving that of his Commander-in-Chief, Zoraweru, when on his Dareyl expedition. This is what the Gilgit Doctor did in 1866 and what the Gilgit Doctor should do in 1892. This is how friendship for the British name was, and should be, cemented, and not by shedding innocent blood or by acts worthy of *agents provocateurs*.

As for the "*toujours perdrix*" of the Afghan advance from Asmár (*Times*, December 8th) it is better than the telegram in the *Standard* of the 2nd December 1892, in which the Amir makes Sher Afzul Ruler of Kafiristan, a country that has yet to be conquered, and which says "Consequently there is now no buffer-state between Afghanistan and the Pamirs"!! "Goods carried from India to Russian Turkestan, through Chitrál and *Kafiristan*, will pay *duty to the Amir*." Such journalistic forecasts and geography are inevitable when full and faithful official information, such as it is, is, in a free country, not obtainable by Parliament, the Press, and the Public. Reuter's Central Asian Telegrams, though meagre, are more correct than those of certain correspondents of the *Times* and *Standard*.

Dec. 9th.—Dr. Robertson has, at last, entered Chilás, and found it deserted. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, The *Times* Correspondent now admits that Chilás has no connexion with Chitrál, but he still gives us "Tangail" for "Tangir," and omits the name of the member of the ex-royal family of Yasin, who is supposed to have stirred up against us the tribes of Darel and "Tangail," among whom he has resided for years. This is one of the Khush-waqtias, though not the loyal chief to whom I have referred, and who has rendered us good service. So we have now an excuse for entering Tangir also. In the meanwhile, the Russian *Svet* points out that the Russians "would only have to march some 250 miles along a good road to enter Cashmere," "since it is impossible to invade India *viâ* Afghanistan." Yet are we nibbling at the Amir

Abdurrahman, whose troops merely occupy the *status quo ante* at Asmar, confronted by Umra Khan on the other side of the Kuner river. We are forgetting the lessons of the Afghan campaigns, and especially that, although Abdurrahman allowed himself to be proclaimed by us, in his absence, as Amir, he marched in at one side of Kabul, whilst we marched out at the other. We forget that, with the whole country against us in a revived Jehád, with the discontent among our native troops and with a crushing expenditure, we preferred a political fiasco in order to avoid a still greater military fiasco. The Russians also urge "the construction of a military road on their side from Marghelan across the Pamirs" leaving us to finish it for them on our side of the Hindukush. The pretension to Wakhan, however, is already disposed of in Prince Gortchakoff's Convention with Lord Granville in 1872, and no notice need be taken of the preposterous claim of the *Ser* to place Chitral under a Russian protectorate! Thus have we sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. Our real defence of India lies, as Lord Lawrence ever held, in its good government, and to this I would respectfully add, in justice to its Chiefs, wherever they have a legitimate grievance. Mere speeches of Viceroys, unaccompanied by acts, will not convince them of our "good intentions." It is also not by emasculating the Dard tribes and breaking down their powers of resistance to the level of Slaves to the British, that we can interpose an effectual barrier to the invading Myriads of Slavs that threaten the world's freedom. By giving to the loyalty of India the liberty which it deserves, on the indigenous bases that it alone really understands and in accordance with the requirements of the age, we can alone lead our still martial Indian Millions in the defence of the Roman Citizenship which should be the reward of their chivalrous allegiance to the Queen.

G. W. LEITNER.

P.S.—15 Dec. 1892. The just cause of Nizám-ul-Mulk appears to have triumphed. Sher Afzul is said to have

fled. So far Chitrál. As for Chilás, the people have come to Dr. Robertson's Camp and express friendliness.

LETTERS FROM MIHTAR NIZAM-UL-MULK TO DR. LEITNER:

My kind and true friend and dear companion, may you know :

That before this, prompted by excess of friendship and belief in me, you had written to me a letter of sincerity full of pleasing precepts and words of faithfulness. These were received and caused joy to my heart. My true friend, whatever words of faith and sincere regard there were, these have been written in my mind. For I am one of your disciples and well-wishers here, and have no other care but that of serving and well-wishing my friends. My heart sorrows at separation from friends, but there is no remedy except resignation. *As I consider your stay there [in London] as my own stay, I hope from your friendship that you have expressed words of my well-being and my sincerity towards the Lord Bahadur and the Great Queen and thus performed the office of friendship and caused joy there.* Another request is that if you have found a good dog like "Zulu," when you come to Delhi please send it to Jumnoo. My men are there, and shall bring it to me. Further, the volume of papers on the customs of Chitrál and the old folk-tales have been written partly in Persian and partly in the Chitrári language. We are frontier and village people, and are deficient in intelligence and eloquence. They have not been very well done, and I don't know if they will please you or not. But we have no better eloquence or practice as we are hillmen.

Tuesday 11th Shavval 1304 despatched from Turikoh to London.

The standard of affection and friendship, the foundation-stone of kindness and obligation, my friend, may his kindness increase !

After expressing the desire of your joy-giving meeting be it known to your kind self, that the condition of *this* your faithful friend is such as to call for thanks to the Almighty. The safety and good health of *that* friend [yourself] is always wished for. As you had sent me several volumes of bound papers to write on them the customs of the Chitrari people and their folk-tales, partly in Persian and partly in Chitrari language, I have in accordance with this request of *that* true friend got them written partly in Persian and partly in Chitrari and sent to you. Inshallah, they will reach you, but I do not know whether they will please you or not ; in any case you know, that whatever may be possible to do by a faithful friend or by his employes I will do, with the help of God, if you will forgive any faulty execution of your wishes, and continue to remember me for any services in my power, and keep me informed continually of your good health so as to dispel my anxiety. The condition here is of all news the best, as no new event has happened ; but three persons, wayfarers and travellers, have come from Wakhan to Mastuch and two of these persons I have sent on to Chitrar, and one of these wanderers has remained (behind) at Mastuch. They don't know anybody. Sometimes they say we are Russians, and sometimes they say we are Frenchmen. And I with my own eye have not seen them. If I had seen them, they might have told me. Another desire is that you send me something worth reading in English words and write opposite to them their translation into Persian, so that it may be a pleasure and useful to me. I have another request to make which is that you may be pleased to give an early fulfilment to your kind promise of visiting Chitrar with your lady for the purpose of sight-seeing and sport and study. I have been waiting ever since for your arrival. It is really only right that you should come now when the weather is very delightful, game is abundant, and I have made every arrangement for our hunting together. Everything is tranquil and you will be able to return before the winter, greatly pleased. Let this become a fact. The writer Sirdar Nizam-ul-Mulk, Tuesday the 11th of Shevval, from Turikoh to London. May it be received !

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL STANDPOINT.

I WILL endeavour to appeal to European thought by European methods of expression in explanation of what I believe to be the true Chinese feeling on the question of Opium.

The theory of Chinese officialism is, like that of most officialisms, high-minded, and therefore against the cultivation at home, or the importation from abroad, of Opium. The practice is one of inevitable toleration. The Chinese Government, as matters *now* stand, cannot suppress the growth of Opium, even if it would do so.

A certain percentage of the people—officially admitted at one per cent. of the population, but now growing to the alleged five per cent.—have always smoked Opium in China.

There has not been any deterioration in the mind or body of these few millions in our numerous population. Just as the far more harmful spirits do not in one or two generations destroy Scotchmen or Europeans generally, but at once destroy Red Indians, so is Opium innocuous, except in cases of abuse, with the civilized Chinese and fatal to savage Kacheens. In the meanwhile, many more Oriental races are being destroyed by European drinks, the export of which even to Africa Lord Salisbury would not stop.

India does not consume much Opium, and has never done so. It takes—perhaps a larger percentage than China on Opium—various preparations of Indian hemp, which are as destructive to the moral sense and to the nerves as is too much whisky to the non-Briton. The Indian Government supervise the manufacture of hemp and tax it heavily, but take no part in its sale, and if, may a foreigner be permitted to suggest, they were similarly only to prevent the adulteration of Opium, without being

themselves indirect growers and direct sellers, no one could complain of the immorality, or rather impropriety, of an Imperial Government "taking to business" or rather taking over a business of the defunct East India Company.

Missionaries complain that the importation of Opium under the auspices of a Christian Government—or rather by traders who happen to profess some form of Christianity, as they would Buddhism if they had been born in Tibet—impedes the growth of the religion of Jesus. I do not find much similarity between the doctrine and practice of European Christians and those of that Great Oriental leader. Were Missionaries to understand and appreciate the basis of Chinese morality—filial piety—they would make more converts, but a Chinese must first blunt his sense of right and wrong—with or without Opium—before he can accept Christianity as taught, with some exceptions, by Missionaries. Were they to become good Chinese citizens instead of being causes or excuses for foreign intervention, their propaganda would not be objectionable to the popular mind. I have sometimes asked Missionaries to point out the Opium-smoker in a party of Chinamen, and I have never known them to guess the right person. The photographs in circulation of consumptive or other diseased persons who happen to take Opium are not truthful representations of the effect of Opium generally.

The quality of China Opium is steadily improving, and in some districts nearly rivals that of India. The Chinese Government neither encourages nor prevents its growth, and *now* would not, if it could, stop its importation. As English officialism does not recognise a social evil which is rampant, so the Chinese Government does not legalize by its own action the cultivation, transport and sale of Opium.

As long as China constitutes the demand for that drug, so long will India be its supply, either under official or under heavily-taxed private commercial auspices. To talk

of the iniquity of the Opium-trade—except that it is against the prestige of an Imperial Government—seems to me to be absurd, as long as he who desires to extract the mote out of the Indian or the Chinese eye, does not even see the beam in his own.

A lengthened tour through the material civilizations of Europe makes one sigh for a speedy return to the far more thoroughly thought-out culture of the Celestial Empire. When spirits will have completely undermined the nations of Europe, China will still smoke its modicum of Opium.

To conclude. Opium in China is not harmful, if its smoker can get the sleep that is required after its use. Opium does not suit the fussy life of Western civilization, its will-o'-the-wisp morality, its tadpole ambitions, its social want of cohesion, its incessant excitement, discontent and despair. An Opium-smoker does no harm to others. This alone would render Opium unsuitable to Europeans. An Opium-smoker rises from his sleep fit for work or thought. He feels no loss of self-respect, and he respects others. In the uttermost corners of the Empire, among the most savage races, the Chinese official, with his small escort, keeps peace and the dignity of his office, even if addicted to the use of the drug. Above all, Opium is not favourable to the development of greed, whereas that passion is stimulated by drink, and therefore almost a necessity to the Western exploiter of the East. When inferior Indian tea, which is more harmful than Opium, and for which the Indian cultivator gets one anna or three halfpence a pound, can be sold in London for a shilling, no wonder that there is so much enthusiasm for "commerce, civilization, and [so-called] Christianity." •

X.

JAPAN AND HER CONSTITUTION.

By F. T. PIGGOTT (LATE LEGAL ADVISER TO THE JAPANESE CABINET.)

II.

EXTERRITORIALITY : ITS RESCISSION WITH REGARD TO
PORTUGAL.

SINCE the publication of my first article on the Japanese Constitution an event of no little importance to the relations of Japan with the Western Powers has occurred which naturally claims notice in my present contribution. After a series of diplomatic incidents which I should imagine was quite unique in the history of the intercourse between nations, Japan has rescinded the exterritorial clauses of the Treaty with Portugal. Paragraphic comments duly appeared at the time the telegram was received : they were not, it is needless to say, altogether complimentary to Japan. The information was meagre : but the denunciation of a Treaty was a subject which editorial pens could not pass over : there has always, moreover, been a lurking suspicion in some quarters that Japan would sooner or later cut the Gordian knot of treaty-revision by denunciation : and therefore the burden of the newsman's song was easily to be foreseen :—Japan had begun to do what it was always thought she would do, and she has craftily begun with the weakest Power first. But,—and this is so typical of the attention which Europe pays to Eastern affairs,—since the facts have been published, which led Japan to take the course she did, little attention has been paid to the matter. It was not an affair of gunboats, and so it was quite unnecessary to say anything more about it. And yet apart from the question involved, it was a matter of extraordinary importance. It was the first time that an Oriental nation had imposed its will on a Western State. The memory of man bears witness to a long series of precedents of precisely the opposite character. The history of what took place—negociation is a term that can hardly be

applied to its later stages—is interesting. Portugal, for many years after the Treaty had been signed, failed to appoint, as she was obviously bound to do, Consuls with the necessary jurisdiction over her subjects in Japan, failed to take her share of keeping the Emperor's peace within his borders. Not till 1886 was any semblance of a proper appointment made, and its insufficiency was almost immediately and amply demonstrated. A theft committed by a Portuguese subject at Nagasaki went unpunished. The Portuguese Vice-Consul at the Treaty Port had no jurisdiction at all; the Consul at the Capital had no jurisdiction beyond the limits of Tokyo. In 1887, consequent upon the urgent representation of Japan, and after twenty-seven years of delay, Portugal performed her part of the contract by investing her Consul-General and Vice-Consuls with a certain amount of authority. Four years afterwards, in 1891, without any formal notification to that effect to Japan, the Consulate-General in Tokyo was suppressed by Royal decree. With the destruction of the head, the body obviously died too. The Vice-Consuls of Portugal did not stand in the same position as those of other nations: they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Consul-General in Tokyo, but this superintending jurisdiction was not merely by way of appeal, for cases of minor importance only were left to the Vice-Consuls; in cases of great gravity occurring at the Treaty Ports, the Consul-General was instructed to attend to the matter himself. Japan had insisted, in 1887, that judicial officers should be appointed at the Treaty Ports: Portugal had replied that the appointments should be conferred only on persons endowed with due qualities for the good fulfilment of their functions. The terms of the request and of its answer did not correspond. Finally, *exequaturs* were never accorded to these Vice-Consuls: they seem, therefore, in the manner both of their appointment by Portugal, and of their reception by Japan, never to have been regarded as other than deputies of the Consul-General. The result, therefore, of the suppression of the

office of Consul-General was that the jurisdiction of the Vice-Consuls was gone; and, in spite of the negotiations which had led up to their establishment, it seemed more than probable that the old and wretchedly insufficient system of merchant-consuls was about to be restored. Two communications from the Japanese Government requesting that the matter should be reconsidered were answered by the Government at Lisbon to the effect that the request of Japan should receive proper consideration; but on the 23rd of March, the day following the date of the last despatch, a further despatch was sent to the Portuguese Consul-General confirming the suppression of his office, and ordering him to leave Tokyo. A telegram was sent to Lisbon declaring that if the suppression of the office were persisted in it would be viewed by the Japanese Government as an abrogation of the extraterritorial privileges which had been granted to Portugal under the Treaty. On June 14th, after the departure of the Consul-General, a second telegram was sent to Lisbon giving notice that Japan would resume her jurisdiction if no action was taken by Portugal by July 1st. Portugal replied that an answer would be given in due course. Finally, a fortnight's grace having been allowed, his Majesty the Emperor terminated an incident for which, as I think, diplomatic language provides no term, and issued an ordinance declaring that the privilege of extraterritoriality for Portuguese subjects had ceased to exist, and that thenceforward they would come under Japanese jurisdiction.

Was Japan justified? The answer to this question is to be found in Lord Aberdeen's memorandum for the guidance of her Majesty's Consular servants in the Levant with reference to the exercise of jurisdiction under the Order in Council of June 19, 1844. The instructions were issued by the Foreign Office on July 2nd of that year. After emphasizing the fact that the right to exercise the Queen's foreign jurisdiction depends on the concession from the Sovereign with whom the Treaty has been entered into, and that their exercise is strictly limited to the terms in which the

concession is made : and that to make the system effective reliance must evidently be put in the community placed under it, the Foreign Secretary proceeds, "For if Her Majesty's Government are obliged to abandon any attempt to place British jurisdiction in Turkey on a sound footing, the Porte may reasonably require that a jurisdiction shall be renounced which is not enforced, but the nominal existence of which is incompatible with the security of society at large." There appears to me to be no room to question the soundness of the principle, nor of its application to the state of affairs into which the Portugal question had been allowed to drift.

The question is not inserted in this consideration of the Constitution merely by way of parenthesis : it is intimately connected with it, as indeed is the whole subject of the extritorial Treaties. Without entering on the much-debated ground of the Revision of the Treaties, I confess that there are difficulties in the way of Consular Jurisdiction subsisting constitutionally in a country which is governed under a Constitution. It may be answered that if this proposition be true any Eastern country could get rid of its fetters by promulgating a Constitution. It may be that this is so : but then Constitutions are not promulgated every day. The administration of law in the name of the Emperor is not the least of the difficulties. And in the same way, to any scheme of revision which included foreign judges the Constitution interposed the insuperable objection that, under the 19th Article, the right to civil and military offices is vested in Japanese subjects, and in them alone. But where, as in the case of Portugal, the duty of administering justice which extritorial privileges impose upon a foreign State is not attended to, and has been suffered to lapse, the right of Japanese subjects to the protection of the law is immediately infringed, and the Sovereign is in duty bound to put matters once more on a satisfactory footing. The administration of the law, according to the law, has a double aspect : it affects both those who break the

duties which the law imposes on them, and those whose rights are granted and protected by it. Under the peculiar system of extritoriality, in cases where foreigners and Japanese are concerned, and the Japanese is the plaintiff or the prosecutor, his rights are determined not by the law of Japan at all but by the law of the defendant's country. It is a juristic anomaly, but it is one which must be ruthlessly swept away directly the machinery for putting this alien law into force has grown rusty, or falls so out of repair that it will not work. The duties which the King of Portugal had undertaken towards Japanese subjects were not performed : the duty of the Emperor of Japan arose at once to restore his subjects to the protection of their own law in all their dealings with, or grievances against, Portuguese subjects residing in Japan. If I may venture on a prophecy, I do not think that the Portuguese subjects in Japan will come to any harm, or have any cause to regret the consequences of the inaction of their own Government.

It has been rumoured that, since the Imperial decree, an attempt has been made to get Japan to consent to a revival of the extinct privileges of Portuguese subjects, the jurisdiction being exercised by the representative of the French Republic. Japan has refused ; and the homely proverbs which indicate so truly the course usually adopted by human beings after the first bite and the first burn, apply for once to higher matters, and amply justify the course which Japan has adopted.

(To be continued.)

UGANDA.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* to write on this subject: though painfully familiar with it I hesitated to do so: the volcano of public sentimentality must burn itself out: the people of England have passed into one of their periodical paroxysms of madness: some years back there was just such another about Gordon of Khartum. A wise old man in the middle ages wrote as follows: "Sine insanum vulgum facere quod vult, nam vult facere quod vult." "Let the foolish world do what it wishes, for it wishes to do what it wishes."

In the decision of the Government of the Country announced in the *Times* of this day November 24, 1892, I hail the sign of returning common-sense, and sobriety of thought.

"It has been resolved by the Government not to interfere with the evacuation of Uganda by the Imperial British East Africa Company on the 31st of March, 1893, but at once to send out a Commissioner of their own with a sufficient native escort for the purpose of reporting on the actual state of affairs in Uganda, and the best means of dealing with the country."

This practically defers the final decision until after Parliament has met: it will give time to those, who with imperfect information have rushed into the subject, to mature their knowledge: Bishops, Deans, Assistant-Masters in Public Schools, leading-article-writers, country clergymen, members of Chambers of Commerce, enthusiasts, fanatics: many of these did not know six months ago where Uganda was: a year hence, if some terrible disaster, like that of the fall of Khartúm, or the defeat of Majúba Hill, were the result of our premature occupation of this inland mountainous country, they would deny all responsibility: the policy proposed is one of the gravest problems of this century: let it be thought out, free from rodomontade, bunkum, semi-religious humbug, on its mérits. I shall strive

to maintain a cold judicial attitude in these remarks :—It is not a Missionary or a Commercial question, but a National one.

Let me enumerate the different motives, urged by different individuals in Public Meetings or letters to the Press.

I. The honour of Great Britain.

II. The continuity of moral policy.

III. The suppression of the Slave-Trade and Slavery.

IV. The opening out of new markets, and a vast field to British Commerce.

V. The annexation, *with the consent of the Native Sovereign*, and his Pagan and Mahometan subjects, of a country half as large as Europe, healthy, fertile, suitable not only for residence of Europeans as in British India, but for colonisation, as in South Africa.

VI. The risk of other Powers, German, Italian, Portuguese, and French, grasping at this "Pearl of Africa," if the British failed to lay their hands on it at once.

VII. The prospect of the cultivation of coffee, tea, cotton and other tropical products ; the existence of animal wealth in the form of Ivory, and of mineral wealth untold.

VIII. The awful consequence of the Briton failing at this conjuncture to discharge his Imperial Mission viz., civil war, murder, massacre—such as, in the opinion of H.M.'s Consul-General at Zanzibar, Sir G. Portal, *the world has never known the like*.

IX. Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches, and of the Church of Rome.

X. Protection of the Native Christian Churches, from the intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan.

XI. The establishment of Protestant Government, under which in the opinion of one of the Missionaries who has come from Uganda, the future would be very bright.

XII. *The maintenance of sacred treaties, extorted from a king, who was one of the basest of men, who had killed an English Bishop, had been nominally both a Protestant,*

and a Roman Catholic, who was admitted to be a murderer, on the ground that in the interest of the subjects of this king it would be shameful to abandon them.

XIII. The occupation of the Head-waters of the Nile, presenting a strategic position unequalled in the world.

XIV. The whole New Testament has been translated into the language of Uganda.

XV. In the plan of the Creator of the world Africa was created for the benefit, and the vile uses, of the people of Europe: the Negro, being only partially removed from the position of his near relation, the anthropoid ape, has no right to independence, political freedom, or the use of his own customs: he was placed in Africa to be cut down and plundered by geographical explorers, to be debauched by the importers of European and American liquors, to be shot down by European Maxim guns and rifles, to be encouraged to internecine tribal warfare by a liberal importation of gunpowder, and lethal weapons.

Let us calmly consider all these points, neither from the fanatical semi-religious point of view, nor from the selfish commercial point of view, but from the point of view of experience.

I. "The honour of Great Britain." "Scuttling" is said to be "dishonourable": let us take care that we do not *scuttle* our own ship by overloading it: in the case of a European war, our position is already very insecure. Is it honourable to invade with a military force and conquer a Nation, which has never given us any cause of umbrage? We read in Pope's "Homer" Achilles' angry exclamation:

"What cause have I to war at thy decree?
The distant Trojans never injured me."

The Uganda lamb has never injured the British wolf: the Scotch fought the English for their own Mountains: the Irish are crying out for National independence. The English race, whose glory it is to have never had its towns occupied by a foreign force, should be merciful to the poor

African : what then is the real motive of this cry ? The earth greed of the comfortable English middle classes : the possession of large ships and big battalions breeds a lust of annexation, a " Jingo " feeling—the old cry of the Roman people—

" Panem et Circenses,"

and new triumphs strutting down the Sacred way. Instead of attending to the sorrows and wants of their own poorer classes in their great cities, the comfortable middle classes are desirous to control the filthy opium-smoking appetites of the Chinese, to enforce the remarriage of Hindu widows, to compel the Chinese women to have their feet free from ligaments ; and lastly to anticipate possible civil war in Uganda, they would let loose the dogs of war : the honour of England is represented by Maxim guns imported to cut down the African converts of French Roman Catholics : Jingo expeditions of this kind are promoted by the same sense of honour, which in the last generation caused duels with sword and pistol. There will be a certain Nemesis : it is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant.

II. " The continuity of moral policy " : this is lawful and good, but we must not do evil, that good may come : by all means by lawful means repress the Slave-trade, stop the importation of liquors, and lethal weapons ; what can be more incontinently immoral than the unjustifiable annexation of an independent Kingdom, and the slaughter of poor Africans by Maxim guns ? the less that Morality is talked about, since the agents of the East African Company entered Uganda the better.

III. The Suppression of the Slave Trade. My previous knowledge of the country made me very sceptical on this subject : every speaker, and every writer introduced it like a schoolboy's tag to his verses. The Rev. Horace Waller, an admitted authority for many years, spoke as follows at the Deputation to the Foreign Office on the 20th October 1892 of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society :

“So that at the present moment, I think, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, however bad the Slave-trade might have been in Uganda, at present it is not allowed. (Hear, hear.) I think, my Lord, I have detected an anxiety on your part, owing to what has taken place at other meetings, to know if there are any great Slave routes from Uganda to the coast. It has been the duty of the Society, with which I have the honour to work, to make all the investigations possible on that point, and I can only say that we know of no routes—routes, in the proper sense of the word. The whole of the East Coast of Africa oozes with the Slave-trade. There is not a creek, there is not a man who owns a dhow, that does not know something of this atrocious trade; but to talk of a collection of Slaves taking place in Uganda in order that they may be marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, as they are in the Portuguese dominions on the East Coast of Africa, is speaking beside the fact altogether. One must speak the truth, and it will do no harm here if, in parentheses, I say there has been, to a certain extent, a Slave route, and that one does exist at the present moment; but when Slaves are seen going through that country in large numbers I am ashamed to say that it is very often for the purpose of taking provisions from Mombasa to the British East Africa Company’s headquarters in Uganda. It has been known to your Lordship, and all those who are present here, that there has been a downward pouring of Slaves—not many of them; but in times past, when Mr. Stanley took away from Zanzibar a very large number of Slaves indeed, and brought his remnant back, those Slaves came down along what we may call, if you like, a Slave route, to go back to their Slave labour. Such is the state of things at the present moment; and again, I say, it is best for us to look these facts in the face if we are to try and put our heads together and lay the thing before Her Majesty’s Government in such a shape that they may be able to deal with the question of the Slave-trade.

“With regard to the railway, I am not sanguine enough to suppose for one moment that that railway will make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa. Slaves at the present moment are teeming in our protectorate of Zanzibar.”

Lord Rosebery in his reply to the Deputation spoke as follows :

“The extent of the question was pointed out by Mr. Waller in his speech, perhaps more extensively than I could do it by any words of mine. He recommended a railroad that would cost two and a half millions; but he himself said that it would not be a great anti-Slavery agency, and he pointed out that, whereas we had acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in exchange for an important British possession, in the hope of civilising those countries, Slavery flourished largely there. And he further pointed this out, that, whereas, with the view of developing British influence in our sphere, we had handed over, to a very large extent, our responsibilities to a chartered company, yet that Slavery flourished in the very employment of that chartered company. Now, these are not my representations;

they are the representations of a member of the Deputation, and I only allude to them to point out to you, how very large is the question to which you have invited my attention."

It may be safely asserted that any allusion to the Slave Trade in connection with the annexation of Uganda was only by way of aggravation: of course a Railway and European occupation, will sensibly *but indirectly*, sound the knell of Slavery and the Slave Trade, but the prominent place given to this great curse both in the discussions this autumn, and in the debate of the House of Commons last Session, was quite unjustified by facts.

IV. "The opening out of new markets." A most desirable object, and a legitimate one; but why select a country seven hundred miles from the Sea at a height of four thousand feet above sea-level, with no well established trade route, and no means of transport except Slave-labour, especially as this country is inhabited by a people in a low state of culture without a single market town, or masonry house, to whom a sheet appears to be the only garment, if we can judge from the illustrated literature sedulously circulated by the Missionary Society? If we can judge from the accounts of Henry Stanley and Carl Peters, the progress of a Caravan is only accomplished by acts of cruelty, flogging, shooting, etc. etc.: Has the Chamber of Commerce thought out the details of such commerce? liquor, gunpowder, fire-arms, would be the most acceptable articles: the chief leader of the existing caravans is a white man, who some years ago went out as a Missionary, and now cohabits with a black woman, and goes backwards and forwards, commanding a party of what Mr. Horace Waller calls "technical slaves": Let it be recorded to his honour, that he neither flogs, nor murders, and pays his porters their wages as agreed upon.

V. "The annexation of a large country to the British dominions with the *consent of the people*, healthy, fertile, suitable for residence and colonisation of Europeans." It is situated on the Equator: that great astronomical line in its course round the world traverses Sumatra, Borneo, and

the Celebes in Asia ; Ecuador, and North Brazil in South America ; the Gabún territory on the West Coast of Africa, Albert and Victoria Nyanza in Central Africa : one of the Missionaries describes Uganda as the "country of graves" : if we had a list of the French and English Missionaries, who have succumbed during the last fifteen years, we should be appalled : No European woman has yet penetrated to this country, so infant-life has never come into existence : Captain Lugard is light-hearted enough to certify the fitness of the country for European civilisation. He describes it as an elevated table-land offering all the conditions for a prosperous European settlement : he quotes freely "everybody, who knows the country." But who does know it ? his letter reads like that of a prospectus writer of a Company : he has a foregone conclusion : he has repeated it to so many ignorant people at so many meetings, that he is beginning to believe it himself : he wants somebody to provide the money, and entrust him with the spending : the morality of the transaction, the possible failure, and the danger—are all kept in the background.

It is a field, he says, for Emigrants, for the localization of European colonists : he specially recommends the Highlands of Kikuyn : they are several hundred miles East of Uganda : they afford a climate healthy and bracing : the temperature is that of Europe, and the nights and days very often are cold indeed : he does not state the season of the year, during which he paid his visit : then he suggests immigration into these Regions of Hindus from British India ; why not try Arabs from Arabia, and Sudanese, and Abyssinians, and Somali, to join the happy family in these blessed regions, which another writer describes as entirely void of all inhabitants ?

I quote lines from the *Times* with regard to the regions of Nyasa and Blantyre far to the South of Uganda with a far better climate :

"Mr. Thompson is far too cautious, *and much too well*

informed, to maintain that on this splendid plateau (Blantyre) Europeans can settle as colonists, as they do in Canada and the Cape."

Then as to the consent of the people : did any of them ever know of the arrangement? Mr. Carl Peters, the German adventurer, had *with the help of the French Priests*, only a short time before made similar arrangements : is it the least likely that the Mahometans and Pagans, and, the men who aspire to authority, approved of it? without asking for a regular plebiscite some proof is required before the consent of the people, an African people, is put forward. If we do occupy the country it will be by brute force, by having at our command rifles and Maxim guns, by the service of the Sudanese troops left behind by Emin Pasha, described by Mr. Horace Waller in his address to Lord Rosebery, as "versed in all acts of atrocity : no men despise human life more than they do." In the war with our Colonies in North America last century the great Earl Chatham denounced the employment of the Red Indian in our wars : we shall appear to have fallen lower in "our moral continuity," if we employ the black Sudanese in the work of enslaving the Waganda.

VI. "The risk of another Power stepping in." The very fact, that in this argument the Portuguese are mentioned, who cannot occupy their own hinter-land, shows the absurdity ; the Germans and Italians are bound by treaty to their own limits, and will be taxed to the utmost of their strength to fulfil their task, and are more afraid of us than we of them : As for the French their name is merely added by way of aggravation. The whole of the Kongo Independent State intervenes between the French and English Spheres : Lake Chad is the object of French fond aspirations : the case for annexation was so weak, that a grain of old Gallophobia was thrown in to rouse public feeling more effectually, a little more yeast to make the bread rise.

In the pages of the *Record* I find extreme jealousy

expressed at the very idea of French influence appearing in Abeokuta or Yoruba-land, on the West Coast, as it would jeopardize the work of the British Protestant Mission there: really, if the British work has taken such little root, not much will be lost: centuries of English domination have never extinguished the Roman Church in Ireland. In the same leader I find objection to the occupation of East Africa by the Germans, and the possibility of Bishop Smythies having to teach German in his Mission Schools. In fact, British Insularity and Superciliousness wishes to have its own way East and West, and to get rid of all other Nations.

VII. "The prospect of tropical products, stores of ivory, mineral wealth of all kinds." No one can say that in a country, of which we know so little, such things may not exist—or *be made to exist*: At one of the public Meetings Mr. Alfred Spicer, a not very sanguine speaker, remarked, that such good things might not be available *now*, but that *our great grand-children* would have the advantage of this. When it is recollected, that the first and main motive is the Missionary question, that the chief promoters of the movement are the Missionary Societies, when one comes to tea, coffee, sugar, and bananas, one is irresistibly reminded of the well-known cry of the sellers of fruit at Smyrna—

"In the name of the Prophet Figs."

VIII. "The awful consequence to the Waganda of the British Nation abandoning a country, into which they had without rhyme or reason entered." I really can find no evidence of this danger: Before Mr. Jackson and Captain Lugard arrived, the British and French factions had coalesced, had restored the King Mwanga to his throne, and divided among themselves all the high offices: Captain Lugard writes distinctly, that on his arrival he found that a feud existed between the French and English parties, *headed by their Missionaries*: he took sides with the English, and we know the consequences. We are not

responsible for the consequences of feuds among the inhabitants of Lake Tanganyika, Lake Albert, Lake Victoria, or Lake Chad: who made us rulers and arbitrators among these independent people? The Picts and Scots, the British and the Norsemen, the Normans and the English, had their time of fighting, when the Romans left England. We can leave this pretence of interference with an easy conscience. Ever since we left Afghanistan the tribes have been fighting with each other. Things are much worse in the Sudan: why do we not interfere there from Cairo and Suakim as our two bases, we have the very real shame of Khartúm to wipe out, and an access by water all the way, which we have already traversed.

IX. "Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome." Let us think for a moment what could have happened to the Missionaries, who now cry out like children, that have been hurt owing to their own misconduct, if they had belonged to any other Nation but Great Britain or France. The American citizens of the United States must have made the best of it, as it is the fixed policy of the States to have no political entanglements East of the Atlantic. The American Government does indeed send war ships to bully the natives of Mikronesia in the South Sea Islands, but nothing beyond. The Emperor of Austria has submitted to the sad imprisonment of his poor Monks and Nuns at Khartúm and El Obed in the Sudan. Italy and Spain would not have ventured on such an expedition, even if the Pope himself, the poor prisoner of the Vatican, had got into a real prison in Uganda. Russia would have left her Greek Priests to stew in their own juice: we very much doubt whether Protestant Germany would have been induced to send an expedition to extricate German Missionaries, who went without leave, and against advice and warning. As for Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, all which countries are represented in the African Mission Field, they would have

patiently suffered hardship like good soldiers, have put up with the spoiling of their goods, and died at their post, as British and French Missionaries also have been in the habit of doing *in other countries and past decades*: their cry has always been :

“ Do anything rather than avenge my death ! do anything rather than invade with military forces my adopted country ! do not shed innocent blood, and place a free people under hated foreign domination, on the pretence of preaching the Gospel of Peace, putting an end to domestic slavery, and opening a new market for spirits and Manchester goods, and introducing European bad habits worse than barbarism.”

Such would be the cry of the real Missionaries, and such has been until the present lamentable occurrence the practice : if the British and French Missionaries remain at Uganda, will the memory of the Maxim-gun, and the slaughter of Africans be forgotten ? If Augustine had landed in Kent and acted in this way, should we have ever forgotten it ? It is distressing to think, how much the prejudice against foreign Missions among so many classes of the British Community, and which is so painfully evident, will be increased by the exhibition of the fighting tendencies, and annexation-appetites, of the Evangelical sections of the Church during the last three months : the noise of religious and quasi-religious Meetings can only be compared to the barking of dogs at night, who bark when they hear other dogs bark : they know not why : it means nothing : secular political Meetings mean something very real, but demonstrations of semi-religious matters from the platform and pulpit read more like the scolding of women. If attempts to evangelize a heathen nation are to be the first step to, and closely connected with, annexation of Provinces, enslaving of free Nationalities, destroying them with artillery, burning their houses down : if Arnott, when he penetrated to Garenganze is but the herald, and forerunner, of gallant Captains, better far that the attempts should not be

made : all the froth about civilization is cant and hypocrisy : if a Mahometan had done it, no condemnation would be considered too severe : if Roman Catholics attempted it, as they did in the days of Charles Martel, and the Teutonic Knights, the censure of Protestants would be unlimited ; but here we have Pulpit, Platform, and Evangelical Press, hounding on an unwilling Government to assume the Protectorate of thousands of naked savages, seven hundred miles from the nearest seaport at an altitude of 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, with still loftier ranges to be crossed to get to the sea, and no means of transport except actual or technical slaves, supplied by the Arab slaveholders at Zanzibar.

X. "Protection of Native Christian Churches in the country from the intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan." Is King Mwanga a Christian ? He was baptized by the Roman Catholics, and we read, that he attends a State Divine Service in the Protestant Church : Captain Lugard tells us in the *Fortnightly* of Nov., 1892, that this King is a man of singularly abandoned morals, and he confirms in so many printed words what was only whispered before, that these numerous pages, of which we hear so much in Missionary Reports, and some of whom are ranked among Protestants, and Roman Catholic Martyrs (for both parties have long lists of Martyrs) were the victims of their Sovereign's lust, and in fact members of his male harem. Mr. Ashe a Missionary, in his letter to the *Times*, July 26, of the year 1892, writes about *political* Protestants. Captain Lugard takes credit for having introduced the use of the term "Protestant," and Mr. Ashe remarks "that it was unknown, when he left Uganda in 1886, and that it was used now to denote the party, who support the English occupation" : upon this the *Times* remarks :

"It has probably always been felt by careful students, that the extraordinary theological zeal of the natives of Uganda for different forms of the Christian religion stood somewhat in need of explanation. Mr. Ashe, with a candour which is not too common, tells us that the explanation is *largely rifles*. Protestants and Catholics in his view are mainly rival

claimants for political power, and both are keenly alive to the fact, that power is apt to belong to big battalions armed with good weapons. He was not unfamiliar four years ago with the scramble for rifles, but he finds, that it has become far more keen in the interval, and that a brisk trade has ended in furnishing Uganda and the regions round about with a formidable number of these weapons. (Capt. Lugard says 6,000.)

"We may take it that the feverish desire for books and knowledge which Mr. Ashe describes would not long survive a general letting loose of all the worse passions of man. Happily the reduction of the theological motive to *its proper importance* gives some assurance that the task of maintaining order will not be very *heavy*. These interesting sectaries are quite prepared to bow to accomplished facts, and to accept the rule of strength. The great mass of lukewarm Catholics have already become supporters of the party in power, which will doubtless further increase its following by remaining powerful. Even legitimate rule may be easily compassed at no distant date, since King Mwanga, apart from the probability that he too will worship strength, is a man of weakly constitution. In a country where rules of succession are vague, it will be strange if a new ruler does not work cordially with *de facto* holders of power."

We can hardly get up an interest in such a Church, which is mongrel in every sense: "Ce sang était il si pur?"

What was most remarkable was the divided action of the Committee of the Missionary Society as a whole, and the members of that Committee as individuals. The Committee resolved to leave the matter absolutely with God, and to have recourse to Prayer. The Members of the Committee appealed to Man: I adjoin a specimen:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'RECORD.'"

"SIR, -

"The time is short; the crisis is great. The future of Uganda may depend in large measure upon the degree of our efforts to educate and awaken public opinion within the next few months. What shall we do?

"1. Let there be one or more great public Meetings held in Exeter Hall; and not only there, but in different parts of the Metropolis—North, South, East, and West.

"2. Let similar Meetings be promoted throughout all the larger towns in the provinces.

"3. Set apart a Sunday on which, simultaneously throughout the Kingdom, clergymen may be asked to call the attention of their congregations to the work of the C.M.S. in Uganda and to the consequences of its evacuation.

"4. Let the Gleaners' Union and the other C.M. Unions betake them-

selves very specially to prayer, and make it, as it were, the very object of their existence to instruct the less instructed and to awaken their sympathy.

"Sir, as friends of the C.M.S., we cannot be too energetic at this moment, and we cannot bring too *much pressure to bear on the Committee*, if that be necessary, that for some time to come they should make the *awakening* of interest on all sides and amongst all classes the *first object* of their deliberations. We have been assured on all hands, by those who see and know most clearly, that evacuation means the destruction of our work, the dispersion or massacre of our converts and missionaries, a widespread reign of anarchy, and the revival of the Slave-trade. Now, suppose a telegram were received to this effect in six or eight months, could it be to us other than a perpetual shame and humiliation, that we had not strained every nerve and used every means to avert so unspeakable a calamity, when we had been warned again and again in the most emphatic manner of the certainty of its approach in the event of evacuation? Frequently it has been said to me that 'God would not allow so great a work as the C.M.S. work in Uganda to be brought to nought'; *but God never acts but by means*. God helps those only who *help themselves*. I therefore plead with you that during the next six months not a copy of the *Record* will issue but that you will *sound therein a trumpet call* to redoubled energy.

"ALPHA.

"October 4."

XI. "The establishment of a Protestant Government." The Rev. Cyril Gordon, a Protestant Missionary, spoke as follows :

"England had been led to the country *in the providence of God, and if England remained there*, there was every encouragement. There was hope for the men, for the women, for the countries around—in Usoga, for instance—(Sembrera was Msoga by birth), in Sagalla, and elsewhere. But if this country was left to itself there was one hope, because the missionaries had been able to give to the nation the Word of Life in their own tongue. To prevent, however, any such disaster as would occur to the missionaries and Christians, if England gave up, we must remember that the country was ours by right of discovery, *by right of evangelization*, by the labour of the missionaries, by the deaths of those who had laid down their lives for it ; it was ours by the prayers and labours of Mackay, and therefore it was our duty to keep the country in the hands of *those people who are now Protestants*. We ought to interest all whom we meet in the question, and give ourselves to diligent prayer to God for *this now Protestant country*."

Now, if a Roman Catholic European Power had got possession of the land, and one of their Priests had spoken in this way, there would have been outcry against his in-

tolerance. The same gentleman shows that his object is annexation very clearly in a letter to the *Record*:

"The country would be in danger of falling back into the cruel hands of the *wicked heathen* natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the terrible slave-raiding Mohammedan natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the Roman Catholic converts, into a *dreaded slavery of the mind to the power of Rome*. The chief danger to the Protestant converts would come from the hostility of the Roman Catholic natives, who are far more numerous than the Mohammedan natives. The Roman Catholics, remembering the late war, would not spare the Protestant natives nor *yet the lives* of the missionaries. For the missionaries *would not desert* their converts. The danger would be *very real to all*. The true Protestant converts are not a very large body. These noble and true-hearted Christians, of whom there are many, would come forward to beg the missionaries to leave the country. For they would be unwilling, that their beloved friends their teachers, should perish in the wretched fighting and slaughter which would take place. Therefore, if the Company are obliged to withdraw, they must make a way of escape for the missionaries, the Christian converts, with all the women and the children of the same. But the missionaries and the native Christians look to Christian England to shelter them from these very terrible dangers, and expect Christian England to take measures to prevent the occurrence of such deeds as will certainly take place if British influence is withdrawn. The shelter and protection will be given if the Treaty that has been *made with Protestant Buganda* is kept by England."

He is fresh from the field, and we gather from his utterances the spirit of the Mission: it wishes for religion and political supremacy by the help of British Military power. No wonder that the Editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* of July 28 of this year writes as follows:

"To carry the Bible in one hand and preach the religion of love, while with the other they sell rifles to be used in expelling their unwelcome rivals, may correspond well enough with English ideas *of the duty of a missionary*, but there is no trace in such conduct of Christianity, European culture, or civilization. This is but a small edition of what has been practised on a large scale in Uganda."

Such assertions can be repelled with indignation in other Mission-fields, but Mr. Gordon's utterances are clear: at any rate, that is the view which Germans and French take of the case.

XII. "The maintenance of sacred treaties." What possible authority had Captain Lugard, a mere Captain of an

armed force, to make a treaty in the Queen's name? Has any member of the past and present Government come forward to justify it? Would a Captain of Infantry in India be allowed to bind the Viceroy without confirmation afterwards? It might have contained dishonourable terms under threat of personal violence to the British representative, as happened not long ago in Bhutan in India. In a petty matter, affecting the commercial interests of the Company, or the necessities of frontier police regulations, a treaty might have been made, but such a document as was signed by Captain Lugard on the 30th March, 1892, cannot be treated as a serious document until sanctioned by the Government, published in a blue-book, and submitted to Parliament after debate. Mr. Walker, another Missionary, tells us, that Mwanga was originally opposed to the Christian Religion, because he believed, that the Missionaries were the agents of European Governments, which would come later on and take his country: the Arabs encouraged these suspicions, and when this treaty was forced upon him, they proved too true. However let Captain Lugard tell his own story: he seems to think that the British taxpayer is bound for ever by his erring judgment:

"He was sent to Uganda not on his own hook, but as the agent duly accredited, acting with the *full knowledge and consent of the Crown*. He concluded treaties, and those treaties were submitted by him to his directors, who in their turn submitted them to *the Foreign Office, to Lord Salisbury and to Lord Rosebery*. Those treaties have been accepted and approved. Some details as to words were checked, but as regarded the right he had to conclude the treaties no exception whatever had been taken. (Hear, hear.) He thought when they considered the question from the first to the last it would be found that it was impossible to repudiate the pledges, which had been given, and say that they were given by irresponsible persons."

This is another instance, which the foreign European Press will not forget, of the *divine right asserted by the British Nation* to lay hold of anything that comes to hand. Lord Salisbury remarked, that the Spheres of Influence had been imposed on Native populations by rival European Nations, who busied themselves in giving away territories, that did not belong to them: the aged Earl Grey inquires,

what were the grounds, on which the European States consider themselves entitled to spheres of influence in violation of all native rights to their independence and their country. First comes the Sphere of Influence : then the protectorate based on a treaty forced upon a weak vacillating Native Chief : then follows the actual annexation : Up to this time the British have shed no Mahometan or Pagan, only Roman Catholic, blood in these spheres, while the Germans have shot and hung the natives pretty freely. The occupation of Uganda cannot fail to eventuate in bloodshed, rebellions, burning of villages, loss of European life, and *cui bono* ? Why not leave the poor people alone ?

XIII. "The occupation of the Head waters of the Nile." No greater snare was ever put forward than this obscure phrase : old gentlemen shake their heads, when they talk of the Head waters of the Nile : it sounds important and historical, and geographical : in one of Dickens' novels a Mrs. Pipchin gained importance by alluding to her shares in Peruvian mines : Uganda is also called "the key to the Countries of Central Africa" : one writer, not very accurate in his geography, connects it with Stevenson's road from the Nyasa Lake to Tanganyika Lake, many hundred miles to the South. The fact is always omitted that the Nile waters are not navigable till considerably to the North of Lake Albert : of course it is written in our destiny to occupy that lake also : it is a pity that we did not leave Emin Pasha at Wadelai, though probably he has found his way back to that interesting and unfortunate spot ; Missionaries ought to be sent on at once to form a nucleus for future protectorates. And surely the head waters of the Rivers Congo and Niger and Senegal, and Zambesi are worth looking after : they are also the keys of great positions : it is not exactly clear what an invader of England would take by occupying the head waters of the Thames, the Severn, and the Tweed : but the Nile has a certain reputation, and it sounds plausible.

XIV. "The whole New Testament has been translated

into the language of Uganda." Can this really be put forward as a reason for annexation? The idea has the merit of novelty: on inquiry, it is found that the New Testament has been translated into 290 languages. Merciful Heavens! Have we by this literary manœuvre established an initiatory claim to interfere in, invade, annex, and slay the people of, 290 countries where these translations are used? We shall have tribes petitioning that translations of the New Testament in their language be not made. There was some years ago a good joke at St. Petersburg that when Professor Dorn published his 'Pushtu Grammar' in Russian, a thrill of anguish passed through the people of Afghanistan, as they felt that their day was coming: the New Testament must have a severer effect, because it inculcates love to your neighbours, peace and good-will, and yet it is quoted by a Missionary Society, as an incidental argument for a hostile occupation of an independent people. The books of Joshua and Judges would have been more appropriate to the temper of the Uganda political Protestants, and of the Missionary Society.

XV. The last reason is a sad one, but none the less true: we have only to reflect upon the last twenty-five years of African history. The slave trade of last century seems more tolerable: the Africans deported to America are forming a great and powerful Nation. In every part of Africa the great races are being destroyed, or politically enslaved by European States, cut down ruthlessly by European explorers, or poisoned by European liquor dealers:—and all in the name of Christian Civilization, and Christian Missionary Societies are not backward to urge the Government to ruthless and shameful annexation.

One or two incidental considerations occur to me: what possible relation can the British fleet, which cruises off the Coasts of Zanzibar, the German Protectorate, and the Portuguese Colony of Mozambik, with a view of intercepting the departing by sea to Arabia of Africans brought down

by the well-known slave routes from Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa, many degrees South of the Equator, have with the proposed railroad from Monbása to the shores of the Lake North of the Equator : there is no regular slave route through the Masai country, and Captain Lugard confirms the assertion of Mr. Horace Waller, that the whole argument is mythical : the individuals, who have rushed into this controversy, have not studied their maps, and are not familiar with the history of the last quarter of a century. They condemn what they do not understand.

Then again the shame of withdrawing from a country occupied less than two years by three European officers is dwelt upon : is it not the fact that twice during her Majesty's reign the Government has been hounded on by public opinion to occupy Afghanistan, the Pearl of Asia, the key to the countries beyond, the Head waters of the River Indus, hounded on by treaties forced on their Rulers under the influence of the bugbear of Russian intrigue, a new opening for commerce, a blessing to a few oppressed people, oppressed by Mahometans ? Is it not true, that twice that country has been occupied, and twice abandoned, after the expenditure of millions and loss of hundreds of lives, and the prestige of European wisdom and generosity, leaving behind an enduring feeling of hate stored up against us, as unprovoked invaders ? Can we never take warning from past failures ?

But if we occupy Uganda, it is but the beginning of further annexations : the appetite comes with eating : The kingdom of Unyoro, Albert Nyanza, Wadelai and beyond : Captain Lugard and his Sudanese must be on the move : Here we have the programme of the Army and Church Militant :

"But are we to stop here, when the enterprise of Captain Lugard has already established military stations all the way between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert Edward ?—the principal ones being (1) in Singo, on the Unyoro border, and (2) Fort Edward, in Toru, under Mount Ruwenzori ; each to be garrisoned by two European officers and a company of 120 native soldiers. The Church Militant must not let itself be outstripped,

but should proceed at once to locate two of its officers at each of these posts, and thus complete the Mission chain throughout the British protectorate." (Is it a Protectorate, or only a sphere of Influence?)

But this is nothing when *Britannia Africana* is on the war path : nothing is gained until Lake Chad is won : Here we have that policy looming in the distance :

"There need be no alarm on account of British interests in the Lake Chad region from the fact that the enterprising French traveller, Captain Monteil, has succeeded in entering Bornu and making friends with the Sultan at Kuka on the lake. The Anglo-French arrangement is perfectly explicit ; Bornu is entirely south of the line from Say to Burrawa, beyond which France has pledged herself not to interfere. Captain Monteil will have done a service to the Royal Niger Company if he has induced the Sultan of Bornu to be more amenable to European influence ; at the same time it is to be hoped that the French traveller has not attempted to poison the Sultan's mind against the English."

Here the Royal Niger Company will come into evidence : at any rate they have a waterway up the Niger and Binué Rivers : they have Missionaries quite ready to start forward : it is singularly enough the same British Protestant Society, and the same Roman Catholic French Society. To save possible massacre of the poor natives, who for many centuries have taken care of themselves, a man of Captain Lugard's stamp must be put forward with a Maxim gun : there are German spheres of influence on one side at the Kamerún, and French spheres of influence to the North. Some Church dignitary, a Bishop if possible, must be killed : Some youthful converts of doubtful antecedents must be burnt by the Mahometans, and then the same thrill of anguish will pass through Evangelical circles in England : Why not try Timbuktu ? It is alas ! in the French sphere of influence : when once the Tenth Commandment is broken, and we commence to covet the land of our neighbours, there is no limit but our Power and our opportunity, for all Moral feeling has disappeared. The very existence of the great African lakes is very imperfectly known to the middle-aged clergy, who make up a Missionary Committee, and they have no conception of the vast distances to be traversed. An old gentleman was overheard at the Anti-slavery Depu-

tation to the Foreign Office asking a neighbour on which side of the Red Sea was Uganda, for, as he naïvely added, one likes to know. Surely this is not the class to settle the foreign policy of this great Kingdom.

I thank Captain Lugard for one thing : he is the only Englishman, who has said a word in favour of the French Missionaries, the citizens of a friendly State : we differ essentially from their doctrine, but we admire their devotion : They have no wives, and families, and salaries, and comfortable homes : no furloughs and pensions : while they live, they work : when they can work no longer, they die : they somehow give us a better idea of an apostle, though now and then the Protestants have apostles like Mackay, Hannington, and Parker : The French have as much right to be at Uganda as the English have : it is under a strange misapprehension, that Captain Lugard remarked in the *Fortnightly* of November, 1892, that under a Missionary etiquette the Roman Catholics had no right to intrude two years later into a Protestant Preserve. Such a comity exists among Protestant Missions, but not between Protestant and Roman Catholic : otherwise how are Protestants in India, China, and Japan in localities occupied centuries earlier by Roman Catholic Missionaries ? With the French Missionary difficulties are experienced, which are not felt with other Nationalities, certainly not with British Roman Catholics. I give a quotation :

“ Bishop Hedley, speaking last night at the annual *soirée* in aid of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Schools, Walsall, referred to the Uganda question. He thought, and he said it with sorrow, that in the future, wherever the power of Protestantism and Catholicism met in Equatorial Africa, it would be necessary to divide them into different spheres, not because he imagined there would be any difficulty about educated gentlemen, not to say Christian gentlemen, living in peace, but because there was the danger of half-educated followers coming into conflict.”

The Protestant Missionary at Uganda expresses himself very differently : what he wants is political ascendancy, and this is just what no form of Religion whatever ought to have :

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"The Roman Catholic party is the one most likely to feel aggrieved and jealous of the others. It is true that they have Budu, a very fertile district, but the chief of Budu never had the position and honour that many other chiefs had. This party has lately lost the most, and is therefore the most likely to feel dissatisfied. They would submit to be ruled by representatives of the British Government, or of a company if the Europeans could carry their own in Buganda; but if they felt that they were virtually being *governed* by the Protestant party in Buganda, *I do not think they would submit to it.* In all they do they will be *entirely guided by their 'Fathers,'* who exercise absolute authority over them. I think that you can well judge what would be the consequence if the British control were withdrawn. The first scene of the new act would be all parties flying at the Protestant Christians. Then the Mohammedans would seize all the Roman Catholic converts and their followers, and would open a slave market at once."

Not one word has been said about the feelings of the Taxpayers, except jaunty remarks such as the following :

"Is there any justification for the assumption that the taxpayers of this country would disapprove of the cost of its retention ? Every taxpayer, who has given the subject any attention, knows that in a merely selfish or pecuniary sense it is of the highest importance to retain Uganda, the pearl of Africa, and the key to two million square miles of territory, which by international agreement are at the present time under our protection. The markets of the world are being more and more closed against us, and it is surely the act of a nation gone mad to wilfully throw away the glorious prospects which the development of the rich lake districts of Central Africa would open to our trade."

This is just bunkum, and the writer knows that it is, for he in his next sentence appeals to other passions, Religion and Chauvinism :

"Are we going to desert our fellow-Christians in Uganda ? Are we going to give up to massacre those friendly tribes who, trusting in our promises of protection, have given us their assistance ? And are we going to give up that immense and fertile region, pregnant with mineral and other wealth, to another nation ? If we are true to our God, to our country, and to ourselves, the crime of deserting Uganda will not rest upon us."

It is quite clear, that if the Railway is guaranteed there will be an annual heavy charge on our resources, however fanatics never think of this : this very month some of this class have proposed to the Secretary of State for India arbitrarily to destroy the cultivation of the Poppy, a great industry of the People of India, amounting to at least eight millions annually, and some have gone so far as to propose to make a proportionate grant to the Indian Exchequer.

The proposition was too ridiculous to entertain. Empires cannot be governed by fanatics : We are far too ready to be indulgent, when we have other people's purses to draw on, when we can dip into the State Treasury : With the overwhelming demands upon us of the Pauper Population of our cities are we justified in flinging away annual thousands in Central Africa ?

An international question has already arisen with France about the treatment of French Missionaries by Captain Lugard. It comes with a bad grace from the Government of a Republic, which has ejected English Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands and threatens to do the same in Algeria and Tunisie. Still the facts as admitted have an ugly appearance. Captain Lugard in the *Fortnightly* of Nov., 1892, disposes of the charge in a jaunty way by the assertion, that English officers are incapable of such things, but the pages of this Journal* in the October number tell us how English officers acted in the expedition to relieve Emin Pasha, and committed acts of Murder and Rapine right across Africa. I really am reluctant to describe what took place at the Island of Sesse in my own words for fear of being charged with exaggeration. I quote those of an entire stranger, the Rev. Edward Conybeare in his letter to the *Guardian*, October 22, 1892 :

" 5. The Catholics, thus defeated, took refuge from the bullets of these English rifles on an inaccessible island, whence the King continued to defy our authorities.

" 6. And now comes the horror. To bring this obstinate heretic to his senses Captain Lugard sent against him a gun-boat, flying presumably, the English flag, and under the command, certainly, of an English officer, Captain Williams. On the approach of this formidable foe the Catholics abandoned all idea of further resistance, and thought only of escape. They crowded into their canoes for flight - *men, women, and children*. The King effected his escape ; but of his unhappy followers boatload after boatload was sent to the bottom by the murderous volleys of our Maxim gun. On the computation—I wish I could say the admission—of our Protestant informants, several hundreds of defenceless fugitives, chiefly non-

* *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1892, "The Ethics of African Geographical Exploration" (page 348).

combatants, were thus massacred. And this, be it remarked, was not done by unloosed savages, but by the latest weapons of civilisation and by the orders of an Englishman.

"Now, sir, can we hope for God's blessing on our doings in Uganda while we allow such a deed to pass unrepented? I do not wish to blame Captain Lugard, who, doubtless, felt the fearful course he adopted an unavoidable necessity. Nor do I wish to defend the Uganda Catholics, who, possibly, provoked their own doom. But, to whatever extent the slaughter may be justified, the fact remains that we were the slaughterers; and we may be very sure that such wholesale shedding of Christian blood is no light thing in God's sight. At our hand He will require it; at the hand of the English nation, and above all of the English Church, unless by contrition we turn away His anger from us. Hitherto, alas, we have rather made ourselves partakers of the deed. Will none of our Bishops give expression to what we ought to feel?

"EDWARD CONYBEARE.

"Barrington Vicarage, Cambridge, *October 22, 1892.*"

And again in a second letter, under date Nov. 11, he gives his authority for these statements, the Rev. Mr. Collins, one of the British Missionaries, whose report I have before me, and which bears out Mr. Conybeare's independent outcry:

"SIR, --

"The extent to which here at home we have shut our eyes to the horrors in Uganda is shown by the letter of Bishop Smythies in your current issue. My account of what took place seems to him almost incredible—too ghastly to be true. But, as I mentioned, I took care to say nothing which was not from our own English and Protestant sources. Had I gone to the other side, yet more fearful tales would be brought forward, tales of the outrage and torture of Catholic women for refusing to deny their faith. These charges are brought against us by Monsignor Hirth, and have never, so far as I have seen, been contradicted. But as our side have said nothing about them, I said nothing about them either, confining myself to the reports of our own authorities, civil and ecclesiastical. In these reports the account of the massacre is to be found only too plainly: given sometimes *with scarcely veiled glee*, sometimes barely narrated, never with *one word of pity for the victims or regret* at so deep a stain of Christian blood on our cause. The last of them was that of Mr. Collins, which appeared in the same number of the *Guardian* as my letter (October 26).

"And this is where the disgrace to our boasted Christianity lies—not nearly so much in the deed itself (horrible though it was) as in the spirit with which we have greeted the tidings. Captain Williams was but carrying out relentlessly the relentless orders of his superior officer to make the Catholics submit at all costs. Captain Lugard is far too brave a man to attempt to evade his responsibility for those orders. He boldly avouches it; and, relentless as they were, such awful deeds are sometimes an awful

necessity in warfare. When once he had begun to fight he could scarcely stop till the foe surrendered ; and his beginning he justifies (and the voice of the English Church unanimously accepts the justification) on the same plea which was put forth for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—viz., that if the slaughterers had not struck the first blow they would themselves have been slaughtered. But Captain Lugard alone speaks of the proceedings as ‘deplorable.’ No diocesan conference, no Church newspaper echoes that word. No—the murdered women and children were connected with ‘the Italian Mission,’ and therefore beyond the pale of Anglican sympathy. No wonder that Roman Catholics say we have shown what reality we attach to our claim to be Catholics also. Even the Israelites, at the most barbarous period of their history, knew better. When they had slaughtered down the Benjamites (richly deserved as the slaughter was), they felt the horror of the deed, and prayed for forgiveness. We seem not even to feel that we need pardon for our brethren’s blood. We do not ask for it, and we shall not get it.

“EDWARD CONYBEARE.

“Barrington Vicarage, Cambridge, *November 11, 1892.*”

Guardian, November 16, 1892.

It is unnecessary to say, that in the French Missionary periodicals the story is told with large amplifications, and the hatred of the people of France against “les Anglais” is roused : this is most lamentable. I quote this to show, that the rule of Uganda will not be conducted in rosewater : we shall hear of constant massacres of this kind, assassinations, and outrage : is this the kind of protection which the benevolent people of England and the Missionaries wish to supply ? I am not blaming Captain Lugard : he certainly does not value black life much : An official in British India could never have done such things, and no Governor would have tolerated it : this incident shows that Captain Lugard did not possess the least elementary knowledge of ruling Native Races : the people who were killed were nominal Christians, though of a different Church, and this renders the incident more deplorable : Reverse the position and imagine a French officer having treated Protestant baptized converts in this fashion. Had Captain Lugard had any experience of a District in a Rebellion during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, or of a great city like Banáras, stirred to its depth of religious fanaticism by the unlucky death by violence of a Brahmini Bull in the streets, or a sacred monkey

being shot by a casual English loafer, or winter visitor, he would have known how to handle ignorant crowds without the use of artillery and rifles : at any rate a Protestant should have done anything rather than shoot down Roman Catholic converts : nothing of the kind has ever happened in British India : it is very true that there are very few French Roman Catholic Missionaries in India, and the British, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, German, Roman Catholics never give any trouble : the French Missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, has always *La France* on his brain : his own co-religionists deplore this egregious Chauvinism.

The decision of the Government to send out a Commissioner to make a local inquiry and report does not satisfy the Religious Press : where, they say, can more competent witnesses be found than Captain Lugard, and the British Missionaries ? is the evidence of Bishop Hirsch, and his French colleagues not to be taken ? are they to be treated like the Irish landlords during the investigation into the eviction of tenants ? All sense of equity seems to disappear under the presence of a confused mass of denominational Religion, spurious Nationality, and spread-eagle Imperialism. Mr. Gladstone made one frightful mistake in bombarding Alexandria, and sending Gordon to Khartum : he is older and wiser now : but, says the Missionaries' advocate "until the decision is finally made, the people will not settle down" : let us hope that practically it is made : "The English Missionaries cannot feel the confidence they should in the future of the country" : it is not the Missionary's business to meddle with such matters : let him preach the Gospel, attend to his schools, and eschew politics, and the people will love him, and cherish his memory : it is a wrong departure to have what Mr. Ashe calls "political Protestants."

With regard to the French scare I add the following :

"There is evidently much misconception as to the exact application of the terms of the Berlin Act to the present case. The Act is clear enough.

It stipulates that, when any Power takes possession of any part of the coast of Africa it must intimate the same to other Powers in case there may be pre-existing claims. And, again, that no act of annexation will be regarded as *valid unless steps are taken to establish an effective jurisdiction*. All this applies only to the coast. As to the interior, the convenient category of 'spheres of influence' was established. It has therefore been considered internationally convenient that when a Power has, in agreement with other Powers, declared a certain area to be within its 'sphere of influence,' reasonable time should be given her to establish herself effectively in the territory. The British East Africa sphere, extending over a million square miles, has been defined in agreement with Germany and Italy. Though neither France nor the Congo Free State is a direct party to it, it would not only be an act of extreme unfriendliness for either to take advantage of the immensity of the sphere and slip in by a back-door, as it were, but it would introduce an element of discord into the partition of Africa which it was the object of the Berlin Conference to obviate. Both France and the Free State possess enormous areas in Africa within their 'spheres,' *which are as yet entirely unoccupied*, and which are, therefore, as open to annexation by other Powers as the remoter parts of British East Africa.

The most extraordinary literature has appeared indicating the colour of the waters, which have been stirred—perhaps the most astounding is "The Uganda Catechism" by an Oxford Doctor of Divinity: a more foolish paper, and one more replete with inexact statements we have rarely seen: whether this Catechism is to take the place of the Church Catechism in the Uganda Sunday Schools, or to be taught, as an extra, to the children of the poor in England, it is not stated: it is printed and published at the expense of the Missionary Society: the price is not given: it would be dear at a penny: I only allude to it, as it indicates neatly the electoral tactics now applied to Missionary desires.

Question 36. What can individuals do to prevent such a lamentable catastrophe (as the withdrawal of the officials of the Company)?

Answer (1). They can commit the whole question to the King of Kings in believing prayer.

(So far we are with the Catechist and his Catechumens.)

Answer (2). They can do much in conversation, etc., to arouse public interest in what threatens to become a national disgrace.

Answer (3). They can write letters to their representative in Parliament, which will interest him in the subject and lead him to help in averting the impending disaster : (in fact threaten him against the next Election).

Answer (4). They can unite in memorializing Government either with the definite proposals, which the Anti-Slavery Society has adopted, or in more general terms such as the Missionary Society, a non-political organisation, felt constrained to use.

Question 37. Is there anything further that can be suggested in connection with this subject ?

Answer. Yes : That thou doest do quickly, for the night cometh, when no man can work.

The learned Doctor has omitted from his list of measures : Thunder from the Pulpit : pass resolutions in Diocesan Conferences : it has not yet come to " Denounce from the Altar," but the younger members of this generation may live to hear that also : when once clerics meddle in political matters, they brook no opposition, and hesitate at no measures : it has been the bane of the Church of Rome from its earliest day : up to this day the Church of England has abstained from indulgence in Imperial appetites : It is to be hoped that the Uganda fever will burn itself out.

The methods used are not new, nor unique : The Americans set us the example : a fair description of their methods covers the case for annexation of Uganda :

"It strives to bolster them up by the arguments, true and false, which seem most likely to appeal to the prejudices and the credulity of the greatest number ; and it endeavours to prove the soundness of those arguments by a number of good stout assertions upon matters of fact. The whole is, of course, larded with a pungent criticism of Democratic shortcomings and garnished with elaborate dissertations to show that America owes all her prosperity, moral and material, to the disinterested services done her by the great Republican party."

PHILO-AFRICANUS.

Dec. 1, 1892.

THE SOLUTION OF THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

DEFINITE PROPOSALS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

BY ROBERT BEADON.

THE Council of the Imperial Federation League, under the presidency of Mr. Stanhope, M.P., late Secretary of State for War (who, upon the change of Government, succeeded Lord Rosebery, the President for the previous six years) adopted on the 16th November, 1892, the Report of the Special Committee appointed in the previous year to formulate definite proposals whereby the object of Imperial Federation might be realized. The Committee consisted of Lord Brassey (chairman), Mr. James Bryce, M.P. (now in the Cabinet), Sir John Colomb (then M.P. for Bow and Bromley), Sir Daniel Cooper (late Speaker of the N.S.W. House of Assembly), Mr. H. O. Arnold Forster (now M.P. for West Belfast), Lord Lamington, Sir Lyon (now Lord) Playfair, Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Sir Rawson Rawson (a former Colonial Governor, and author of important works on commercial statistics), Lord Reay (formerly Governor of Bombay), and Sir Charles Tupper (High Commissioner for Canada). As an influential Scotch paper said, it would be difficult to pick eleven men better qualified by their special knowledge and experience for the work they had in hand. The Report issued by this strong Committee was a unanimous one, and it was unanimously adopted at the largely and influentially attended meeting of the Council of the League to which it was presented last November. The cordial support given to the report by Mr. Stanhope receives additional significance from the nature of the offices which he held in the last Administration, namely, the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, and later that for War. Before proceeding to the report itself, it will be necessary first to recapitulate very briefly the circumstances leading up to its preparation, and then, somewhat more fully, to

examine the general problem towards the solution of which the report affords a substantial contribution.

The Imperial Conference held in London in 1887, and attended by Ministers from all the Colonies having responsible Government, had been convened by the Government of that day at the express instance of the Imperial Federation League. The personal discussion between Colonial representatives and Ministers of the Imperial Government of the various questions that came before that Conference relating to Imperial Defence, legal matters, postal and telegraphic communication, trade, etc., was productive of a much better understanding between the different parts of the Empire, and led to some practical results, especially in connection with the matter of Defence, calculated to pave the way to that closer political union for joint action in matters of common interest to which the advocates of Federation look as the only means of maintaining the permanent unity of the Empire. The League therefore upon the initiative of Lord Rosebery, its then President, specially resolved not long afterwards that the establishment of periodical Conferences of like nature should be its first aim.

In pursuance of this policy a deputation of the League in June, 1891, waited upon Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister, to urge the convocation of a second Conference. In the course of his reply the Prime Minister, after stating that the subject brought before him by the deputation was "nothing more nor less than the future of the British Empire," continued as follows :

"As has been pointed out, owing to the operation of external causes and some external impulses, there is a feeling of unrest in Canada, and even in Australia—a feeling which may not improperly be described as an unwillingness to continually acquiesce precisely in the present state of things. Sir John Colomb very justly pointed out a consideration of which, in my office, I am especially sensible—the large portion of our foreign negotiations, our foreign difficulties, and the danger of foreign complications which arise entirely from our Colonial connections ; and the effect is that from time to time we have to exercise great vigilance lest we should incur dangers which do not arise from any interest of our own, but arise entirely from the interests of the important and interesting communities with which we are linked. . . . Referring to the proposal which had been brought forward

by the Deputation, Lord Salisbury said : "I quite think that no grave decision in reference to the relations between the Colonies and this country ought to be taken, or could be taken, without personal communication with the statesmen who guide the Colonies in those matters. But I would venture to lay down also, as a maxim, that we should not call them from their momentous avocations to put them to all the difficulty, and all the labour, and all the cost of coming to this end of the world, unless we are prepared to lay before them for discussion some definite scheme of our own. I do not say such a scheme that we must adopt it with a resolution not to recede from it—it is not to be an unalterable determination ; but . . . I think that we have almost come to the time when some schemes should be proposed, and that without them we shall not get very far."

Such being the suggestion of the Prime Minister, the Council of the League, while not admitting that the solution of a political problem which involves so great an issue as the future of the Empire could with advantage be delegated by responsible Ministers of the Crown to an independent and irresponsible body, nevertheless considered it to be a clear duty to endeavour to furnish such definite proposals for Federation as, in their opinion, would be possible of adoption, and would satisfy the requirements of the Constitution. The Committee above named was therefore appointed to prepare a Report. To assist them the Committee had all the accumulated information and experience that the organization of the League rendered available for their use, as well as a valuable body of opinion elicited *ad hoc* from a number of persons specially qualified to advise, whose co-operation was invited in the form of replies to a series of carefully considered questions put out by the Committee. A document so prepared, having the sanction of such high authorities, and accepted as the formal expression of its policy by so influential a body as the Council of the Imperial Federation League, obviously commands, and has indeed so far received, at the hands of political leaders and the public press, the most respectful and serious consideration.

Before we are in a position to estimate the value or appreciate fully the bearings of the propositions formulated in this report, it is necessary to survey generally the existing situation, in order that we may recognise precisely what the

problem is that had to be attacked, what the mischief is that demands a remedy, and why. In the briefest possible form this may be summarily stated, as it has been stated in one of the publications of the Imperial Federation League, as follows :

"The continued unity of the British nation throughout the Empire is threatened by the existence of two great anomalies in the present Imperial system. These are that : (1) At present no one of our great self-governing Colonies, not even the Dominion of Canada, has any recognised voice in Imperial affairs. They are liable, therefore, to be involved in all the consequences of war, without having had any share in controlling the policy which led to it. (2) On the other hand, the people of the United Kingdom not only bear the entire cost of the naval, military, diplomatic, and consular services all over the world, the protection and advantages of which in war and peace are shared equally by their Colonial fellow-subjects, but they may have at any moment to undertake and bear the whole cost of a war entered upon solely to maintain the interests of any one of these Colonies. The evils of this anomalous position of affairs are becoming more and more felt on both sides, and the existing relations between Mother Country and Colonies cannot be expected to continue without producing grave difficulties and danger of dismemberment."

That, in the barest and boldest outline, is the existing situation. But for a proper understanding of it we must take the trouble to examine it a little more closely. The great self-governing Colonies in North America, Australasia, and South Africa (and it is with these alone that we are concerned for the present purpose ; the position of the Dependencies is altogether different) are now linked to the Mother Country by the slenderest possible political tie and to one another by no political tie at all beyond allegiance to a common Sovereign, if that can be so called. The present position was reached by the natural working out of a policy which looked to ultimate separation as the proper destiny of an English-speaking Colony of free men of British race, and of a system which, consistently with such a policy, dealt with the Colonies in such a way as, naturally and easily, to bring about that consummation. The Colonies were led from the position of dependencies through partially representative institutions to the full freedom of responsible government ; since the grant of which the reserved powers

of the Imperial authority have been more and more allowed to fall into desuetude, until now the Governor in the Colony and the Agent-General in London constitute the only political links, and the Governor as well as the Agent-General has a position not widely different from that of a diplomatic representative. With responsible government, the Colonies were also endowed with the broad lands which before belonged to the people of Great Britain by whose blood and treasure they were acquired. Those lands constituted a portion of the public estate upon which it may be said the National Debt of Great Britain was secured ; yet they were given without reservation, freed from that "mortgage," the whole burden of which remained upon the shoulders of the people left at home. And at the same time that the people in the Colonies were thus relieved of their share of Imperial burdens and endowed with this magnificent heritage unencumbered, they were given also the right to levy taxes, including Customs duties on the goods of the Mother Country and of one another, for their own exclusive benefit, without being called upon to contribute in any shape or form to the maintenance of those Imperial services of which they get the benefit.

But though the Colonies were thus splendidly endowed with the means of becoming, as they were intended to become, independent states, there was one very important reservation in the political rights and privileges bestowed upon them. Perfectly self-governing as regards all local internal matters, the greatest Colony has no franchise in Imperial affairs. As towards the rest of the world, Britain and Britain alone speaks for the Empire. Up to the present time the Colonies have rested in this condition. In their earlier years they could neither afford to share the burdens of Empire, nor were they politically fit to take a part in the determination of Imperial questions. The position was logical enough from one point of view. So long as Britain alone bore the whole weight and expense of the Imperial services—army, navy, and diplomatic and consular

services—there could be no question of allowing any other portion of the Empire to have a voice in the management of the affairs for the conduct of which those services exist. So far both the Colonies and the Mother Country have acquiesced in this state of things. The Colonies have been content to remain in the dependent position of Protected States, and the people of the United Kingdom have continued to pay the piper so long as they have been allowed to call the tune.

But of late years there have been indications of various kinds that this condition of the relations between Mother Country and Colonies has ceased to satisfy either party to it. It is impossible, as some good people advise, to “let it alone.” There is, as Lord Salisbury put it, a feeling of unrest, an unwillingness to acquiesce continually in the present arrangement. In the Colonies, excessively favourable as in most respects their position is at the present time, there are yet heard rumblings of discontent and talk of separation. In the Mother Country, though the school that favoured the policy of dropping the Colonies has become extinct and given place to a general feeling—shared it may be well believed by the great body of responsible opinion in the Colonies also—that the various parts of the Empire ought, in the interests of all, to hold together, yet there is a growing uneasiness under the existing arrangement and a desire to place the Imperial relationship on a more satisfactory and consequently a more durable footing.

The most obvious cause of dissatisfaction, not so much with the past as with the prospect of the future of the system, arises from a prosaic consideration of pounds shillings and pence. The annual expenditure upon the Navy alone (on the estimates for 1891-92) exceeded £14,000,000; and in less than ten years last past some £32,000,000 has been expended upon the Navy in addition to the ordinary annual amount upon the estimates. We may put aside here the cost of the Army and of the Foreign Office and services connected with it, although in the

operations of the latter in peace and from the fact that the whole force of the British Empire is behind them, the Colonies enjoy precisely the same advantages of security for their persons and property and in their commercial and other relations with foreign countries as are enjoyed by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom who support these services. The case of the Navy alone will be sufficient to point the moral.

The British Navy is the first and only adequate protection the Colonies have against hostile attack. Their large and valuable sea-commerce, which grows far more rapidly than that of the United Kingdom, is defended wholly and solely by it. If anyone doubts the extent of the Colonial obligation in this respect let him look at the return upon sea-going war-ships made to the House of Commons last year (Navy, 396), showing the naval expenditure compared with the sea-borne commerce of various countries and of British self-governing Colonies. From that return and other official sources it will be seen that while the value in pounds sterling of the sea-borne commerce of the United Kingdom is 744 millions, that of the outlying portions of the Empire amounts to 460 millions, of which 187 only is done with the United Kingdom, the larger part of it, viz., 273 millions, being a trade done with each other and with foreign countries, in which the United Kingdom has no direct interest whatever. It is the growth, therefore, of this outside trade, more than of her own or of the Colonial trade done with herself, that causes such a largely increased demand upon the resources of Britain for protection. If we take the revenue raised, and the expenditure for the protection of all this floating commerce, we find that out of 218 millions of revenue raised throughout the Empire 129 millions—very considerably more than half—are raised in the outlying parts; and that portion continually increases, whilst that of the United Kingdom—put at, say, 89 millions—remains comparatively stationary. The proportions of these revenues spent for the protection of this sea-borne com-

merce are as follows: The United Kingdom spent in the financial year 1889-90 more than $15\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds upon the navy. In the same period the rest of the Empire spent £421,417, of which India spent roundly £296,000, and the self-governing Colonies £125,000 upon vessels for coast and harbour defence. To the last item must in future be added another similar sum (£126,000) contributed by Australasia towards the local auxiliary squadron. Such are the proportions of the aggregate naval expenditure of the United Kingdom and of the rest of the Empire. Out of a total of, say, 16 millions, the people of the outlying portion of the Empire (fully 10 millions of whom are men of British race in the self-governing Colonies), having together considerably more than half the total revenues of the Empire at their disposal, afford an aggregate contribution of, say, half a million. The 38 million people of the United Kingdom, with far less revenue, find the rest.

But, it is sometimes said, Britain has hitherto been willing to undertake this burden in consideration of retaining the sole voice in controlling the course of the foreign relations of the Empire; and though the burden may be a growing one, the people of the United Kingdom, being loath to part with that control, may probably continue to put up with it. The answer to this is that, not only is so large a proportion of the interests and property they are called on to protect not their own, but the causes calculated to bring about the state of hostilities demanding the active protection of those interests and that property by warlike operations are themselves also unconnected with the interests of the people of the United Kingdom, and the incidents which may any day lead to war are beyond their control. Britain continues to "pay the piper," but she really no longer "calls the tune." We may recall the words of Lord Salisbury quoted on an earlier page, in which he spoke of "the large portion of our foreign negotiations, our foreign difficulties, and the danger of foreign complications which arise entirely from our Colonial

connections"; and of the "dangers, which do not arise from any interests of our own, but arise entirely from the interests of" the Colonies. Lord Rosebery again—and no higher testimony could be cited on such a point than that of the Foreign Secretaries of the two great parties in the State—took occasion to say much the same thing even more explicitly in a speech he made in the City, fully reported in the Press, last March. The country, he said, was being detached from the affairs of Europe by the great Empire which had grown up outside these islands. He referred to the Newfoundland Fisheries and the Behring Sea question and Canada's differences with the United States generally, to Australia's embroilments with France about the New Hebrides, and to other affairs illustrating his remark, and concluded by declaring that "our foreign policy has become a Colonial policy, and is in reality at this moment more dictated from the extremities of the Empire than from London itself." That is a very significant statement. It corrects in the most distinct way the impression that though Britain pays she also controls. There is the rub. Britain pays and the Colonies, virtually, control.

That is a state of things in which, though the people of the United Kingdom might resent it, the Colonies might be expected to acquiesce. But they do not. They complain on their side of the manner in which these external interests are actually looked after by the home authorities, and will not be satisfied without some direct and constitutional voice in managing those affairs and in deciding ultimately upon questions of peace and war. They complain too that they are subjected to the risk of wars in which they do not recognise that they have any interest, and into which the Empire may be plunged without their having anything to say whatever. The latter grievance is less well founded than the former. They may have occasion at times to object to the management of their foreign relations by the departments in London. But the fear of being dragged by England into wars in which the Colonial

Empire is not interested is in these days chimerical. Professor Sceley has brought out the fact that England's wars have been Colonial. Our foreign policy, as Lord Rosebery said, is now entirely a Colonial policy, that is, extra-European ; and there is no prospect nowadays of any war being entered upon for any cause which affects the interests of Great Britain without also affecting the interests of the Empire at large.

Even as things are, it might be to the interest of Great Britain and her Dependencies to let them continue upon their present footing, if there were any security that the Colonies would remain permanently attached to the Empire. For the sake of her own world-wide commerce and that of India and other Dependencies of the Crown, it is most important, principally upon strategic grounds, that in the four quarters of the globe on the North and South Atlantic, on the North and South Pacific, there should be harbours and naval bases and friendly, not merely neutral, territories, under the British flag. But, already at the present moment, as recent discussions in Parliament in connection with Esquimalt in Canada, Simon's Bay in South Africa, and the fortified harbours of Australia, have shown us, the naval bases established there by the Imperial Government are in reality held only at the will of the several Colonial Governments. In the Dependencies Britain possesses such bases absolutely. In the self-governing Colonies she has indeed the use of them in peace ; but upon a declaration of war, any of those Colonies might, by declaring for independence and neutrality, deprive her of them at the moment they would be essential to safety. The result of Colonial neutrality in war would be to alter the whole system of Defence relied upon and developed in peace, and to place Great Britain on no better footing than her enemies. The chance of such a course being taken may be considered remote. But it must not be overlooked that this very proposition is not infrequently made by more or less responsible persons in

the Colonies. Nor is it only such a sudden declaration of independence that has to be taken into account. In all the three great groups, in North America, Australasia and South Africa, the political future is everywhere treated as an open question, and separation and independence are unreservedly discussed and in many quarters deliberately advocated. Only the other day at a large public meeting held at Montreal to consider and debate the question of Canada's political future, the alternative of independence received an overwhelming majority of the votes, and even annexation to the United States not a few. That may not have been a declaration of much political weight; but it is significant nevertheless, when it is remembered that both in Canada and Australia, and to a less extent at the Cape, influential newspapers and leading public men make no effort to disguise the fact that ultimate separation is the goal to which they are tending. It is no great wonder then if people in England are beginning to ask whether it is wise or prudent to go on spending their money and depending for the safety of their enormous interests upon a system offering such slender security for its continuance or for its effectiveness when the time of trial comes.

Beyond all this, the present arrangement, even while it lasts, is illusory in the provision it makes for securing the interests of those who are trusting to it both at home and in the Colonies. Owing to the neglect of matters of defence in the Colonies—and they have very generally been most woefully neglected, as the official reports of the Colonial Governments on their land and coast defence organizations themselves show—the superior advantage of the naval bases established by the Imperial Government may be seriously impaired in time of war, and British as well as Colonial commerce in distant seas be left to suffer accordingly. On the other hand also it is open to very grave doubt, and is indeed a question regarded with something more than doubt by many high authorities, whether, in the event of a war with one or more of the great naval

Powers, the British Navy would prove at all adequate to the enormous demands now made upon it. The Colonies look to it and it alone for their protection and that of their commerce on every sea. If a pinch came, and it were found that the defence of some portions of the Empire must be neglected, is it to be supposed that the people of the British Isles will see their own shores or their own commerce ravaged, while their own Navy is away protecting the interests of other people? There can be no doubt that the people who maintain the Navy would insist upon having the first call upon its services. The Colonies in thus trusting implicitly as they do to the power of the British Navy are, it is much to be feared, living in a fool's paradise.

We have dwelt upon the existing situation and the mischief and dangers inherent in it at considerable length, because readers who have followed us so far will thus be in a position at once to grasp the full significance of the report of the Imperial Federation League, and to appreciate the bearing and application of the propositions it lays down, without much explanation or comment. What may be called the "operative part" of the report defines "the essentials of a United Empire" to be,

"(a) That the voice of the Empire in peace, when dealing with Foreign Powers, shall be as far as possible the united voice of all its autonomous parts.

"(b) That the defence of the Empire in war shall be the common defence of all its interests and of all its parts by the united forces and resources of all its members."

The Report continues :

"In order that the Empire may speak with the greatest authority to foreign nations, there ought to be a body in which all its autonomous parts are represented.

"In order that the voice of the Empire may be supported in peace and the common defence of the Empire assured in war, its resources must be combined. This entails, as regards its self-governing portions, both a representative body and common property in the means of defence.

"The sphere within which combined defence is necessary is confined to those common interests the defence of which cannot be provided by local means. It is in the maintenance of the sea communications of the Empire

that the community of interests is most absolute. The primary requirements of combined defence, therefore, are a Sea-going Fleet and Naval Bases.

"It being admitted that in order to combine the resources of the Empire for the purpose of defending and maintaining its common interests, some central body, in which all its parts are represented, is essential, the question of the nature and functions of such a body at once arises. It remains then to consider—

"(a) How shall a Council of the Empire be constituted?

"(b) By what means can the resources of the Empire be most effectively combined?

"Without limiting or defining the functions, the exercise of which a Council might attract to itself in process of time, for practical and immediate purposes the following propositions are submitted:

"The Council should consist of members appointed by the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies.

"The three great groups of self-governing Colonies, North American, Australasian, and South African, should be directly represented in that Council. India and the Crown Colonies would be represented through her Majesty's Secretaries of State at present charged with the administration of their affairs, and in such other manner as might become desirable.

"The Council might include on the part of the United Kingdom, the Indian Empire and the Crown Colonies, the Prime Minister, the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, War, Colonies, and India, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and on the part of the self-governing Colonies, representatives of the three groups.'

"Such a Council should deal with Imperial Defence somewhat on the lines contemplated in Article 20 of the Report of Lord Hartington's Commission on Defence.

"The Council might receive such information relating to matters of foreign policy as would enable it to deal adequately with questions of Defence.

"In matters of Defence the Council should supervise the appropriation of any moneys provided for the defence of the Empire by the common contribution of the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

"It may be laid down as a leading principle that as all parts of the Empire enjoy the benefits of Imperial Defence they should contribute to its cost. In the case of India and the Crown Colonies the United Kingdom would continue to be responsible for all matters relating to their respective contributions.

"In proposing that the self-governing Colonies should bear the enhanced cost of their own defences, and thereby share the cost of the defences of the Empire in common with the people of the United Kingdom, your Committee desire to point out that by so doing those countries would be undertaking an incomparably smaller financial expenditure than would be required for their own defences if these did not form part of the general scheme of defence adopted for the Empire.

"There is no reason to doubt that, if the necessities of the case were

made clear, the Colonies would be prepared to take their share in the costs of the general defence of the Empire, provided that they were given a proper share in the control and expenditure of the common fund.

"The method of raising contributions would probably by general consent be left at the outset to the choice of the individual self-governing states. But future developments may disclose a means of raising the necessary contributions upon some uniform principle throughout the Empire by the allocation to this purpose of special sources of revenue or otherwise.

"The several amounts should be fixed in the first instance for a term of years by a Conference, subject to periodical revisions."

The Report goes on to recommend that in order to ascertain the views of the different Colonies enjoying responsible Government as to securing the unity of the Empire and meeting the responsibilities of Imperial Defence, and for the purpose of determining the basis upon and the method by which contributions should be raised, the Governments concerned should be invited to send representatives to a Conference summoned *ad hoc*. It is further recommended that the invitation to such a Conference should be accompanied by a complete statement showing the general necessities of the Empire in the matter of Defence, the means by which Defence has hitherto been provided, and the proposed means and estimated cost of providing it by joint action in the future. And it is suggested as possible that a preliminary inquiry by Royal Commission may be necessary to supply the groundwork for a comprehensive statement of the complete and authoritative character required.

Such are the main propositions and recommendations of the report; and the reader will see for himself how they meet and fit the situation which had to be dealt with. The other class of matters, treated in the report as non-essential, need not detain us long. Among measures conducive to the maintenance of national unity but not essential to it are mentioned the admission of Colonial securities to the list of authorised investments for British trust funds; the Imperial guarantee of local loans raised for purposes subservient to Imperial ends; the actual opening of the Administrative services of the Empire outside the United Kingdom by

local examinations, etc. These are obviously measures dependent upon the prior assurance of the permanence of the Imperial relationship as regards the Colonies by the adoption of the measures declared essential to Federation and necessary to secure such permanence. Others that are classed with them, such as Uniform Imperial Postage, and an Imperial telegraphic system, the appointment of eminent Colonial Jurists to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and uniformity in certain branches of Statute law, are not similarly dependent, but might precede actual political federation and would tend towards bringing it about. The most significant point about this non-essential list is the inclusion in it of the question of inter-imperial trade relations, which many persons have come to regard as an essential, and some as *the* essential, element in the whole matter. But whether or not some of the Colonies make the completion of some tariff arrangement favourable to their commerce a condition of undertaking what cannot but be regarded as their rightful share in the burdens and responsibilities of Empire, it seems perfectly clear that no number of inter-imperial commercial treaties, upon whatever fiscal lines they be made, can be regarded as constituting federation. Such arrangements are made every day between foreign countries, as are also warlike alliances; and neither inter-imperial commercial treaties nor inter-imperial defensive alliances (which some Colonial politicians rather lean to in place of actual union or federation for defence), have in them, any more than similar alliances between alien peoples, the elements of perpetuity or that political *nexus* which, among homogeneous peoples, makes for the perpetuity of their union. The Report accordingly deals with this trade question as even more remote than those other non-essential measures which would be practicable before or immediately upon the completion of the essential political union. It says :

“ Among the measures which, if not at first practicable, might become more so with the growth of a feeling of permanent national unity, the most

important would be those connected with the fuller development of inter-Imperial trade and the removal of existing hindrances thereto due to tariff arrangement. The course of events may remove the obstacles at present retarding the interchange of commodities between the countries which constitute the Empire. The sense of the permanence of the political union would naturally induce the people of the various countries in the Empire to make, for the sake of strengthening the union, fiscal arrangements, which under existing circumstances they are not prepared to adopt."

By drawing then a clear distinction between what is deemed essential to a permanent national unity and what is not, the Council of the Imperial Federation League have taken away the reproach of indefiniteness so often levelled against their cause. The minds of those who have really studied the subject have no doubt been long made up on these points. It was probably wise however not to attempt earlier in the history of the movement to crystallize floating opinion and publish *ex cathedra* as has now been done such precise definitions; although, it is true, the propositions now formulated are but amplifications of the original resolutions upon which the policy of the League was based; those resolutions contained the germs of the principles now enunciated, and, moreover, they contained nothing else. But the time had clearly arrived for this amplification and further definition; and now it is done there will be no excuse for politicians or political writers to say they do not know what the advocates of Imperial Federation are driving at, or for any confusion between Imperial Federation and schemes either for Fair Trade or for Olympic Games and suchlike harmless "fads" that have sometimes borrowed its name. There is another particular misapprehension which the issue of this report ought to remove once for all. Mr. Goldwin Smith and hosts of lesser critics have insisted upon running their heads against an imaginary obstacle which they find in the insuperable objection that undoubtedly exists to giving a voice in the affairs of the Empire to the peoples of India and other subject races. It has been explained over and over again in the League's monthly organ *Imperial Federation* and on a hundred plat-

forms that no one makes any such monstrous proposal : that there is no idea of conferring the imperial franchise upon races who are not yet trusted with the control of their own domestic concerns. The Imperial Council proposed by the report constitutes really a "Federation of Executives." It would include "on the part of the United Kingdom the Indian Empire and the Crown Colonies" several of the principal Ministers in the Imperial Government, "India and the Crown Colonies" being especially represented upon it "through Her Majesty's Secretaries of State at present charged with the administration of their affairs" and in such other manner as time might show to be desirable—the West Indian Colonies for example demanding perhaps, when grouped, more direct representation. In another clause we read that "In the case of India and the Crown Colonies the United Kingdom would continue to be responsible for all matters relating to their respective contributions" to Imperial Defence. After this perhaps Mr. Goldwin Smith will cease asking "Shall Quashee have a vote?"

The reception met with by this report in the press of the United Kingdom must be a source of very real satisfaction to the members of the League that issued it. Most of the influential papers in the country have welcomed it as an able and business-like state paper deserving the most serious consideration and affording a practicable basis upon which an Imperial Conference of responsible Ministers could proceed to discuss "the future of the British Empire." Its studied moderation and the advisedly tentative character of the propositions formulated, as well as its statesmanlike reserve, have won for it high and well-deserved encomium. There remains one other aspect of the question to which attention must be called. A large part of the present article is devoted to showing the necessity that exists for some readjustment of the relations between Britain and her Colonies. The Committee that prepared this report, while saying that the proposals made in it appear to them to embody

the main principles that must prevail in any such readjustment, add that, in presenting these proposals, they "wish it to be understood that they have proceeded on the assumption that a general desire exists for maintaining the unity of the Empire and making its organization more perfect, especially for the purpose of defence." Some persons will be inclined to think this assumption rather a large one. But in spite of what has been said of the spirit of separation and independence prevailing in some quarters in the Colonies, there is good ground for believing that, as regards the better opinion in most of the Colonies which, if it came to a critical trial of strength on so momentous an issue might be counted on to prevail, such a general desire does exist. And, if the utterances of public men and of the more educated sections of the Press throughout the Colonies are to count for anything more than wind and printer's ink, the principle underlying the proposals of the Imperial Federation League should also be accepted in the Colonies as determining the lines upon which effect may be given to the desire for maintaining the unity of the Empire and perfecting its organization, especially for defence.

At the same time it would perhaps be too much to expect that these proposals will at once meet in the Colonies with the same favourable reception that has been accorded to them at home. Imperial questions are not much studied or understood in the Colonies outside a limited circle of publicists. In particular the idea of taking their fair share of imperial burdens has never been brought home to men's minds there. They have been accustomed to take the enormous privileges they enjoy as matters of course; and we none of us quite relish being asked to do or to pay for something that we have become used to having done or paid for by other people. They are not likely therefore to jump at the propositions now made. But when they find that leading statesmen on the home side of the water are in earnest upon this matter, and when they come to consider the alternatives, there is reason to hope that counsels of

wisdom will prevail : and it must not be forgotten that the main principle of contribution to naval defence was admitted at the Imperial Conference of 1887, and acted upon, though in a very partial and limited manner, in the arrangements for the Australian Auxiliary Squadron. The report nevertheless concludes with the following statement :

“ It is recognised as possible that such a Conference as has been suggested by your Committee may fail to adopt these proposals, or any others for the better organization of the Empire ; but until such a Conference has been summoned, and has either succeeded or failed, British Cabinets and the British Parliament will be fairly open to the reproach of having made no adequate effort to deal with a question which, in the words of the late Prime Minister, ‘ involves neither more nor less than the future of the British Empire.’ ”

The time has indeed come when it is necessary to ask and to answer this question as to the future relations of the Mother Country and the rest of her Empire with the great self-governing Colonies. If the Colonies give an unfavourable answer now, we may be very sure that no better one would ever be given at any future time, when the native-born have drifted yet farther away from the motherland. A policy of delay can lead to no good, and only continues the present uncertainty, which is unfair and mischievous for both parties for reasons fully gone into in this article. If the question be resolved in favour of the maintenance of Imperial unity—as every wise and patriotic man must trust and pray that it will be—all is well. If not, at least we shall all know where we stand. For the Colonies, though the anticipation of independence seems dazzling to some minds, the reality of it would, it is to be feared, be found a sorry alternative to the career that awaits them yet as portions of a mighty Empire. For Britain, though falling short of the splendid future that might be hers, there remains even so the glorious heritage that has not been thrown away.

THE YELLOW MEN OF INDIA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON,
(Bengal Civil Service, *ret.*)

IN a recent study of the races of North-Eastern India,* based on close observation of the inhabitants of the old metropolitan district of Murshidabad, I found it necessary to group the Bengalis under three quite different race-types.

The first of these, the fair-complexioned Aryan, formed a very small minority, and included the nucleus only of the Brahman caste.

The representatives of the second Bengal race-type, the Indo-Chinese, with high cheek-bones, eyes aslant, and a dusky yellow skin, were much more numerous ; and were, for the most part, industrious and skilful agriculturists.

While the third type, the dark, almost black Dravidian, — perhaps slightly more numerous than the last,—made up the bulk of the craftsmen and artisans, besides furnishing a considerable contingent to the cultivator class.

This division of the inhabitants of Bengal met with a very favourable reception, especially from former residents in India ;—much more favourable, indeed, than I had dared to hope, and this was probably because it expressed a general conviction that the Bengali is our Aryan brother in name only ; and that, in his case, it would be a grave error to interpret resemblance of vocabulary as identity of blood.

But, while the non-Aryan character of the mass of rural Bengalis was readily admitted, I found it much more difficult to establish the view that the Indo-Chinese type was really very largely represented in Bengal ; that the almond-eyed, yellow-skinned race really formed an important element in our most populous Presidency.

I am compelled, therefore, to support my own opinions as to the extent of this yellow race, by such evidence as can

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1892 :—"Bengal Philology and Ethnography."

be collected from recognised authorities on questions of Indian ethnology ; with the result, I believe, of establishing my conclusions firmly, and of shewing that they are broadly applicable to other parts of India, also, outside Bengal.

But before detailing the evidence of ethnologists, and recording what they say of the yellow races of India, it may be well to sketch the conclusion to which this evidence seems to me to point, so that each part may at once be assigned its proper value with regard to the whole.

The facts which I have collected will show, I think, that there are three main centres of the dusky-yellow, almond-eyed race in India, each of which contains a numerous population, speaking distinctly non-Aryan languages ; with immemorial institutions of their own ; and shewing a perfectly distinct and indubitable ethnical type.

It will be further clear, I think, that round each of these yellow centres spreads an extensive penumbra, in which the same race type is preserved almost or quite unaltered ; but with language, customs, and religion blending more or less with surrounding tongues and faiths.

The first centre of the yellow, Indo-Chinese race, which I shall try to describe, is the country of the Kocch tribe, of Kooch Behar,* in the north-east of Lower Bengal. My chief authority for the Kocch district is Brian Houghton Hodgson, the most gifted observer, perhaps, who ever tried to unravel the tangled skein of Indian race.

According to Mr. Hodgson the Kocch type falls into three groups, marked by greater or less assimilation in belief and speech with the tribes that surround them. The first of these three groups contains a large section of the agricultural classes of Behar ; using a vocabulary largely Hindi or Bengali ; and, nominally, at any rate, Mahomedan in religion. Most probably, the Mussulmanism of the Behar cultivators hardly goes beyond the name, and is really only a conglomerate of old aboriginal beliefs and practices, under a new title.

* Commonly known as Kuch-Bihar.

For the Faith of the Prophet,—the most democratic in India,—is always willingly embraced by tribes and classes whose social standing is low or doubtful; as Mahomedans, they are on a more equal footing with their higher caste Hindu neighbours. Though Mussulmans in name, these converts almost always retain the bulk of their old beliefs; and cling tenaciously to many practices which an orthodox son of Islam would regard with abhorrence. Their conversion has really a social, and not a religious cause. This is certainly true of the masses of rural Mussulmans in Bengal; and it is most probably true also of the cultivators of the Kocch type who profess the religion of Mahomed in Behar. After these professing Mussulmans come the second group of the Kocch race. They form a better class of the inhabitants of Behar; use a vocabulary even more largely Hindi or Bengali, and belong to one or other of the better Hindu castes. The members of this group, though of quite distinct Indo-Chinese race, are, in language and religion, “Aryan-voiced” Hindus,* and no one would dream of disputing their position within the Hindu fold. How long they have held this position, can hardly be settled definitely; but there is no reason to believe that their Hinduism is of recent origin; quite probably, it may date from ages ago.

The first Kocch group, who are now nominally Mussulmans, were most probably low-caste Hindus before their conversion; so that it may be assumed that, at the time of the Mahomedan invasions, and probably for ages before, the whole of this large and important section of the inhabitants of Behar would also rightly have been described as “Aryan-voiced” Hindus, though distinctly and undeniably Indo-Chinese in race. Not unfrequently one meets with members of the better class in Behar, men of good Hindu caste, who use a vocabulary largely borrowed from Sanskrit, and yet have as typical Mongol features, and as pronounced Mongol colour as could be met with in the streets of Canton.

* Manu (x. 45) speaks of “*ârya-vâcho Dasyavah*,” that is: Aryan-voiced Dasyus;—men of non-Aryan race, speaking Aryan tongues.

After these two sections, the Mussulman and the Hindu Kocch, Mr. Hodgson describes the third group, the primitive, unconverted aborigines, who still retain the title of Kocch,—discarded and despised by the two preceding sections of the same race. They still keep their original non-Aryan tongue; and, with it, customs and characteristics which have most probably distinguished them from the earliest days of Indian history.

Mr. Hodgson quotes with warm commendation, from his predecessor, Buchanan, an account of the life of the true aboriginal Kocch, which I cannot do better than summarise: “The primitive or Pani Kocch live amid the woods, frequently changing their abode in order to cultivate lands enriched by a fallow. They cultivate entirely with the hoe, and more carefully than their neighbours who use the plough, for they weed their crops, which the others do not. The clothing of the Pani Kocch is made by the women, and is, in general, blue, dyed by themselves, with their own indigo; the borders red, dyed with morinda. The material is cotton of their own growth, and they are better clothed than the mass of the Bengalese. Their only arms are spears; but they use iron-shod implements of agriculture, which the Bengalese often do not. The Kocch sacrifice to the sun, moon, and stars, to the gods of rivers, hills and woods, and every year, at harvest-home, they offer fruits and a fowl to deceased parents.”

Mr. Hodgson, endorsing this description, points out that the Kocch is essentially agricultural,—a most indefatigable and successful tiller of the soil.

I would invite particular attention to Mr. Hodgson's picture of the ethnical character of the Kocch, as they are a typical example of the race that I have called the yellow Indo-Chinese. The Kocch is distinguished, he says, by “less height, less symmetry; a somewhat lozenge contour of face, caused by the large cheek bones; with less perpendicularity of features in front; a broad, flat face; a short, wide nose, often clubbed at the end, and with

round nostrils ; small eyes, less fully opened, and less evenly crossing the face by their line of aperture ; large ears ; thick lips ; less beard," and lastly, " a paler yellow hue."

This description of the oblique-eyed, yellow Kocch entirely agrees with the yellow Indo-Chinese type, which I found in the western half of the district of Murshidabad.

The type which I described belongs primarily to the Santal Parganahs in Central Bengal, and constitutes there the second of the three yellow race-centres to which I have referred. The Santalis claim to be an ancient race, with traditions of a mighty past, when they had kings and cities of their own, before they were driven from their former home by invaders. They speak a highly elaborate and complicated language, which is entirely non-Aryan, both in vocabulary and grammar ; and they still have a large body of traditional songs, which are handed down from generation to generation. They have a peculiar theogony, with legends of the destruction of the human race by fire and flood, and the birth of the seven original Santali tribes from the survivors. Later, they had twelve tribes, the added five being deemed inferior ; and each tribe contained twelve families : only eleven tribes now exist.

Mr. Hodgson's description of the physical type of the Kocch would fit the Santali perfectly ; but, for the sake of comparison, I may enumerate the characteristics of the Indo-Chinese type as I found it in the districts close to the Santal Parganahs. These characteristics are : thick, ill-formed features ; broad, flat nose ; small eyes, with inclined axis ; low, receding forehead ; long upper lip ; very prominent cheek-bones ; thick lips ; coarse, lank hair ; scanty beard, and lastly a dusky complexion, with a distinct sub-shade of yellow.

It is curious that this description of the type bordering on the Santal Parganahs coincides almost verbally with what Mr. Hodgson says of the Kocch ; and I think no one will deny that both are pictures of the same race ; the same well-defined ethnic type—the yellow, oblique-eyed Indo-Chinese.

As was the case with the Kocch, the pure, Santali-speaking aborigines of the Santal Parganahs are surrounded by a penumbra of the same race type, who have discarded their original tongue for a vocabulary largely of corrupted Sanskrit words; the majority are probably Hindus, though they also include Mussulmans; but these, as we saw in the case of the Kocch, were probably nominal Hindus before they became, by their conversion, at least nominal Mahomedans.

We have, therefore, in this fringe of the Santal Parganahs, a body of "aryan-voiced" Hindus, undoubted and unquestioned members of the Hindu community, but who are nevertheless, in race and character, equally undoubted Indo-Chinese, with eyes aslant, and yellow skin.

The Santalis are indefatigable and successful cultivators, whenever they get a chance to till the soil; and this is especially true of the people of the western highlands of Murshidabad, who though speaking a form of Bengali, still maintain a quite distinct Santali type. Their fields are tilled with unceasing industry, and untiring skill, and their system of irrigation is carefully planned, and admirably carried out.

To turn now to the third chief centre of the yellow men of India,—the Savaras or Saoras of Northern Madras.

My chief authority for this people is Mr. F. Fawcett, whose description of the Savaras, contributed to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is a model of what an ethnological monograph ought to be. The Savaras occupy a mountainous district of two or three thousand square miles in the northern half of the Eastern Ghats. They have certainly been in the same position for the last two thousand years, for they are described by Pliny (as the *Savri*) and by Ptolemy (as the *Sabarae*), and are assigned by them to the locality they still occupy. It is quite possible that they occupied the same position four or five thousand years ago, or at whatever date the Aryan immigrants entered India.

It is a curious coincidence, greatly strengthening the evidence of the racial unity of the Indo-Chinese tribes, that, in describing the Savaras of Southern India, Mr. Fawcett uses almost the identical terms which have been applied to the Kocch of Kocch Behar, in the extreme north, and to the outlying Santalis of Murshidabad. Mr. Fawcett says the Savaras are characterised by: "flat faces: thick lips; high cheek-bones; broad and flat nose; eyes slightly oblique; almost beardless; with very fair, distinctly mongolian"—that is, yellow—"faces: the men being generally under middle height, spare, and well built."

The Savaras are "excellent and industrious cultivators, (to the manner born, like Chinamen)" says Mr. Fawcett, who speaks also of their "Chinese" faces, and their "Chinese" gravity, when at work; thus illustrating I think, the fitness of the term Indo-Chinese which I have used to describe the general race-type to which they belong.

Mr. Fawcett was greatly impressed with the agricultural skill of these yellow Savaras of Madras; "many and many a time," he says "have I tried to find a place where an extra rice field might be made, but never with success.

"It is not too much to say that rice is grown on every available foot of arable ground, all the hill streams being utilised for this purpose. From almost the very tops of the hills, in fact, from wherever the springs are, there are rice fields; at the top of every small area, a few square yards; the front perpendicular revetment sometimes as large in area as the area of the field; and larger and larger, down the hill-side, taking advantage of every available foot of ground, there are fields below fields to the bottom of the valleys. The Savaras shew remarkable engineering skill in constructing their rice fields, and I wish I could do it justice. They seem to construct them in the most impossible places, and certainly at the expense of great labour."

Round the pure Savaras, as round the two other yellow centres, is a fringe of the same race type, more or less assim-

lated in language and religion with their neighbours,—one division of whom are Uriya-speaking—that is, “Aryan-voiced”—Hindus. I think therefore, that I am justified in assuming no further proof to be needed of the existence of three pure and distinct racial centres, in three widely separated regions of India,—Kocch Behar, in the extreme north ; the Santal Country in the middle ; and the Eastern Ghats of Madras, to the south ;—all with marked Indo-Chinese characteristics ; all speaking non-aryan tongues ; all of distinct yellow colour ; and all remarkable as excellent and successful cultivators.

I may also consider it proved, I think, that each of these isolated groups, is really the unassimilated remnant of a much larger racial group, with the same Indo-Chinese characteristics, the same yellow skin, the same agricultural skill ; which has become blended in language and religion with the surrounding tribes ; and these large groups, up to the time of the Mussulman invasions, would have been with perfect propriety described as “Aryan-voiced” Hindus, in spite of their indubitable Indo-Chinese race.

It will be a legitimate conclusion to draw, that this yellow, agricultural race, forms to-day, and formed most probably, five thousand years ago, or even earlier, a very important element in the population of India ; and that, with the gradual growth of the so-called Brahmanical polity in Ancient India, the men of this yellow race were, to a large extent, admitted within the Hindu fold. Many of them remain there to this day ; others have become Mussulmans ; while yet a third section—comprising the three yellow centres I have described,—still maintain their admirable primitive culture, their original customs, and their non-Aryan tongues.

For centuries after the Aryans entered India from their former home in Central Asia, they were in conflict with the populations they found already in possession of the broad plains of Hindustan ; and these populations were probably, for the most part, dark Dravidians, and yellow Indo-

Chinese. I think I see traces of yet another race in ancient India, before the white Aryans entered; distinct from both Dravidians and Indo-Chinese; but I must defer the consideration of this interesting point to another occasion. This much is certain, that the Vedic Aryans have recorded in their hymns a long struggle with the earlier races of India, whom they call the Dasyus. One hymn of the Rig Veda* declares that "Indra bestowed horses, he bestowed the sun, he bestowed the nourishing cow, he bestowed bright wealth; and, having slain the Dasyus, he protected the Aryan (or, noble) colour:" and it is very interesting to note that, in a very ancient Sanskrit work† a tribe called the Savaras are mentioned as Dasyus. It is almost certain that this is a branch of the race I have already described, as the Savaras of Madras. If so, then one section of the Dasyus was certainly yellow, and I believe yellow Dasyus are specifically mentioned in the Rig Veda. In the Mahâbhârata, (the date of which is unanimously assigned by Indian tradition to a period almost exactly five thousand years ago,) two tribes of yellow Dasyus are spoken of, the Kirâtas, and the Chinas.‡ They are called "golden" or "yellow coloured"; and are compared to a forest of trees with yellow flowers.

The former are probably the ancestors of the modern Kiratas of Nepal: the latter are most likely the Chins who have quite recently suffered one of our "little wars."

The "hundred cities" of the Dasyus are frequently alluded to in the Rig Veda, and this coincides exactly with the tradition I have quoted, of the time when the Santali race lived further west, and had Kings and cities of their own, before they were driven back by powerful invaders.

In one passage of the Rig Veda,§ occurs the verse:

"Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the

* Rig Veda, iii. 34, 9.

† Aitareya Brâhmana, vii. 18.

‡ India: "What can it teach us?" iv., Prof. Max Müller.

§ Rig Veda, i. 130, 8.

sacrificing Arya. Chastising the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu."

This allusion to the black Dravidians as Dasyus completes the picture of two races the Vedic Aryans found in India, and agrees in every particular with the evidence I have brought forward of the character and traditions of the Dasyus themselves, whether of the novel category of the yellow Indo-Chinese, or the long-recognised black Dravidians of the South.

As centuries, or perhaps millenniums passed, and the Aryans became settled in India, we have ample evidence to show that their relations with the "Dasyus" became more peaceful; and that, eventually large bodies of Dasyus found a place in the Brahmanical polity.

It is generally admitted that the black Dasyus,—of Dravidian origin—formed the basis of the Shudra caste, the artisans and craftsmen in the Brahmanical scheme; but I must reserve for another occasion the evidence which I have collected to shew that the yellow Dasyus—the Indo-Chinese—were the nucleus of the Vaishya or agricultural caste; and that their descendants are the "Aryan-voiced"—that is, Hindi or Bengali speaking—cultivators of Behar and Bengal; a section of whom we have seen to be a pure Indo-Chinese race with high cheek-bones, oblique eyes, and yellow skins.

When the Aryan invaders had either conquered or made peace with the Dasyus, and began to share with them their political and religious institutions, the first foundations of the ancient Brahmanical polity were laid. The Dasyus, once absorbed into the Brahmanical fold, began to lose their original tongues, and to adopt a vocabulary of corrupted Sanskrit words. It was probably the efforts of the yellow and black races to pronounce Sanskrit words which gave rise to the ancient Prakrits, such as Mahârâshtri, or Mâgadhi, which generally soften and weaken the Sanskrit words in the same way that the Polynesian tribes soften and weaken English words they adopt; and one

might almost call the various Prakrits dialects of "Pidgin-Sanskrit," from their analogy with Pidgin-English. So that although a Sanskrit-derived vocabulary was adopted by these Indo-Chinese and Dravidian tribes, who thus became, as *Manu* would say, "Aryan-voiced," yet they left in the resultant speech strong traces of their own tongues; and it is probable that a number of words borrowed from these tribes found their way even into Classical Sanskrit. Bishop Caldwell, in his admirable *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages*, points out many Dravidian loan-words in Sanskrit, and it is likely that the Indo-Chinese tongues furnished at least an equal number.

If they introduced many of their own words even into the jealously guarded Sanskrit, the "language of the Gods," it is quite certain that they introduced even more of their original beliefs and customs into that curious conglomerate of faiths which sprang up after their admission into the Brahmanical polity, and which to-day bears the name of Hinduism,—a name which indicates a loosely organised social condition rather than any specific practices or beliefs.

It is probable that, to the influence of these half-assimilated Dasyus was due, in part at least, the great though gradual change from the bright Vedic faith to the highly coloured mythology of the *Purānas*, and the complex beliefs of the modern Hindus. To trace this gradual remoulding of the Vedic religion, and its passage to the legends of the *Purānas*, is a work that has employed many workers for many years, and is yet but half-completed.

But, while the facts of this change have long been acknowledged, it is only quite recently that the cause has been sought in the influence of the older races of India on the Aryan invaders.

The share of the Dravidians in this influence is already being investigated by competent observers in India, with results of the greatest interest; and I cannot but believe that the influence of the yellow Indo-Chinese on their white conquerors and allies will be found to be as great if not greater.

To decide the question accurately is, however, by no means an easy task ; to do this, we must gain a clear understanding of the social and religious condition of the yellow races, at that remote epoch—how remote no one can tell—when the Aryans entered India from their earlier Asian home.

At first sight, this would seem almost impossible, in the absence of written records among the yellow races of India ; and yet I believe very much may be done to reconstruct the picture of their early life by a careful observation and comparison of the yellow races that still retain their old beliefs and customs, in India to-day : of the primitive unconverted, “mleccha-voiced”* Kocch, and Savara, and Santali. We may gain greater faith in the accuracy of such a picture if we remember, that among the very conservative peoples of India, the yellow races are perhaps the most conservative, resembling in this their northern kindred in China ; and that even at the present day they have adopted from their Hindu neighbours neither language, nor customs, nor even the use of writing, though the manufacture of paper has been known in India for at least two thousand years.

To an attempt to construct, in some degree, such a picture of the life of the old yellow races of India, before the Aryan invasion, the rest of this study will be devoted ; and, when this is done, and has been supplemented by a comparison of their languages and traditions, we shall be in a better position to determine the nature and extent of their influence on their white conquerors and allies.

For the sake of clearness, I shall divide this study of the yellow races into two parts : their social, and their religious life ; though the two are closely bound together in the case of the vividly-believing peoples of the East.

The picture of the external life of the yellow races, which I have given incidentally, in describing their ethnical character, hardly needs to be supplemented. The Kocch,

* *Manu* x. 45.

the Santali, and the Savara are all distinctly agricultural; spending their days from sunrise to sunset, in tilling, irrigating, and weeding their fields of rice, or indigo or cotton. They all till with an iron-shod hoe, the Savaras sometimes using a light plough, when the nature of the ground permits; and all three races, when clearing new ground, burn away the jungle instead of cutting it down, being perfectly aware of the fertilising power of wood-ashes.

In their work in the fields, the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savara are largely helped by their wives and daughters when domestic duties allow, and when the women are not engaged in their own peculiar tasks of spinning, dyeing, and weaving. All three peoples are acquainted with the preparation and use of dyes, of which indigo and morinda, for blue, and red, are probably the most popular.

The villages of these three peoples number from ten or twenty to a hundred homes, and their houses are well and strongly constructed,—better perhaps than those of their neighbours of other races.

Every village has its own headman, and amongst the Santalis, at any rate, the headman is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village; so that the office must be hereditary.

The presence of the headman of the village among the unassimilated yellow tribes disproves the supposition that this institution is peculiarly Hindu.

The life of the Kocch, Santali, and Savara women is characterised by far greater freedom than that of orthodox Hindus; and the same enlightenment marks the marriage laws of these three tribes.

A few words are sufficient to describe their admirable and yet very simple institutions with regard to marriage; for, with one or two exceptions, to be noted, the customs of all three are the same.

In the first place, among the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savaras, there is no such thing as habitual marriage of infants, or tender and immature children.

The contracting parties are almost always adults, and the union is brought about by mutual consent, after a few simple ceremonies of feasting and sacrifice. The woman's liberty of choice is carefully guarded. Amongst the Savaras, says Mr. Fawcett, "a woman may leave her husband whenever she pleases. Her husband cannot prevent her."

Among the Kocch, according to Buchanan, "the men are so gallant that they have made over all their property to the women, who in return are most industrious, weaving, spinning, brewing, planting, sowing; in a word, doing all the work not above their strength."

In consequence of the independence of their wives, the Kocch and Savaras are admirable husbands; and I believe substantially the same conditions obtain amongst the Santalis. The second great principle with regard to marriage among these three yellow tribes, which again furnishes a remarkable contrast with the Hindus, is that widows are perfectly free to marry again, and incur no social disability by doing so.

The property of the parents is said to go to the sons among the Savaras, and to the daughters amongst the Kocch; as to the Santalis, I have as yet no certain information; so that the question of inheritance among the yellow tribes may be left open for the present.

Only two more points of importance need be noted; and, in these I believe there is a complete identity between Kocch, Santali, and Savara usage.

These points are, that the men of these three yellow races must marry women of the same tribe, while marriage of relations is absolutely forbidden. I believe that each of these tribes is distinguished by a fairly high standard of social purity, as contrasted with other Indian races. Polygamy exists, to a limited extent, among the richer Savaras, but not so far as I know in the other two tribes.

The Kocch and the Savara both burn their dead, generally in a family or village burning ground, beside a river; I

believe the Santalis do the same, but on this point more exact information is desirable.

In the religion of the three yellow tribes, which is mainly a cult of the dead, the resemblance between Kocch, Santali, and Savara usage, is very striking.

Among the Kocch and the Savaras, and I believe also among the Santalis the sacrifices fall into three classes.

First, an offering to the ghost, a few days after the body has been burned; secondly, a general sacrifice, (every year, or every second year,) to the ghosts, after the rice has been gathered in; and, thirdly, a sacrifice to bring the rains or to mark their arrival.

The two latter strongly mark the agricultural character of the yellow races.

From a study of many details of the religious usages of these three yellow races, the Kocch, the Santali and the Savara, I am convinced that the basis of their religion is a firm belief in the ghosts of the dead, joined with an equally firm belief in their uniform malignance. Their gods and the demons of wells and trees are generally found to be ghosts of the dead, if the beliefs regarding them are carefully looked into. They further believe that these ghosts are able and willing to injure the community they belonged to, in three ways; first, personally, by the infliction of diseases, through obsession or demoniac possession, and by various forms of malignant mischief and spite; to avert these personal injuries, sacrifices are offered by the relations, a few days after the body is burned.

The second possible injury they attribute to the malignant ghosts of their dead, is the destruction of the harvest; and to prevent this, or rather, to reward the ghosts for their forbearance, in a case of a good harvest, they offer yearly or biennial sacrifices at the harvest home, expressly dedicated to the ghosts of those who have died within that period.

Thirdly, they believe the ghosts of their dead can impede the yearly rains—thus destroying the prospects of

next year's harvest ; and the beginning of the rains is therefore made the occasion of another sacrifice.

These sacrifices are generally pigs, goats, buffaloes, or fowls, the flesh of which is eaten by the sacrificers.

The Kocch and Savaras, and I believe also the Santalis, communicate with the ghosts of their dead through special individuals, who might almost be called mediums : In Kocch, Deoshi ; in Savara, Kudang ; and to the persons of these, except when in actual communication with the ghosts of the dead, no particular sanctity is attached.

Probably all their gods and demons to whom sacrifices are offered were originally ghosts of deceased persons : they are generally approached in precisely the same way.

It is difficult to understand why the ghost of a Kocch or Savara, who was probably an industrious tiller of the soil, and an excellent husband and father, should become, on his decease, a malignant demon, to be appeased with constant offerings ; perhaps some light may be shed on the question by the beliefs of other races in India.

According to these races, man is a threefold being, composed of soul, passions, and body ; and, at death these three are separated. The body is burned or buried, and it is the passionate nature of the man, which, taking on a semblance of his form, becomes the malignant demon at his death. This wraith or ghost gradually fades away, and can only recover strength through sacrifices.

It is believed that a good man, at his decease becomes even a more malignant demon than an evil man ; because, in the case of the former the soul at once departs, and leaves the ghost or wraith to work its will ; while in the latter, the soul remains for a time, and thus tempers in some degree the malignance of the wraith.

If this belief is shared by the three tribes whom I have described, its existence would go far to explain all the ceremonies I have alluded to. It will be quite clear that the "ancestor-worship" of the three yellow races, the Kocch, the Santali, and the Savara, is not a deification or

canonization of dead heroes, or anything remotely resembling it ; but, on the contrary, a clearly defined belief in the malignance of ghosts, who cause diseases by obsession, and destroy the harvests, and cause droughts and famines, and who are only to be appeased by offerings and sacrifice.

And in this, I think, we shall find one great contrast with the Vedic faith of the Aryan invaders ; and one great source of the rites and practices of the modern Hindus ; or rather of those tribes of Indo-Chinese race, who have been admitted within the Hindu fold.

To sum up : a considerable proportion of the population of India, belong to a yellow race, with marked Chinese features. The majority, or at any rate an important section of these, have been admitted within the Hindu fold (probably ages ago), and have adopted a corrupted Sanskrit vocabulary ; while another section remains unassimilated, and retains non-Aryan tongues.

All the members of this yellow race, whether Hindus or of aboriginal faiths, are distinguished as industrious cultivators. The unassimilated remnant have much more enlightened marriage laws, and far fewer restrictions in the matter of eating and drinking,—though none of them, I believe, eat the flesh of the cow ; they all use fermented liquor and tobacco, but not opium or hashish. Finally, the unassimilated remnant believe in malignant ghosts of the dead, to whom offerings are made at stated occasions.

So much for a picture of the Indian yellow races as they are to-day. I must reserve for another occasion the history of their past (so far as it can be reconstructed), with the reasons which lead me to trace to that portion of them which was admitted within the Hindu fold, the origin of the Vaishya caste ; the class of cultivators in ancient India.

THE SALAGRAMA, OR HOLY STONE.*

BY CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

It has been wisely said by someone of the great popular philosophers, whose names generally pass into oblivion. that as we grow to be distinguished, or rich, we discover new relations. And so, at this Congress, Oriental Literature has formally recognised its affinity to Folk Lore, which was once regarded as the daughter of a younger sister, Archæology, but which is now becoming rapidly identified with the mother---even as Proserpine is found mixed up with Ceres, in Tuscan tales.

Folk-lore is the science which collects and classifies popular tradition in its broadest as well as its most confined sense. All that which is transmitted from man to man is properly within its scope, from mythology to a game of marbles. It has precisely the same relation to history,—as the latter is generally written,—which the insides of the houses of a city have to their exteriors : in fact it is, when compared to mere dry description of men's lives,* what colour is to outline. We all remember when, as school-boys, all the difference which we knew between Romans and Carthaginians, or Greeks and Persians, was that they fought with one another. When, at no distant date, the vivid sense of what people really *were* shall form an essential element in history, it will be found that this new life has resulted from the influence of this new study. It has been objected to it, that it is too indefinite, and means any or every thing. And it is certainly true, that anything which people repeat may, in a certain way, be made into a certain kind of folk-lore. "My son," said a French manufacturer of champagne, sherry, and Madeira, to his heir ; "remember that wine can be made from everything---even

* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on the 2nd September, 1891.

from grapes." There are folk-lorists who eliminate so resolutely all romance, all naive or child-like spirit, all *poetry* from their analysis of legends, that it would seem as if they thought that their wine ought to be made of anything but the genial fruit of the vine of life. But there is a place for everything, and in this new science everything will soon find its place. In which arrangement two things have already been discovered, and nowhere more clearly set forth than in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* which I have, as President, the honour to represent. These are firstly the intimate connection of Folk-Lore with Philology, and secondly with Oriental languages and literature—owing to the fact that the germs of nearly all traditions seem to have been drawn from the Morning land.

As an illustration of folk-lore which strangely connects Indian and European traditions, I call your attention to the *Salagrama*. There are found, according to a number of learned authorities,* by the river Gundak in Nepaul, certain stones bearing this name. They are regarded as very sacred. Once when Vishnu the Preserver was followed by Shiva the Destroyer, he implored the aid of Maia—Illusion, or Glamour—who turned him to a stone. Through this stone, Shiva, in the form of a worm, bored his way. But Vishnu escaped, and when he had resumed his form he commanded that this stone of delusion (or *salamaya*) should be worshipped. As such stones are found by Salipura or *Salagra*, they receive their name from the latter. "They are generally about the size of an orange, and are really a kind of ammonite."

I was somewhat astonished to learn that in Tuscany, there is a peculiar kind of stone, which is, I may say, in a sense, worshipped—so great is the reverence paid to it; and its Italian name is *Salagrana*, the same as the Indian, with the difference of a single letter. It is nothing more

* Nork, "Etymologisch-symbolisch-mythologisches Real Wörterbuch," vol. iv., p. 198. Wilford, "Asiatic Researches," xiv., p. 413; Friedrich, "Symbolik der Natur," p. 124; Temme *Volksagen von Pommern und Rugen*, p. 125.

nor less than ordinary stalagmite, or stalagam, the carbonate of lime deposited by water. But as this looks exactly like an earth-worm's mound, it is believed to be such petrified, or earth, shaped by worms passing through it, which identifies it with the Indian tradition.

There are, in the mountain country of La Toscana-Romagna, men and women who cultivate sorcery, keeping it a secret. From one of these I received as a New Year's present, a Salagrama, which, I was assured, had been worshipped for many generations. It was adorned with little wax-like flowers, such as are usually placed about small images of Christ, or the saints.

The Salagrama stone is in Tuscany, also carried in the pocket, in a red woollen bag, as were all such amulets among the old Romans. Once I found a small one in the streets of Florence. I took it to a professional sorceress who decided that it was really a sacred *Salagrama*, which had been worn and lost, but that, all things considered, it had better be reconsecrated, or conjured. This was done as follows: An incantation, which I carefully wrote down, was pronounced over the stone, and it was put into a red woollen bag, with a bit of gold and silver, and some of the herb *concordia*: "and the whole must be kept a secret from everybody."

The incantation is however of itself extremely interesting, because it opens for us a very different and wonderfully curious field of folk-lore extending literally all over the world. The very literal translation of it is as follows:

"Here the bag I hold and see!
Bag presented unto me,
That no wicked witch may come
To do me evil in my home!
In the stone which it contains
Are so many veins and grains
That no witch can count them all;
And so many fissures small
That she cannot cross the door
Or do evil any more.
May I have good luck and love,
Which I prize all things above."

The allusion in this incantation to veins, grains and holes which the witch cannot count, refers to the belief that when the evil eye rests on anything complicated or interlaced, be it a number of grains or a braid, it must perforce count, or trace them; and, while doing this, the evil power is exhausted. It is not from mere conjecture, but from much sound evidence that I believe that all the interlaces of Gothic tracery and especially those which occur in Keltic and Scandinavian art were based on this belief.

And here it may be truly said that the *Salagrama* stone opens a vast field of not merely curious, but of extremely valuable material for the history of art. A recent traveller in Persia was told that the patterns on carpets were, in that country, made complicated, in order to arrest, bewilder and exhaust the evil eye. It is the same thing to-day in Italy; and the information which I obtained on this subject was complete and satisfactory. It was given to me in these words:

“Interlaced serpents, like everything interlaced, protect against witchcraft, or the evil eye, and bring good luck. They should be painted on the wall, with their heads downwards. But this holds good, not as regards serpents alone, but all kinds of interweaving and braiding and interlacing cords, or whatever can attract the eyes of witches. When a family is afraid of witchcraft, they should undertake some kind of *lavori intrecciati*, or braided work; for witches cannot enter a house where there is anything of the kind hung up— as for instance patterns of two or three serpents twining together— *o altri ricami*— or other kinds of embroidery—but always intertwining. So in making shirts, or drawers, or any garments—for men or women— *camicie, mutande o vestiti*—one should always, in sewing, try to cross the thread, as shoemakers do when they stitch shoes, and make a cross-stitch; because shoes are most susceptible to witchcraft;— *perche le scarpe sono quelle più facili à prendere le siregonerie*. And when the witches see such interlacings, they can do nothing; because they cannot count

either the threads or the stitches—*ne il filo, ne i punti*. And if we have on, or about us, anything of the kind, they cannot enter; because it bewilders or dazzles their sight—*le fa abbagliare la vista*—and they become incapable of mischief. And, to do this well, you should take cotton, or silk, or linen thread, and make a braid of six, seven or eight colours—as many as you will—the more the better—and always carry it in your pocket, and this will protect you from witches. You can get such braids very beautifully made of silk of all colours, in some shops here in Florence; and they keep them for charms against the evil eye.”

When we study with great care—and I have copied hundreds—of the intertwined serpent or lacertine ornaments, of old Irish, Keltic or Scandinavian art—it is impossible to resist the conviction that among races in which sorcery was a deeply-seated religion, these interlaces had a profound meaning; and that this meaning was the same as the Persian and Etrusco-Roman or Italian, is almost a consequence.

You will observe that the Tuscan witch told me that witches must count the threads in the interlace or the grains in the Salagrama stone, or any grains laid about, before they can do evil. There is an herb called *Il Riso della Dea dei quattro venti*. The rice of the Goddess of the Four Winds. This, before its leaves unfold, looks not unlike grains of rice, for which reason it is much used as a protective. There is attached to it a very curious and strange legend abounding in pure old Roman sorcery. You may remember, how, in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, Amina, the ghoul or witch, must eat her rice, grain by grain, when it is set before her. In South Carolina the negroes, to prevent a victim from being hag-ridden, or night-mared by witches, strew rice about his bed. When the sorceress comes she must remove it all—grain by grain—before she can carry out her evil intentions.

The principle on which all this is based, in Nature, is very simple. A child, or a savage, is interested in a decorative

design to a degree of which the ordinary man or woman of the world has no conception. Hence all decoration with us is general, repetitive, and utterly meaningless. With the savage it is *particular*, full of interest, and symbolical. When he sees a maze or a mesh, he proceeds to trace it; and, in common with all boys, he always counts the squares in a carpet, or the panes in a window.

Beyond all question it was on a very similar principle that magic rhymes or measured incantations were framed, the witch being compelled to listen to the end, to the words when once begun. This is no mere conjecture of mine; it is understood and recognised among those who use the Tuscan incantations; but my limits will not allow me to depart so widely from my subject.

To return to the *Salagrama*. It puzzles witches with its grains. It also has magical virtue owing to the holes which occur in it. This brings us back to the Indian *Salagrama*, which is also a holy-stone, and which was used as a means of Maya, that is of Illusion, and of magic.

I have not time to go into the details - but I would say that in the Norse sagas, Maya or Illusion is distinctly recognised as a power, synonymy runs with poetry. In the Later Edda we are told that Odin, in order to steal the mead of poetry, once turned himself into a worm, and bored his way through a rock. Hence all stones with holes in them are called Odin Stones, or in England holy-stones. As regards Maya or Illusion, the monk Oddo in his Saga of king Olof, distinctly declares his belief that all magic was based on it. The general resemblance of the Norse myth to the Indian is certainly remarkable, and it becomes much more so, when we consider the *Salagrama* of Italy. I should say, regarding this latter, that Professor Comparetti of Florence suggested to me that it may have been brought with the name and associations by gypsies into Italy. There are also many superstitions attached to holy-stones all over Great Britain. But what is most important is the fact that as amulets against witchcraft or

nightmare, and in being lucky-stones, they correspond exactly to the *Salagrama* stone of India. I know a family in Yorkshire which has a stone in the shape of a harp with a hole in it, which always hangs behind the front door of their house.

It may very easily be conjectured, that stones with holes in them would be anywhere, among any savages, regarded as curiosities, to which superstitions would be soon attached. But when we find the same name with very similar legends attached to them, in countries far apart, there is certainly some reason to suspect a common origin and transmission. Both the theory of sporadic origin, as well as that of tradition have been carried to extravagance; it is the province of Folk-Lore, as a science, to carefully consider the *truth*, and nothing but the truth, in all such cases. Here the work of the merest Dryasdusts may be of great value—provided they do not start from the assumption that there has been *no* borrowing, *no* parentage, and that every tradition is a kind of Topsy which they 'spect growed of itself.

There is another extremely curious belief held among the professors of sorcery in La Toscana Romagna. It is, that if we take a stone with a natural hole in it,—one which comes from the sea is preferred—and if, *in faith*, we pronounce a certain incantation; and then look through the hole; we can see spirits of all kinds which are otherwise invisible. And this can be turned to great pecuniary profit. For whenever a man has died, leaving buried treasure, he must wander about, sad and miserable, without rest or peace, until some mortal discovers it. It is, moreover, a great mistake to suppose that all ghosts can manifest themselves or talk to us at will. Far from it—they must be discovered, exorcised, and exercised vigorously, ere they can be converted to acquaintance, and relieved. And the process as revealed to me by a priestess of the hidden spell, was as follows, which I wrote off, word for word, at dictation: "To see spirits. Take a stone from the sea which has a hole in it—*un buco tondo*—

a round hole. Then go to a *campo santo*, a cemetery, and standing at a little distance from it, close one eye, and looking at the cemetery with the other, through the stone, repeat these words—

“In nome di San Pietro,
E di San Biagio,
Fate che da questa pietra
Io possa vedere che forma
Hanno gli spiriti ;”

Or in English :

“In the name of St. Peter !
And for Saint Blasius' sake !
That by this stone unto me
It may be known, and I may see
What form the spirits take.”

To which were added the following words, which my informant believed to be Latin and an extract from the church service :

“De profundis clamao
In te Domine, Domino,
Et Domine, et fiantatis,
Bugsein et regina materna
Edognis Domine.”

That there might be no mistake—as I was not a Catholic—the Latin was written out for me. To resume the dictation : “Then you may see, by means of that stone, the spirits which have no peace, all in flame, wandering in such forms as they were when alive, some like priests in white or black garments—some as friars, or as an old woman with a torch in her hand. And of these are many who, having been avaricious in this life, left behind them hidden treasures, the thought of which gives them no rest. Then he who sees them, if he be poor, and would be rich, it will be enough that he have no fear, and then while the spirits are talking among themselves, let him say :

“‘If, in the name of God, you would be at rest (*salvo*), tell me where your treasure is, and what I must do to obtain it ; and so shall ye be saved.’”

The connection of a stone with a hole in it, and a bead,

is apparent enough ; and by means of this superstition as regards seeing the dead, and a certain very simple natural cause, we can trace out why amber beads are so generally believed to strengthen the sight. The natural cause is this :—If we look through any tube we can distinguish objects far, or rather near, more clearly :—even a rolled-up catalogue or short tin funnel, or the rounded hand, enables us to see pictures more clearly in a gallery. That is to say, this little guard keeps off all side-light which strains the eyes. We all know better than to read at night with lights falling on our eyes. Turn your back to the light always, to preserve your sight. Even a bead or a ring has some such action.

Amber beads from their light, aided by the hole in them, were supposed—possibly in pre-historic times—to look like eyes. My readers are all scholars ; so I need not repeat in detail that amber was, in Græco-Roman mythology, the tears of the sun, or of nymphs who mourned their brother. The belief that it was tears, it may, however, be observed, connects it with the eyes.

I have very briefly sketched the outlines of what might be expanded to a book, regarding belief in the occult virtues of stones with holes in them. There is, in all probability, in the East, a vast amount of Folk-lore on this far more than merely curious subject ; and I, therefore, commend it to general attention in the hope that those whose studies lead them in this direction will develop it.

It would be a very valuable contribution to the analysis and history of art, should any scholar, familiar with Indian traditions, be able to find equivalents for all this, either among pundits or the people.

INEDITED FRAGMENTS OF ARABIC ANTHOLOGY.*

BY PROFESSOR GUSTAVE DUGAT.

WITH the exception of Orientalists, many educated persons are apt to believe in a mystification when it is asserted that Arabic poetry has a claim on their attention for a variety of reasons, as if the Arabs could not produce men who think, feel and speak like poets of other races. Wanting in long-winded poems, the Arab excels in, what may be termed, *genre* pictures in which *one* thought is circumscribed. The history of man, not of men, is reflected in his Literature. What touches of manners, what revelations of the inner life of Orientals, so often sealed to the whole world, are made known by Arab poets!

This paper has been to me a recreation among more absorbing studies. If I have adopted a familiar poetic form in order to render the Arab verse, it was to give a little more life to thought which prose at times arrests or chills. Yet a prose translation is, in general, the best possible rendering. Still I believe that for short effusions, a translation in verse might be almost as exact. [We prefer giving a literal rendering into English prose, leaving Prof. Dugat's French verse to emulate the charm of the Arab original.]

These fragments have been drawn somewhat from chance reading, but more especially from the collections called "Safina" = ship, which the literary Arabs themselves make. *مثنوية* pl. *مفاتيح* is an album of songs or poems, a little copy-book of oblong slips, like a little "ship," whence the name. Gay or comic poems are rare among Arabs. Few poets have cultivated this "genre." Abu Nowás, Ibn Nobata, Ibn el Warrák, Et-Telemsány, and Ab-ul-Husain el Jazzár (the butcher), the author of an elegy on his ass of which here follow a few lines :

* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on the 2nd September, 1891.

Not every day are travails [travels] useful
 The ass is sold, but not the poems. . .
 He went in space as if he were the wind
 Not every Genius (Jinn) could like him fly. . .
 He was without reproach except that he
 In spite of his sharpness, yet was called an ass. . .

The poet says about "*Books*" :

Books recall to whoever is wise (what they have learnt)
 And their truths with their errors form one Ma'jûn (an in-
 toxicating paste)
 And the mind diving into them comes out
 With the truth in them like a concealed pearl.

The Vine.

When I die, then bury me by the side of the vine
 Its roots will refresh my bones in the place of the dead
 And do not bury me in the desert, for verily I
 Fear that when I die I will not quench my thirst (from
 which the poet apparently suffered all his life).

Thus says Abu Tammām At-tāy : [*The generous man*].

He is a sea ; from whichever side you come to him
 You will find him generous* and his shores to be goodness.
 His habit is to open his hands, till he,
 If he wished to close them, his fingers would not obey
 And should there be nothing in his hand except his soul
 He would tender *that*. Fear, therefore, God ye who petition
 him [for favours].

The Poet says : [*The Miser*].

Ever thinkest thou about the loss of what is thine
 And neglectest the loss of thy body and soul
 And the fear of poverty restrains thee from every desire
 And thy fear of becoming poor is worse than poverty itself.

* The quality for which Arabs are "known" or wish to be "known."

Ibn El Mua'ttaz says : [*The propitious hour*].

Don't seek except by night thine own beloved

For the sun is a tell-tale and the night is a pander.

How many a lover when the shades of night veil him

Meets her who loves him while mankind is sleeping !

The Poet says : [*Posthumous glory*].

Thou seest men deny the merits of *the* man

As long as he lives, but as soon as he goes (becomes gold)

Then eagerness clamours about him as regards his specks

And writes them about him in water of gold.

The Poet says : [*Epitaph*].

Verily the possessor of this tomb was a pearl

That was hidden and verily God found it to His glory !

Indeed the times never knew its value

So His regard restored it to its shell !

And from what is suitable to the Commander of the Faithful according to 'Ali Ibn Abi-Talib : [*Content*].

When man enjoys health in his body

And God has endowed him with a contented heart

And he rejects ambitions from his heart

Verily he to thee is the rich and were he to die of hunger.

To the Cadi el-Fádhil : [*Force*].

Don't yield to blows of fate, but hold thee hard !

For he who flinches, on *him* fastens fate

When iron is struck nothing happens, except

When it begins to soften to the heat of the flame.

The poet says : [*Contradictions*].

The lion dies in the forests of hunger

And the flesh of sheep is thrown to the dogs

And the fool sleeps upon silk

And the wise sleeps upon the dust.

And Bahlul recited : [*The inconveniences of polygamy*].

- I married two by excess of my folly
What now will happen to thee, O husband of two !
I had said : I will be among them a lamb
Enjoying blessings between two ewes ;
But I became like a sheep pushed and torn
That is tortured between the two fiercest she-wolves.
To this one [I gave] a day and to that one another ;
Wars constantly following between the two days.
If I please the one I anger the other
And yet I do not escape the rage of either tormentor.
Now thou if thou desirest to live, a happy being,
Then keep thy heart free from both hands
And live a bachelor, but if unable
Then one is enough and equals two armies !!

The text of the above and other verses, with some further translations, will be published among the papers of the Oriental Congress of 1891.

EDITOR.

THE BRUSSELS MONETARY CONFERENCE, AND THE PLANS TO RESTORE SILVER.

SINCE I last addressed the readers of this *Review* in July on the Silver Question, three events of importance have occurred in relation to it. They are, in the order of their importance, (1) the meeting of the International Conference at Brussels to discuss the possibility of raising the price of Silver; (2) the appointment of the Currency Commission in England to discuss the advisability of altering the Indian Currency law: and (3) the agitation in India, led by the merchants and Mr. Mackay, with the object of forcing on the Government of India the alternatives of Bimetallism or of a Gold Currency.

The English Currency Commission held several sittings and took a good deal of evidence; but on the meeting of the Brussels Conference, it adjourned *sine die*, to await the results of the latter. It has held one meeting since, but nothing has transpired as to the object or result of that meeting. The Indian agitation is still going on, and in so far as it is an agitation for Bimetallism, we English Bimetallists are of course in sympathy with it; but in as far as it is an attempt to obtain a Gold Currency or Gold Standard, it is like the cry of a child for the moon, and is as *impossible*. The gold currency would be as unsuitable for daily use to India as the moon would be to the child. The effect of closing the Mints to the coinage of Silver, in order to artificially force up the value of the rupee, would be to greatly diminish the use of Silver, and therefore seriously to decrease its value, yet you must increase the value of the rupee, if you mean to have a gold standard: for, at the present value of the rupee, a gold standard would be impossible.

India and the United States are the only two countries which now maintain the value of Silver. If India gave up the attempt, and introduced a gold standard, the United

States would at once do the same, silver would be practically demonetized, and would fall probably to 20d. an ounce.

The change which has really occurred is the *Appreciation* of Gold and not the *Depreciation* of Silver ; and India only suffers in common with all other countries, which have incurred Gold debts, and have to pay them in silver. India's losses are due, *not* to any special event affecting silver or the rupee ; but to the general conditions which have led to the appreciation of Gold. If then, she does anything to lower the value of Silver, in which alone she collects her revenue, and in which she is forced to pay her debts, she effectually commits suicide, and ruins all those dependent on her.

By introducing a gold standard, India would probably lose as much in the *one* item of Opium Revenue, as she now loses by her *whole* losses on Exchange ; for the Chinese pay in silver ; and, if that were seriously depreciated, even below its present level, as it would be by the action of India in establishing a Gold standard, India would have to bear the *whole* loss on the Opium payments from China, for China would pay no more in silver than it does now.

India would of course lose in many other items of Revenue ; and if she succeeded in artificially *appreciating* the value of the Rupee, she would open the door to an amount of illicit coinage, which would go far to neutralize the effect of closing the Mints ; and would inevitably demoralize the people whom we should thus unnecessarily expose to temptation.* A Gold standard or currency is a Will-o'-the-Wisp which will inevitably lead India to ruin.

To turn now to the Brussels Conference. The delegates assembled on Nov. 22nd : the Belgian premier M. Beernaert opened the proceedings with a guarded and politic speech, somewhat in favour of Bimetallism, and pointed out

* Mr. Probyn denied this at the discussion at the Bankers' Institute on the 15th, but I think it is obvious that, if you increase the nominal value of the rupee without increasing its intrinsic value, you will increase the temptation to manufacture it illicitly ; and, among a poor people, increase of temptation will inevitably lead to increase of crime. •

the extreme gravity of the present situation. On the 24th the United States delegates presented their proposals, which were for International Bimetallism; and they requested that, besides their own schemes, those of M. Moritz Lévy (or rather Mr. Lesley Probyn), Prof. Soetbeer, and Mr. Alfred de Rothschild might be considered.

Since then, on Dec. 5th and 6th, M. Tietgen, the Danish Delegate, and Sir William Houldsworth, one of the English Delegates, have proposed two other schemes, so that there are no less than six separate plans for helping Silver to be considered; but, inasmuch as the scheme, originally propounded by Mr. Probyn, for giving up small gold coins and the small notes based on gold, is virtually the same scheme as M. Lévy's, which is admittedly the foundation of Prof. Soetbeer's more elaborate plan, these three may be considered as one; and the total number of plans is reduced to four.

Mr. A. de Rothschild's, which has been for the present rejected by the Conference, but which may very possibly be re-considered later on, is a scheme of an International agreement for the purchase of £5,000,000 worth of Silver annually for 5 years by the European nations at a price not exceeding 43 pence per ounce, on condition that the United States continues her purchases of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of ounces a month. He was also willing that silver should be made a legal tender in England up to £5. This plan is of course only in the nature of an alleviative: it would probably maintain the price of Silver at 43d. for those 5 years; but that price is in the first place far too low (it leaves the rupee at 1s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.); and the plan would do nothing to *permanently* augment the price of silver, or to increase its *use*, as apart from its *purchase*. What we want is a plan which will increase the *demand* for silver, and so automatically increase its price.

We now come to the scheme which is most often called M. Moritz Lévy's, and which has been elaborately worked out in detail by Professor Soetbeer in his Memorandum

of the 5th August 1892. It is however really to Mr. Lesley Probyn, formerly Accountant-General of Madras, and now Comptroller of Accounts to the Prince of Wales, that the credit of this plan is originally due. In a letter dated the 12th May 1881, which was presented by Lord Reay to the Paris Conference of 1881 on the 19th of May, Mr. Probyn proposed the abolition of half-sovereigns, ten-mark and ten-franc pieces, and also of the smaller paper notes founded on a gold basis.

M. Moritz Lévy's scheme, which is practically identical, is not dated the 27th of *May*, as stated by Professor Soetbeer, but the 27th *June* (Official Proceedings of Conference, p. 17. Vol. ii.) and was not presented to the Conference till the 30th *June*, so there can be no doubt that Mr. Probyn can clearly claim precedence, though M. Lévy had very probably not seen Mr. Probyn's scheme when he wrote his own paper.

The *objects* of Mr. Probyn and of M. Lévy are the same, viz. the greater employment of silver in small transactions, and the limitation of gold to the larger transactions. The only difference in the *remedies* proposed is that M. Lévy at first suggested the total suppression of all small notes, while Mr. Probyn advocates the use of "token-notes" to be "partially supported by a silver token coin reserve." This part of M. Lévy's proposal would probably be found practically impossible (it was at once objected to by Italy), as the continental nations are so accustomed to the use of small notes, that they would probably never agree to the total abolition of them. On the other hand, in order to secure the object aimed at, Mr. Probyn's token-notes should not be "partially," but *entirely* based on a silver reserve, so as to secure the retention of a similar amount of silver in the reserve.

Mr. Probyn only mentions the amount of coin affected as regards England, and estimates it as £18,000,000 in half-sovereigns. M. Lévy estimates the amount at £94,000,000 for the notes and £64,000,000 for the small

gold coins, or £158,000,000 in all, without reckoning those small gold coins, which, being in the State banks, form practically part of the metallic reserve. This is for the seven great States, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, United States, France and England: and he believes that the above amount of gold could be withdrawn from circulation, and that a nearly similar amount of silver would be brought into use.

Towards the end of his letter M. Lévy admits that the total suppression of the smaller notes would be impossible, and suggests the issue of small notes based on silver alone, provided that (1) the same amount of silver as the total of the notes be held in reserve; (2) that the notes should be subject to the same limit of acceptance as the silver coins, for instance 40 shillings in England; and (3) that they should be redeemable, in States which had a single gold standard, under the same rule as silver.

If we now turn to Professor Soetbeer's proposals, we find that he commences by emphasizing the gravity of the present situation, and by stating that, though the number of bimetallists has considerably increased of late years, yet there is no doubt that general public opinion in England is, at present, still decidedly adverse to Bimetallism; and he quotes Mr. Goschen's opinion (April 1890) that bimetalism *might* cause perhaps more dire consequences than even the most unbearable evils of the present condition.

For these reasons he comes to the conclusion that England would not have joined the Conference, if Bimetallism had been the proposed solution of the Silver question; but that, as the proposal was to consider the means of effecting an extended *use* of silver, there was no reason why England should not join the Conference, although she would no doubt positively refuse to consider any *Bimetallic* proposals, which would involve any alteration in her present Gold currency system; that France and Germany would decline to consider any such proposals without the assent of England; that nobody but a Bimetallic fanatic can believe that the

Conference will have practical results based on Bimetallism ; that practical men must therefore put Bimetallism on one side, and consider what other way exists by which *permanent* relief could be obtained by the concerted action of the great nations : and he then goes on to say that M. Moritz Lévy's proposal was the only practical one which he had met with, and that a deep study of "Conferences, congresses, commissions and the whole literature of the Silver question" showed that there was but this *one* proposal which contained the promise of a real remedy, although as I have shown above he would have found Mr. Probyn's identical proposal, if he had turned back but a few pages in the Proceedings of the 1881 Conference, from M. Lévy's letter. However the fact of Mr. Probyn having anticipated M. Lévy, and being really entitled to all the *credit* of the plan does not affect its *value* ; and I quite agree with Professor Soetbeer that it is the most *practical* proposal which has yet been made to secure the advantages of an extended employment of silver, and a diminished drain on gold, without embarking on the risks and political difficulties of Bimetallism, which even those who, like myself, are confirmed Bimetallists, cannot deny to be great and *at present* apparently insuperable,* owing to the opposition of England.

Prof. Soetbeer, after detailing M. Lévy's proposals very clearly, states that they were repeated in 1882 by Herr von Delhend, the President of the Bank of Germany ; but that both proposals received no attention and were forgotten, because on the one hand Bimetallists would listen to no compromise, while on the other Monometallists did not believe that Silver would fall below 39 pence per oz. ; but that the events of the succeeding ten years (1882-92) have induced him to re-submit these proposals to the new Conference, in the shape of a basis for an International

* Sir W. Houldsworth said at the Conference on December 6th : "I recognize that an agreement to carry Bimetallism into effect as a complete system, may not yet be possible."

Monetary Agreement to be comprised in 12 rules of which the following is a slightly abbreviated version :

1. A fixed weight of pure gold to be the universal and sole foundation and normal measure of currency.

2. The existing gold currency to be maintained in the several States, subject to a general agreement that in future no gold coins shall be minted or issued which contain less than 5·8 grammes pure gold (20 franc piece), and that all smaller gold coins shall be recalled within 10 years.

3. Seignorage to be always two per thousand.

4. All central treasuries to grant gold certificates for 500 grammes of pure gold, or any multiple, against *effective* gold coins deposited with them.

5. All Bank notes or other paper currency tokens of less value than 5·8 grammes of pure gold to be redeemed within 10 years, and no more based on a gold standard to be issued.

6. All previously coined silver coins, of higher value than one-tenth the value of the future lowest gold coin of that country, to be redeemed within 15 years ; and all future silver coins of a high value (afterwards called major silver coins) to be minted in the proportion of 20 pure silver to 1 pure gold, and only by the Government of each State. Each nation to do as it pleases with regard to minor silver coins, and other coins (copper, etc.).

7. Each *Government* to accept at its public treasuries all *major* silver coins of its own minting to any amount.

8. *All persons* to accept *major* silver coins to the amount of three times the value of the future lowest gold coin.

9. Silver certificates to be issued by chief treasuries against deposit to the full value of *effective major* silver coins : but not below half the value of the future lowest gold coin. Such certificates to be repaid on presentation at place of issue in *major* silver coins.

10. No credit notes to be issued against *bar* silver.

11. Each Government to report to all the others any Currency laws or decrees passed, and progress made in redemption of old and coining of new coins.

12. Any State to be able to withdraw from the Convention, on giving 12 months' notice.

With regard to India Prof. Soetbeer proposes that it should join the Convention, the rupee remaining legal tender up to 30 rupees, the mints being closed to outside coinage, and the existing rupees being called in, and a new silver coinage issued of the relative value of 20 to 1 (*i.e.*, the rupee = 1s. 6d.) : which is of course practically having a gold standard.

Prof. Soetbeer estimates the amount of half-sovereigns at £22,000,000 now, against Mr. Probyn's estimate of £18,000,000 in 1881 ; and the amount of small gold coins in other countries as follows :

Germany	-	-	-	505,000,000 marks.
Latin Union	-	-	-	600,000,000 francs.
Scandinavia	-	-	-	12,000,000 kronen.
United States	-	-	-	50,000,000 dollars.

With regard to the last rule, about withdrawal from the Convention, he argues, and I think rightly, from the analogy of the Postal Union, that no State would *wish* to withdraw ; that the more numerous the States in the Union, the more beneficial it would be to each ; and that, though each State would in the *first* instance seek its own convenience or profit, yet *reciprocal* advantages would follow to all in the end, which would ensure their remaining in the Union.

Prof. Soetbeer points out that a State joining *this* Union would not run any of the risks incurred by a State which joined a *Bimetallic* Union ; because in the latter the action of one State might disorganize the general currency system, whereas in the former it *could* not do so : and he believes that, if the 7 or 8 great nations joined in this Union " there would be every prospect of a fundamental and permanent solution of the Currency question, which at present agitates the whole civilized world. The progressive depreciation of Silver would be checked, and the consequent fluctuation

in its value would be remedied, and the threatened danger of further disorganization of trade and currency in the future would be removed."

He also says what I believe to be perfectly true that "in fact the wishes of the Bimetallist party are to a great extent met by the above programme, in so far as it provides for an increased use of Silver, and prevents a further depreciation of its value;" and I think all practical Bimetallists who have at heart the *immediate* attainment of *some* measure of relief, rather than the ultimate carrying out of a theoretically perfect plan of currency, will agree with me that we should all accept this most promising and liberal offer of compromise on the part of one of the most eminent of Monometallists; and that we should support it, both at the Conference and in public, most heartily, as being the greatest step towards the attainment of our objects which has been made since 1881. I have given Prof. Soetbeer's scheme in detail, because it will undoubtedly be the basis of any other proposals which would have any chance of being carried, and because it has not been published in detail in England, as far as I am aware. It is already (Dec. 11th) rumoured that Prof. Soetbeer's scheme has been rejected by the Conference; if this is true, and the obtuse and non-possumus speeches of Sir Chas. Rivers-Wilson and Mr. Bertram Currie make it only too probable that it is at any rate true of the Monometallist English delegates, then we have indeed reached a crisis in our Monetary affairs; and we may well despair of anything being done in time to avert the disasters, which have been impending over England and India for the last eleven years, since the Paris Conference of 1881 ended abortively, owing to the obstinacy and inveterate prejudice of the English Government and financial classes. *This* time again, although Mr. A. de Rothschild and Prof. Soetbeer, themselves monometallists of the highest reputation, uttered words of the most serious warning, as to the disasters, which will inevitably follow, if this Conference ends as futilely as the last, yet the English

monometallist delegates were as prejudiced and short-sighted as ever; and could find nothing more apposite to say, in reply to the solemn warnings they had received, than that the English mercantile classes would never give up their dearly-loved half sovereign, even to save a world from financial ruin. (See Sir C. Rivers-Wilson's speech on Dec. 6th.)

It is *not* the Government of India, but the Government of England, which is bringing about by its obstinacy the disasters which are impending; and it will be but justice if the majority of the English nation, which turns a deaf ear to the cry of starving Lancashire, to the distress of the Irish nation and to the ruin of its own agricultural classes, should in the end suffer more severely and bring on itself graver and more lasting penalties than India, which has always shown herself willing, even at serious risks, to listen to reason, and to adopt new ways when their necessity and urgency are made clear. At a time when Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chaplin as leaders of the Conservatives, when Archbishop Walsh as representing Ireland and Catholic opinion, and when almost every Chamber of Commerce and Trades Council in Lancashire and the North say unanimously and positively, that the distress which is admitted on all hands to exist is mainly, if not wholly, due to the demonetization of Silver, a *Liberal* Government sits with folded hands, apparently supremely contented with things as they are, indifferent to the outcry of half the nation, and determined to oppose a stolid *non-possumus* to the demands for justice and fair treatment, not only of India, but of all England except the moneyed and therefore prejudiced classes. The *few* bright exceptions which exist among these classes only make the surrounding darkness blacker; and if an appalling financial catastrophe, greater than anything hitherto known, should follow, as seems almost certain, the English monometallist classes will have the satisfaction of feeling that they have brought on themselves and on the nation a gigantic calamity, which

they might have averted by a little more unselfishness and a little more willingness to open their minds to new ideas.

If any think that I write too strongly on this matter, let them ponder these words of Prof. Soetbeer (a Monometallist and a foreigner) on the responsibility of England. I think they bear out every word which I have said.

“England more than any other country is threatened with increasing difficulties in case this new Currency Conference again ends without any practical result, and if matters are allowed to slide on in the old groove.

“The rupee is below 16 pence* and India demands a gold standard. The United States *must* come to a final decision as regards their Monetary policy, and they have but two alternatives : they must either declare for a Silver Currency with a premium on Gold or for a cessation of treasury purchases of Silver and a forced importation of large quantities of Gold from Europe, which would result in a further considerable premium on gold and a further fall in Silver. The dangers of the present situation are evident, and should act as a serious warning to England, and induce her to consider seriously whether it is not only advisable, but even a pressing necessity to initiate in the coming Conference some positive proposal for increasing the use of silver as money.” (Note of Aug. 5th.)

To this solemn warning from one of the greatest Monometallists, the English Monometallist Delegates reply, “We will never give up our half-sovereign, though a world should perish.”

A. COTTERELL TUPP,
(Late Acct.-General, Bombay.)

* Now 14½d.

LEGENDS, SONGS, CUSTOMS AND HISTORY OF DARDISTAN.

[CHILĀS, DAREYL, TANGĪR, GILGIT, HUNZA, NAGYR, YASIN,
CHITRAL AND KAFIRISTAN.]

(Continued from the October number for 1892.)

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

(a) AMUSEMENTS.

THE Chaughan Bazi or Hockey on horseback, so popular everywhere north of Kashmir, and which is called Polo by the Baltis and Ladakis, who both play it to perfection and in a manner which I shall describe elsewhere, is also well known to the Gilgiti and Astóri subdivisions of the Shiná people. On great general holidays as well as on special occasions of rejoicing, the people meet on the play-grounds which are mostly near the larger villages, and pursue the game with great excitement and at the risk of casualties. The first day I was at Astor, I had the greatest difficulty in restoring to his senses a youth of the name of Rustem Ali who, like a famous player of the same name at Mardo, was passionately fond of the game, and had been thrown from his horse. The place of meeting near Astor is called the I'dgah. The game is called TOPE in Astor, and the grounds for playing it are called SHAJARAN. At Gilgit the game is called BULLA, and the place SHAWARAN. The latter names are evidently of Tibetan origin. [A detailed account of the rules and practice of Polo will be found in my Hunza-Nagyr Handbook.]

The people are also very fond of target practice, shooting with bows, which they use dexterously, but in which they do not excel the people of Nagyr and Hunza.

Game is much stalked during the winter. At Astór any game shot on the three principal hills—*Tshhamô*, a high hill opposite the fort, *Demícdên* and *Tshólokot*—belong to the Nawab of Astór—the sportsman receiving only the head, legs and a haunch—or to his representative, then the Tahsildar Munshi Rozi Khan. At Gilgit everybody claims what he may have shot, but it is customary for the Nawab to

receive some share of it. Men are especially appointed to watch and track game, and when they discover their whereabouts notice is sent to the villages from which parties issue, accompanied by musicians, and surround the game. Early in the morning, when the "Lóhe" dawns, the musicians begin to play and a great noise is made which frightens the game into the several directions where the sportsmen are placed.

The guns are matchlocks and are called in Gilgiti "*turmàk*" and in Astór "*tumák*." At Gilgit they manufacture the guns themselves or receive them from Badakhshan. The balls have only a slight coating of lead, the inside generally being a little stone. The people of Hunza and Nagyr invariably place their guns on little wooden pegs which are permanently fixed to the gun and are called "*Dugazá*." The guns are much lighter than those manufactured elsewhere, much shorter and carry much smaller bullets than the matchlocks of the Maharaja's troops. They carry very much farther than any native Indian gun and are fired with almost unerring accuracy. For "small shot" little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose: it is called "*Balósh Batt*," which is found in Hunza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the "*Demideldèn*" hill already noticed, at a village called *Pareshinghi* near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "*Balósh*" Kettle, "*Batt*" stone, "*Balósh Batt*." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "*Gútt*" in Astóri and "*Gukk*" in Gilgiti; the hammer "*toá*" and "*Totshúng*" and in Gilgiti "*samdenn*." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.*

* "*Powder*" is called "*Jebati*" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "*Bilen*," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = *dantzil*. Saltpetre = *Shór* in Astóri, and *Shorá* in Gilgiti. Coal = *Kári*. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "TAKK" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilási women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yasin, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astóris, Chilásis, Baltis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjútis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who were desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yasin, Chitrál and Hunza.

DANCE†

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" = Slow Instrument and Quick "Danni Harip," = Quick Instrument. The Yasin, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

* By the people of Gilgit. My measurements will be found elsewhere. The Anthropological Photograph in this Review of October, 1891, shows both "tall" and short "skeletons."

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "Thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Buró" in Astóri. [See further on.]

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Gilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "Yú, Yú dea ; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea ; Halamùsh theá ; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astór. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BUKO' NAT is a dance performed on the Náo holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNAT at Gilgit. In Dareyl there is a dance in which the dancers wield swords and engage in a mimic fight. This dance Gilgitis and Astóris call the *Darchi nat*, but what it is called by the Dareylis themselves I do not know.

The mantle dance is called "GOJA NAT." In this popular dance the dancer throws his cloth over his extended arm.

When I sent a man round with a drum inviting all the Dards that were to be found at Gilgit to a festival, a large number of men appeared, much to the surprise of the invading Dogras, who thought that they had all run to the hills. A few sheep were roasted for their benefit ; bread and fruit were also given them, and when I thought they were getting into a good humour, I proposed that they should sing. Musicians had been procured with great difficulty, and, after some demur, the Gilgitis sang and danced. At first, only one at a time danced, taking his sleeves well over his arm so as to let it fall over, and then moving it up and down according to the cadence of the

music. The movements were, at first, slow, one hand hanging down, the other being extended with a commanding gesture. The left foot appeared to be principally engaged in moving or rather jerking the body forward. All sorts of "pas seuls" were danced; sometimes a rude imitation of the Indian Nátsh; the by-standers clapping their hands and crying out "Shabāsh"; one man, a sort of Master of Ceremonies, used to run in and out amongst them, brandishing a stick, with which, in spite of his very violent gestures, he only lightly touched the bystanders, and exciting them to cheering by repeated calls, which the rest then took up, of "Hiù, Hiù." The most extraordinary dance, however, was when about twelve men arose to dance, of whom six went on one side and six on the other; both sides then, moving forward, jerked out their arms so as to look as if they had all crossed swords, then receded and let their arms drop. This was a war dance, and I was told that properly it ought to have been danced with swords, which, however, out of suspicion of the Dogras, did not seem to be forthcoming. They then formed a circle, again separated, the movements becoming more and more violent till almost all the bystanders joined in the dance, shouting like fiends and literally *kicking* up a frightful amount of dust, which, after I had nearly become choked with it, compelled me to retire.* I may also notice that before a song is sung the rhythm and melody of it are given in "solo" by some one, for instance

Dānā dāng dānū dāngdā
nādaṅg dānū, etc., etc., etc.

(b) BEVERAGES.

BEER.

Fine corn (about five or six *seers* in weight) is put into a kettle with water and boiled till it gets soft, but not pulpy. It is then strained through a cloth, and the grain retained and

* The drawing and description of this scene were given in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February, 1870, under the heading of 'A Dance at Gilgit.' (It was reproduced in this Review in January, 1892.)

put into a vessel. Then it is mixed with a drug that comes from Ladak which is called "Papps," and has a salty taste, but in my opinion is nothing more than hardened dough with which some kind of drug is mixed. It is necessary that "the marks of four fingers" be impressed upon the "Papps." The mark of "four fingers" make one stick, 2 fingers' mark $\frac{1}{2}$ a stick, and so forth. This is scraped and mixed with the corn. The whole is then put into an earthen jar with a narrow neck, after it has received an infusion of an amount of water equal to the proportion of corn. The jar is put out into the sun—if summer—for twelve days, or under the fire-place—if in winter—[where a separate vault is made for it]—for the same period. The orifice is almost hermetically closed with a skin. After twelve days the jar is opened and contains a drink possessing intoxicating qualities. The first infusion is much prized, but the corn receives a second and sometimes even a third supply of water, to be put out again in a similar manner and to provide a kind of Beer for the consumer. This Beer is called "Mō," and is much drunk by the Astóris and Chilâsis [the latter are rather stricter Mussulmans than the other Shiná people]. After every strength has been taken out of the corn it is given away as food to sheep, etc., which they find exceedingly nourishing.

WINE.*

The Gilgitis are great wine-drinkers, though not so much as the people of Hunza. In Nagyr little wine is made. The mode of the preparation of the wine is a simple one. The grapes are stamped out by a man who, fortunately before entering into the wine press, washes his feet and hands. The juice flows into another reservoir, which is first well laid round with stones, over which a cement is put of chalk mixed with sheep-fat which is previously heated. The juice is kept in this reservoir; the top is closed, cement being put round the sides and only in the

* Wine is called in Gilgit by the same name as is "beer" by the Astóris, viz.: "Mō." The wine press is called "Mōe Kurr." The reservoir into which it flows is called "Mōe Sán."

middle an opening is made over which a loose stone is placed. After two or three months the reservoir is opened, and the wine is used at meals and festivals. In Dareyl (and not in Gilgit, as was told to Vigne,) the custom is to sit round the grave of the deceased and eat grapes, nuts and Tshilgōzas (edible pine). In Astór (and in Chilās ?) the custom is to put a number of Ghi (clarified butter) cakes before the Mulla, [after the earth has been put on the deceased] who, after reading prayers over them, distributes them to the company who are standing round with their caps on. In Gilgit, three days after the burial, bread is generally distributed to the friends and acquaintances of the deceased. To return to the wine presses, it is to be noticed that no one ever interferes with the store of another. I passed several of them on my road from Tshakerkōt onward, but they appeared to have been destroyed. This brings me to another custom which all the Dards seem to have of burying provisions of every kind in cellars that are scooped out in the mountains or near their houses, and of which they alone have any knowledge. The Maharaja's troops when invading Gilgit often suffered severely from want of food when, unknown to them, large stores of grain of every kind, butter, ghi, etc., were buried close to them. The Gilgitis and other so-called rebels, generally, were well off, knowing where to go for food. Even in subject Astór it is the custom to lay up provisions in this manner. On the day of birth of anyone in that country it is the custom to bury a stock of provisions which are opened on the day of betrothal of the young man and distributed. The Ghi, which by that time turns frightfully sour, and [to our taste] unpalatable and the colour of which is red, is esteemed a great delicacy and is said to bring much luck.

The chalk used for cementing the stones is called "San Bätt." Grapes are called "Djatsh," and are said, together with wine, to have been the principal food of Ghazanfar, the Raja of Hunza, of whom it is reported that when he

heard of the arrival of the first European in Astór (probably Vigne) "he fled to a fort called Gojal and shut himself up in it with his flocks, family and retainers." He had been told that the European was a great sorcerer, who carried an army with him in his trunks and who had serpents at his command that stretched themselves over any river in his way to afford him a passage. I found this reputation of European sorcery of great use, and the wild mountaineers looked with respect and awe on a little box which I carried with me, and which contained some pictures of clowns and soldiers belonging to a small magic lantern. The Gilgitis consider the use of wine as unlawful; probably it is not very long since they have become so religious and drink it with remorse. My Gilgitis told me that the Mughullí—a sect living in Hunza, Gojál, Yasin and Punyal*—considered the use of wine with prayers to be rather meritorious than otherwise. A Drunkard is called "Máto."

(c) BIRTH CEREMONIES.

As soon as the child is born the father or the Mulla repeats the "Bâng" in his ear "Allah Akbar" (which an Astóri, of the name of Mirza Khan, said was never again repeated in one's life!). Three days after the reading of the "Bâng" or "Namáz" in Gilgit and seven days after that ceremony in Astor, a large company assembles in which the father or grandfather of the newborn gives him a name or the Mulla fixes on a name by putting his hand on some word in the Koran, which may serve the purpose or by getting somebody else to fix his hand at random on a passage or word in the Koran. Men and women assemble at that meeting. There appears to be no pardah whatsoever in Dardu land, and the women are remarkably chaste. The little imitation of pardah amongst the Ranis of Gilgit was a mere fashion imported from elsewhere. Till the child receives a name the woman is declared impure for the seven days previous to the ceremony. In Gilgit 27 days are allowed to elapse

* These are the strange sect of the Muláís about whom more in my "Handbook of Hunza, Nagyr and a part of Yasin."—*Second Edition*, 1893.

till the woman is declared pure. Then the bed and clothes are washed and the woman is restored to the company of her husband and the visits of her friends. Men and women eat together everywhere in Dardu land. In Astór, raw milk alone cannot be drunk together with a woman unless thereby it is intended that she should be a sister by faith and come within the prohibited degrees of relationship. When men drink of the same raw milk they thereby swear each other eternal friendship. In Gilgit this custom does not exist, but it will at once be perceived that much of what has been noted above belongs to Mussulman custom generally. When a son is born great rejoicings take place, and in Gilgit a musket is fired off by the father whilst the "Bâng" is being read.

(d) MARRIAGE.

In Gilgit it appears to be a more simple ceremony than in Chilás and Astór. The father of the boy goes to the father of the girl and presents him with a knife about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 4 yards of cloth and a pumpkin filled with wine. If the father accepts the present the betrothal is arranged. It is generally the fashion that after the betrothal, which is named: "*Shér qatar wiye, balli piye*, = 4 yards of cloth and a knife he has given, the pumpkin he has drunk," the marriage takes place. A betrothal is inviolable, and is only dissolved by death so far as the woman is concerned. The young man is at liberty to dissolve the contract. When the marriage day arrives the men and women who are acquainted with the parties range themselves in rows at the house of the bride, the bridegroom with her at his left sitting together at the end of the row. The Mulla then reads the prayers, the ceremony is completed and the playing, dancing and drinking begin. It is considered the proper thing for the bridegroom's father, if he belongs to the true Shín race, to pay 12 tolas of gold of the value [at Gilgit] of 15 Rupees Nanakshahi (10 annas each) to the bride's father, who, however, generally, returns it with the

bride, in kind—dresses, ornaments, &c., &c. The 12 tolas are not always, or even generally, taken in gold, but oftener in kind—clothes, provisions and ornaments. At Astór the ceremony seems to be a little more complicated. There the arrangements are managed by third parties; an agent being appointed on either side. The father of the young man sends a present of a needle and three real (red) “múngs” called “lújum” in Chilâsi, which, if accepted, establishes the betrothal of the parties. Then the father of the bride demands *pro formâ* 12 tolas [which in Astór and Chilâs are worth 24 Rupees of the value of ten annas each.]

All real “Shín” people must pay this dowry for their wives in money, provisions or in the clothes which the bride’s father may require. The marriage takes place when the girl reaches puberty, or perhaps rather the age when she is considered fit to be married. It may be mentioned here in general terms that those features in the ceremony which remind one of Indian customs are undoubtedly of Indian origin introduced into the country since the occupation of Astór by the Maharaja’s troops. Gilgit which is further off is less subject to such influences, and whatever it may have of civilization is indigenous or more so than is the case at Astór, the roughness of whose manners is truly Chilâsi, whilst its apparent refinement in some things is a foreign importation.

When the marriage ceremony commences the young man, accompanied by twelve of his friends and by musicians, sits in front of the girl’s house. The mother of the girl brings out bread and Ghi-cakes on plates, which she places before the bridegroom, round whom she goes three times, caressing him and finally kissing his hand. The bridegroom then sends her back with a present of a few rupees or tolas in the emptied plates. Then, after some time, as the evening draws on, the agent of the father of the boy sends to say that it is time that the ceremony should commence. The mother of the bride then stands in the doorway of her house with a few other platefuls of cakes and bread, and the young man accompanied by his

bridesman ["Shunèrr" in Astóri and "Shamaderr" in Gilgiti,] enters the house. At his approach, the girl, who also has her particular friend, the "Shaneroy" in Astóri, and "Shamaderoy" in Gilgiti, rises. The boy is seated at her right, but both in Astór and in Gilgit it is considered indecent for the boy to turn round and look at her. Then a particular friend, the "Dharm-bhai"* of the girl's brother asks her if she consents to the marriage. In receiving, or imagining, an affirmative, he turns round to the Mulla, who after asking three times whether he, she and the bridegroom as well as all present are satisfied, reads the prayers and completes the ceremonial. Then some rice, boiled in milk, is brought in, of which the boy and the girl take a spoonful. They do not retire the first night, but grace the company with their presence. The people assembled then amuse themselves by hearing the musicians, eating, &c.

It appears to be the custom that a person leaves an entertainment whenever he likes, which is generally the case after he has eaten enough.

It must, however, not be imagined that the sexes are secluded from each other in Dardistan. Young people have continual opportunities of meeting each other in the fields at their work or at festive gatherings. Love declarations often take place on these occasions, but if any evil intention is perceived the seducer of a girl is punished by

* The "brother in the faith" with whom raw milk has been drunk.
Vide page 41.

Betrothal,	= balli	= pumpkin in Gilgiti, Soél—Astóri	
Bridegroom,	= hileléo,	Gil.	hiláleo. Astóri.
Bride,	= hilal		
Bridegroom's MEN,	= garóni,	Gil.	hilalée, Astóri.
Marriage سادي	= garr,	Gil.	Kàsh. Astóri.
Dowry,	= "dab,"	Gil. and Astóri	

(the grain, ghee and sheep that may accompany the betrothal-present is called by the Astóris "sakáro.")

Husband,	= baráo,	Gil.	baréyo,	Astóri.
Wife,	= Greyn,	Gil.	gréyn,	Astóri.

Wedding dinner "garéy tiki" in Gilgiti. "Kajjéyn bai kyas," in Astóri (?) ["tikki" is bread, "bai" is a chippati, kyas = food].

this savage, but virtuous, race with death. The Dards know and speak of the existence of "pure love." "pâk âshiqi." Their love songs show sufficiently that they are capable of a deeper, than mere sexual, feeling. No objection to lawful love terminating in matrimony is ever made unless the girl or the boy is of a lower caste. In Gilgit, however, the girl may be of a lower caste than the bridegroom. In Astôr it appears that a young man, whose parents—to whom he must mention his desire for marrying any particular person—refuse to intercede, often attains his point by threatening to live in the family of the bride and become an adopted son. A "Shin" of true race at Astor may live in concubinage with a girl of lower caste, but the relatives of the girl if they discover the intrigue revenge the insult by murdering the paramour, who, however, does not lose caste by the alliance.

The bridegroom dances as well as his twelve companions. The girl ought not to be older than 15 years; but at 12 girls are generally engaged.*

The Balti custom of having merely a *claim to dowry* on the part of the woman—the prosecution of which claim so often depends on her satisfaction with her husband or the rapacity of her relatives—is in spite of the intercourse of the Baltis with the Shin people never observed by the latter; not even by the Shin colonists of little Tibet who are called "Brokhpâ."

When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village he is furnished with a bow. On arriving at his native place he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow and then shoots it off. He generally shoots three arrows off in the direction of his home.

At Astôr the custom is sometimes to fire guns as a sign of rejoicing. This is not done at Gilgit.

When the bridegroom fetches his bride on the second day to his own home, the girl is crying with the women of

* * The Turks say "a girl of 15 years of age should be either married or buried."

her household and the young man catches hold of her dress in front (at Gilgit by the hand) and leads her to the door. If the girl cannot get over embracing her people and crying with them quickly, the twelve men who have come along with the bridegroom (who in Astóri are called "hilalée" = bridegrooms and "garóni" in Gilgiti) sing the following song :—

INVITATION TO THE BRIDE.

Nikàstali quáray kusíni ("astuli" is added to
Come out hawk's daughter. *the fem. Imp*).

Nikastali ke karanílic ("balanêle," in Gilgiti).
Come out why delayest thou!

Nikastali málcyn gutíjo.
Come out (from) thy father's tent.

Nikastali ke karanílic.
Come out why delayest thou.

Né ro tsharéyn baráye.
Do not weep waterfall's fairy.

Né ro téyn róng boje.
Do not weep thy colour will go.

Né ro jaro shidati.
Do not weep brethren's beloved.

Né ro téy róng boje.
Do not weep thy colour will go.

Né ro málcyn shidati.
Do not weep father's beloved.

Né ro téy róng boje.
Do not weep thy colour will go.

Translation.

Come out, O daughter of the hawk!

Come out, why dost thou delay?

Come forth from thy father's tent,

Come out and do not delay.

Weep not! O fairy of the waterfall!

Weep not! thy colour will fade;

Weep not! thou art the beloved of us all who are thy
brethren,

Weep not! thy colour will fade.

O Weep not! thou beloved of fathers, [or "thy father's darling."]

For if thou weepest, thy face will grow pale.

Then the young man catches hold of her dress, or in Gilgit of her arm, puts her on horseback, and rides off with her, heedless of her tears and of those of her companions.

(c) FUNERALS.

Funerals are conducted in a very simple manner. The custom of eating grapes at funerals I have already touched upon in my allusion to Dureyl in the chapter on "Wine." Bread is commonly distributed together with Ghi, etc., three days after the funeral, to people in general, a custom which is called "Nashí" by the Astóris, and "Khatm" by the Gilgitis. When a person is dead, the Mulla, assisted generally by a near friend of the deceased, washes the body which is then placed in a shroud. Women assemble, weep and relate the virtues of the deceased. The body is conveyed to the grave the very day of the decease. In Astor there is something in the shape of a bier for conveying the dead. At Gilgit two poles, across which little bits of wood are placed sideways and then fastened, serve for the same purpose. The persons who carry the body think it a meritorious act. The women accompany the body for some fifty yards and then return to the house to weep. The body is then placed in the earth which has been dug up to admit of its interment. Sometimes the grave is well-cemented and a kind of small vault is made over it with pieces of wood closely jammed together. A Pir or saint receives a hewn stone standing as a sign-post from the tomb. I have seen no inscriptions anywhere. The tomb of one of their famous saints at Gilgit has none. I have heard people there say that he was killed at that place in order to provide the country with a shrine. My Gilgiti who, like all his countrymen, was very patriotic, denied it, but I heard it, at Gilgit from several persons, among whom was one of the descendants of the saint. As the Saint was a Kashmiri, the veracity of his descendant may

be doubted. To return to the funeral. The body is conveyed to the cemetery, which is generally at some distance from the village, accompanied by friends. When they reach the spot the Mulla reads the prayers standing as in the "Djenazá"—any genuflexion, "ruku" رکوع and prostration are, of course, inadmissible. After the body has been interred the Mulla recites the Fatiha, [opening prayer of the Koran] all people standing up and holding out their hands as if they were reading a book. The Mulla prays that the deceased may be preserved from the fire of hell as he was a good man, etc. Then after a short benediction the people separate. For three days at Gilgit and seven days at Astor the near relatives of the deceased do not eat meat. After that period the grave is again visited by the deceased's friends, who, on reaching the grave, eat some ghí and bread, offer up prayers, and, on returning, slaughter a sheep, whose kidney is roasted and divided in small bits amongst those present. Bread is distributed amongst those present and a little feast is indulged in, in memory of the deceased. I doubt, however, whether the Gilgitis are very exact in their religious exercises. The mention of death was always received with shouts of laughter by them, and one of them told me that a dead person deserved only to be kicked. He possibly only joked and there can be little doubt that the Gilgit people are not very communicative about their better feelings. It would be ridiculous, however, to deny them the possession of natural feelings, although I certainly believe that they are not over-burdened with sentiment. In Astór the influence of Kashmir has made the people attend a little more to the ceremonies of the Mussulman religion.

In Chilás rigour is observed in the maintenance of religious practices, but elsewhere there exists the greatest laxity. In fact, so rude are the people that they have no written character of their own, and till very recently the art of writing (Persian) was confined to, perhaps, the Rajas of these countries or rather to their Munshis, whenever they had any. Some of them may be able to read the

Koran. Even this I doubt, as of hundreds of people I saw only one who could read at Gilgit, and he was a Kashmiri who had travelled far and wide and had at last settled in that country.

(f) HOLIDAYS.

The great holiday of the Shin people happened in 1867, during the month succeeding the Ramazan, but seems to be generally on the sixth of February. It is called the "Shinó náó," "the new day of the Shin people." The Gilgitis call the day "Shinó bazóno," "the spring of the Shin people." [The year, it will be remembered, is divided into bazono = spring; walo = summer; shero = autumn; yono = winter.] The snow is now becoming a little softer and out-of-door life is more possible. The festivities are kept up for twelve days. Visits take place and man and wife are invited out to dinner during that period. Formerly, when the Shins had a Raja or Nawab of their own, it used to be the custom for women to dance during those twelve days. Now the advent of the Sepoys and the ridiculous pseudo-morality of the Kashmir rule have introduced a kind of Pardah and the chaste Shin women do not like to expose themselves to the strangers. Then there is the Nauróz, which is celebrated for three, and sometimes for six, days.

There are five great holidays in the year :

The I'd of Ramazán.

The Shinó-Náo.

The Nauróz.

Kurbani I'd.

The Kùý Náo,*	} Astóri,	...
Dúmniká,		
	{ Gilgiti,	...

On the last-named holiday the game of Polo is played, good clothes are put on, and men and women amuse themselves at public meetings.

The Shin people are very patriotic. Since the Maharaja's rule many of their old customs have died out, and the separation of the sexes is becoming greater. Their great national festival I have already described under the head of "Historical Legend of Gilgit."

* Is celebrated in Autumn when the fruit and corn have become ripe.

(g) THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE DARDS.

If the Dards—the races living between the Hindu-Kush and Kaghán—have preserved many Aryan customs and traditions, it is partly because they have lived in almost perfect seclusion from other Muhammadans. In Chilâs, where the Sunni form of that faith prevails, there is little to relieve the austerity of that creed. The rest of the Muhammadan Dards are Shiahs, and that belief is more elastic and seems to be more suited to a quick-witted race, than the orthodox form of Islam. Sunniism, however, is advancing in Dardistan and will, no doubt, sweep away many of the existing traditions. The progress, too, of the present invasion by Kashmir, which, although governed by Hindus, is chiefly Sunni, will familiarize the Dards with the notions of orthodox Muhammadans and will tend to substitute a monotonous worship for a multiform superstition. I have already noticed that, in spite of the exclusiveness of Hinduism, attempts are made by the Maharaja of Kashmir to gather into the fold those races and creeds which, merely because they are not Muhammadan, are induced by him to consider themselves Hindu. For instance, the Siah Posh Kafirs, whom I venture also to consider Dards, have an ancient form of nature-worship which is being encroached upon by Hindu myths, not because they are altogether congenial but because they constitute the religion of the enemies of Muhammadans, their own bitter foes who kidnap the pretty Kafir girls and to kill whom establishes a claim among Kafirs to consideration. In the same way there is a revival of Hinduism in the Buddhist countries of Ladak and Zanskar, which belong to Kashmir, and ideas of caste are welcomed where a few years ago they were unknown. As no one can become a Hindu, but any one can become a Muhammadan, Hinduism is at a natural disadvantage in its contact with an advancing creed and, therefore, there is the more reason why zealous Hindus should seek to strengthen themselves by amalgamation with other idolatrous creeds. To return to the

Mussulman Dards, it will be easy to perceive by a reference to my ethnographical vocabulary what notions are Muham-madan and what traces there remain of a more ancient belief. The "world of Gods" is not the mere *اخرة* which their professed religion teaches, nor is the "serpent world" a Muhammadan term for our present existence. Of course, their Maulvis may read "religious lessons" and talk to them of Paradise and Hell, but it is from a more ancient source that they derive a kindly sympathy with the evil spirits "Yatsh;" credit them with good actions, describe their worship of the sun and moon, and fill the interior of mountains with their palaces and songs. Again, it is not Islam that tells them of the regeneration of their country by fairies—that places these lovely beings on the top of the Himalayas and makes them visit, and ally themselves to, mankind. The fairies too are not all good, as the Yatsh are not all bad. They destroy the man who seeks to surprise their secrets, although, perhaps, they condone the offence by making him live for ever after in fairy-land. Indeed, the more we look into the national life of the Dards the less do we find it tinctured by Muhammadan distaste of compromise. Outwardly their customs may conform to that ceremonial, but when they make death an opportunity for jokes and amusement we cannot refuse attention to the circumstance by merely explaining it away on the ground that they are savages. I have noticed the prevalence of caste among them, how proud they are of their Shín descent, how little (with the exception of the more devout Chilâsis) they draw upon Scripture for their personal names, how they honour women and how they like the dog, an animal deemed unclean by other Muham-madans. The Dards had no hesitation in eating with me, but I should not be surprised to hear that they did not do so when Mr. Hayward visited them, for the Hinduized Mussulman servants that one takes on tours might have availed themselves of their supposed superior knowledge of the faith to inform the natives that they were making an

improper concession to an infidel. A good many Dards, however, have the impression that the English are Mussulmans—a belief that would not deter them from killing or robbing a European traveller in some districts, if he had anything “worth taking.” Gouhar-Amán [called “Gôrmán” by the people] of Yasin used to say that as the Koran, the word of God, was sold, there could be no objection to sell an expounder of the word of God, a Mulla, who unfortunately fell into his hands. I did not meet any real Shîn who was a Mulla,* but I have no doubt that, especially in Hunza, they are using the services of Mullas in order to give a religious sanction to their predatory excursions. I have said that the Dards were generally Shiah—perhaps I ought not to include the Shiah Hunzas among Dards as they speak a non-Aryan language unlike any other that I know†—and as a rule the Shiah are preyed upon by Sunnis. Shiah children are kidnapped by Sunnis as an act both religious and profitable. Shiah have to go through the markets of Bokhara denying their religion, for which deception, by the way, they have the sanction of their own priests.‡ Can we, therefore, wonder that the Mukûi Hunzas make the best of both worlds by preferring to kidnap Sunnis to their own co-religionists? A very curious fact is the attachment of Shiah to their distant priesthood. We know how the Indian Shiah look to Persia; how all expect the advent of their Messiah, the Imám Mahdi; how the ap-

* I have already related that a foreign Mulla had found his way to Gilgit, and that the people, desirous that so holy a man should not leave them and solicitous about the reputation that their country had no shrine, killed him in order to have some place for pilgrimage. Similar stories are, however, also told about shrines in Afghanistan. My Sazîni speaks of shrines in Nagyr, Chilâs and Yasin, and says that in Sunni Chilâs there are many Mullahs belonging to all the castes—two of the most eminent being Kramîns of Shatiâl, about 8 miles from Sazîn. About Castes; *vide* page 172.

† I refer to the Khajunâ, or Burishki, a language also spoken in Nagyr and a part of Yasin, whose inhabitants are Dards.

‡ I refer to the practice of “Taqqiâh.” In the interior of Kabul Hazara, on the contrary, I have been told that Pathan Sunni merchants have to pretend to be Shiah, in order to escape being murdered.

pointment of Kazis (civil functionaries) is made through the Mujtehid [a kind of high priest] and is ratified by the ruling power, rather than emanate direct from the secular authorities, as is the case with Sunnis. The well-known Sayad residing at Bombay, Agha Khan, has adherents even in Dardistan, and any command that may reach them from him [generally a demand for money] is obeyed implicitly. Indeed, throughout India and Central Asia there are men, some of whom lead an apparently obscure life, whose importance for good or evil should not be underrated by the authorities. [See my "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

What we know about the religion of the Siah-Posh Kafirs [whom I include in the term "Dards"] is very little. My informants were two Kafir lads, who lived for some weeks in my compound and whose religious notions had, no doubt, been affected on their way down through Kashmir. That they go once a year to the top of a mountain as a religious exercise and put a stone on to a cairn; that the number of Muhammadan heads hung up in front of their doors indicates their position in the tribe; that they are said to sit on benches rather than squat on the ground like other Asiatics; that they are reported to like all those who wear a curl in front; that they are fair and have blue eyes; that they drink a portion of the blood of a killed enemy—this and the few words which have been collected of their language is very nearly all we have hitherto known about them. What I have been able to ascertain regarding them, will be mentioned elsewhere.*

(4) FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AMONG THE DARDS.

Chilās, which sends a tribute every year to Kashmir for the sake of larger return-presents rather than as a sign of subjection, is said to be governed by a council of elders, in which even women are admitted.† When I visited Gilgit,

* Since writing the above, in 1867, a third Kafir from Katār has entered my service, and I have derived some detailed information from him and others regarding the languages and customs of this mysterious race, which will be embodied in my next volume. [This note was written in 1872.]

† I have heard this denied by a man from Sazin, but state it on the authority of two Chilāsīs who were formerly in my service.

in 1866, it was practically without a ruler, the invading troops of Kashmir barely holding their own within a few yards of the Gilgit Fort—a remarkable construction which, according to the report of newspapers, was blown up by accident in 1876, and of which the only record is the drawing published in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February 1870.* There is now (1877) a Thanadar of Gilgit, whose rule is probably not very different from that of his rapacious colleagues in Kashmir. The Gilgitis are kept quiet by the presence of the Kashmir army, and by the fact that their chiefs are prisoners at Srinagar, where other representatives of once reigning houses are also under surveillance. Mansur Ali Khan, the supposed rightful Raja of Gilgit is there; he is the son of Asghar Ali Khan, son of Raja Khan, son of Gurtam Khan—but legitimate descent has little weight in countries that are constantly disturbed by violence, except in Hunza, where the supreme right to rob is hereditary.† The Gilgitis, who are a little more settled than their neighbours to the West, North and South, and who possess the most refined Dardu dialect and traditions, were constantly exposed to marauding parties, and the late ruler of Yasin, Gouhar-Amán, who had conquered Gilgit, made it a practice to sell them into slavery on the pretext that they were Shiahhs and infidels. Yasin was lately ruled by Mir Wali, the supposed murderer of Mr. Hayward, and is a dependency of Chitrál, a country which is ruled by Amán-ul-mulk. The Hunza people are under Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar,‡ and seem to delight in plundering their Kirghiz neighbours, although all travellers through that inhospitable

* My Sazini says that only a portion of the Fort was blown up.

† *Vide* Chapter "Modern History of Dardistan" for details of the contending dynasties of that region.

‡ Major Montgomery remarks "the coins have the word Gujanfar on them, the name, I suppose, of some emblematic animal. I was however unable to find out its meaning." The word is غصنفر, Ghazanfar [which means in *Arabic*: lion, hero] and is the name of the former ruler of Hunza whose name is on the coins. In Hunza itself, coined money is unknown. [For changes since 1866, see "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

region, with the exception of Badakhshan merchants, are impartially attacked by these robbers, whose depredations have caused the nearest pass from Central Asia to India to be almost entirely deserted (1866). At Gilgit I saw the young Raja of Nagyr, with a servant, also a Nagyri. He was a most amiable and intelligent lad, whose articulation was very much more refined than that of his companion, who prefixed a guttural to every Khajuná word beginning with a vowel. The boy was kept a prisoner in the Gilgit Fort as a hostage to Kashmir for his father's good behaviour, and it was with some difficulty that he was allowed to see me and answer certain linguistic questions which I put to him. If he has not been sent back to his country, it would be a good opportunity for our Government to get him to the Panjab in the cold weather with the view of our obtaining more detailed information than we now possess regarding the Khajuná, that extraordinary language to which I have several times alluded. [This was done on my second official mission to Kashmir in 1886.]

The name of *Rá*, *Rásh*, *Raja*, applied to Muhammadans, may sound singular to those accustomed to connect them with Hindu rulers, but it is the ancient name for "King" at Gilgit (for which "Nawab" seems a modern substitute in that country)—whilst Shah Kathor* in Chitrál, Tham in Hunza and Nagyr, Mitérr (Mehter) and Bakhté in Yasin and Trakhné in Gilgit offer food for speculation. The Hunza people say that the King's race is Mogholote (or Mogul?); they call the King *Sarwash* and affirm that he is Aishea (this probably means that he is descended from Ayesha, the wife of Muhammad).† Under the king or chief, for the

* This was the *name* of the grandfather of Amán-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitrál (1877). Cunningham says that the *title* of "Kathor" has been held for 2000 years. I may incidentally mention that natives of India who had visited Chitrál did not know it by any other name than "Kashkar" the name of the principal town, whilst Chitrál was called "a Kafir village surrounded by mountains" by Neyk Muhammad, a Lughmáni Nímsha (or half) Mussulman in 1866.

† This is the plausible Gilgit story, which will, perhaps, be adopted in Hunza when it becomes truly Muhammadan. In the meanwhile, my en-

time being, the most daring or intriguing hold office and a new element of disturbance has now been introduced into Dardistan by the Kashmir faction at every court [or rather robber's nest] which seeks to advance the interests or ulterior plans of conquest of the Maharaja, our feudatory. Whilst the name of Wazir is now common for a "minister," we find the names of the subordinate offices of Trangpá, Yarfá, Zeytú, Gopá, etc., etc., which point to the reminiscences of Tibetan Government and a reference to the "Official Designations" in Part II. of my "Dardistan" will direct speculation on other matters connected with the subject.

I need scarcely add that under a Government, like that of Chitrál, which used to derive a large portion of its revenue from kidnapping, the position of the official slave-dealer (Diwánbigi)* was a high one. Shortly before I visited Gilgit, a man used to sell for a good hunting dog (of which animal the Dards are very fond), two men for a pony and three men for a large piece of pattú (a kind of woollen stuff). Women and weak men received the preference, it being difficult for them to escape once they have reached their destination. Practically, all the hillmen are republicans. The name for servant is identical with that of "companion;" it is only the prisoner of another tribe who is a "slave." The progress of Kashmir will certainly have the effect of stopping, at any rate nominally, the trade in *male* slaves, but it will reduce all subjects to the same dead level of slavery and extinguish that spirit of freedom, and with it many of the traditions, that have preserved the Dard races from the degeneracy which has been the fate of the Aryans who reached Kashmir and India. The indigenous

deavour in 1866 to find traces of Alexander the Great's invasion in Dardistan, has led to the adoption of the myth of descent from that Conqueror by the Chinese Governor or the ancient hereditary "Thám" of Hunza, who really is "*ayeshó*," or "heaven-born," owing to the miraculous conception of a female ancestor. "Mogholot" is the direct ancestor of the kindred Nagyr line, "Girkis," his twin-brother and deadly foe, being the ancestor of the Hunza dynasty.

This designation is really that of the Minister of Finances.

Government is one whose occasional tyranny is often relieved by rebellion. I think the Dard Legends and Songs show that the Dards are a superior people to the Dogras, who wish to take their country in defiance of treaty obligations, and I, for one, would almost prefer the continuance of present anarchy which may end in a national solution or in a *direct alliance* with the British, to the *épiciér* policy of Kashmir which, without shedding blood,* has drained the resources of that Paradise on earth and killed the intellectual and moral life of its people. The administration of justice and the collection of the taxes in Dardistan are carried on, the former with some show of respect for religious injunctions, the latter with sole regard to whatever the tax-gatherer can immediately lay his hand upon.

(i) HABITATIONS.

Most of the villages, whose names I have given elsewhere, are situate on the main line of roads which, as everywhere in Himalayan countries, generally coincides with the course of rivers. The villages are sometimes scattered, but as a rule, the houses are closely packed together. Stones are heaped up and closely cemented, and the upper story, which often is only a space shielded by a cloth or by grass-bundles on a few poles, is generally reached by a staircase from the outside.† Most villages are protected by one or more wooden forts, which — with the exception of the Gilgit fort — are rude blockhouses, garnished with rows of beams, behind which it is easy to fight as long as the place is not set on fire. Most villages also contain an open space, generally near a fountain, where the villagers meet in the evening and young people make love to each other.‡ Sometimes the houses contain a

* I refer only to the present rule of Kashmir itself and not to the massacres by Kashmir troops in Dardistan, of which details are given elsewhere.

† *Vide* my comparison between Dardu buildings, etc., and certain excavations which I made at Takht-i-Bahi in Yusufzai in 1870.

‡ Seduction and adultery are punished with death in Chilās and the neighbouring independent Districts. Morality is, perhaps, not quite so stern at Gilgit, whilst in Yasin and Nagyr great laxity is said to prevail.

subterranean apartment which is used as a cellar or stable—at other times, the stable forms the lower part of the house and the family live on the roof under a kind of grass-tent. In Ládak, a little earth heaped up before the door and impressed with a large wooden seal, was sufficient, some years ago, to protect a house in the absence of its owner. In Dardistan bolts, etc., show the prevailing insecurity. I have seen houses which had a courtyard, round which the rooms were built, but generally all buildings in Dardistan are of the meanest description—the mosque of Gilgit, in which I slept one night whilst the Sepoys were burying two or three yards away from me, those who were killed by the so-called rebels, being almost as miserable a construction as the rest. The inner part of the house is generally divided from the outer by a beam which goes right across. My vocabulary will show all the implements, material, etc., used in building, etc. Water-mills and wind-mills are to be found.

Cradles were an unknown commodity till lately. I have already referred to the wine and treasury cellars excavated in the mountains, and which provided the Dards with food during the war in 1866, whilst the invading Kashmir troops around them were starving. Baths (which were unknown till lately) are sheltered constructions under waterfalls; in fact, they are mere sheltered douche-baths. There is no pavement except so far as stones are placed in order to show where there are *no* roads. The rooms have a fire-place, which at Astor (where it is used for the reception of live coals) is in the middle of the room. The conservancy arrangements are on the slope of the hills close to the villages, in front of which are fields of Indian corn, etc.

(j) DIVISIONS OF THE DARD RACES.

The name of Dardistan (a hybrid between the “Darada” of Sanscrit writings and a Persian termination) seems now to be generally accepted. I include in it all the countries lying between the Hindu Kush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long.

73° E. to lat. 35° N., long. 74° 30' E.). In a restricted sense the Dards are the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shináki, detailed further on, but I include under that designation not only the Chilâsis, Astóris, Gilgitis, Dureylis, etc., but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Chitrál and Kafiristan.* As is the case with uncivilized races generally, the Dards have no name in common, but call each Dard tribe that inhabits a different valley by a different name. This will be seen in subjoined Extract from my Ethnographical Vocabulary. The name "Dard" itself was not claimed by any of the race that I met. If asked whether they were "Dards" they said "certainly," thinking I mispronounced the word "dáde" of the Hill Panjabi which means "wild" "independent," and is a name given them by foreigners as well as "yaghi,"=rebellious [the country is indifferently known as Yaghistan, Kohistan and, since my visit in 1866 as "Dardistan," a name which I see Mr. Hayward has adopted]. I hope the name of Dard will be retained, for, besides being the designation of, at least, *one* tribe, it connects the country with a range known in Hindu mythology and history. However, I must leave this and other disputed points for the present, and confine myself now to quoting a page of Part II. of my "Dardistán" for the service of those whom the philological portion of that work has deterred from looking at the descriptive part.

"SHIN are all the people of Chilâs, Astór, Dureyl or *Darèll*, Gôr, Ghilghitt or *Gilit*. All these tribes do not acknowledge the 'Guraizis,' a people inhabiting the Guraiz valley between Chilâs and Kashmir, as *Shîn*, although the Guraizis themselves think so. The Guraizi dialect, however, is undoubtedly Shiná, much mixed with Kashmiri.

* Since writing the above I have discovered that the people of Kandíá—an unsuspected race and country lying between Swat and the Indus—are Dards and speak a Dialect of Shiná, of which specimens are given elsewhere in my "Races of the Hindukush."

† The word ought to be transliterated "Gilgit" گیلگیت and pronounced as it would be in German, but this might expose it to being pronounced as "Jiljit" by some English readers, so I have spelt it here as "Ghilghit."

“The Shins* call themselves ‘Shîn, Shiná lôk, Shinâki,’ and are very proud of the appellation, and in addition to the above-named races include in it the people of Tòrr, Hárben, Sazín, [districts of, or rather near, Chilás]; Tanyîre [Tangîr] belonging to Darèll; also the people of Kholi-Palus whose origin is Shîn, but who are mixed with Afghans. Some do not consider the people of Kholi-Palus as Shîn.† They speak both Shiná and Pukhtu [pronounced by the Shîn people ‘Postó.’] The Baltis, or Little Tibetans, call the Shîn and also the Nagyr people ‘Brokhpá,’ or, as a term of respect, ‘Brokhpá bábo.’‡ Offshoots of the ‘Shîn’ people live in Little Tibet and even the district of Dras, near the Zojilá pass on the Ladâk road towards Kashmir, was once Shîn and was called by them *Huméss*. I was the first traveller who discovered that there were Shin colonies in Little Tibet, viz.: the villages of Shingôtsh, Sáspur, Brashbrialdo, Bashó, Danàl djúnele, Tâtshin, Dorôt (inhabited by pure Shins), Zungôt, Tortzé (in the direction of Rongdu) and Durò, one day’s march from Skardo.”§

The Chilásis call themselves *Boté*.||

„ „ „ their fellow-countrymen of Takk =
“*Kané*” or *Takke-Kané*.

[the *Matshuké* are now an extinct race, at all events in Dardistan proper.]

* In a restricted sense “Shîn” is the name of the highest *caste* of the Shîn *race*. “Róno” is the highest official caste next to the ruling families.

† My Sazîni says that they are really Shins, Yashkuns, Dôms and Kramins, but pretend to be Afghans. *Vide* List of Castes, page 172. Kholi-Palus are *two* Districts, Khóli and Palus, whose inhabitants are generally fighting with each other. Shepherds from these places often bring their flocks for sale to Gilgit. I met a few.

‡ This name is also and properly given by the Baltis to their Dard fellow-countrymen. Indeed the Little Tibetans look more like Dards than Ladákis.

§ *Place aux dames!* For six years I believed myself “the discoverer” of this fact, but I find that, as regards Kartakchun in Little Tibet, I have been nearly anticipated by Mrs. Harvey, who calls the inhabitants “Dards,” “Dâruds” (or “Dardoos”).

|| My Sazîni calls the people of his own place = *Bigé*; those of Tórr = *Manuké*, and those of Harbenn = *fure*.

The Chilâsis call	Gilgitis =	<i>Gilîti</i> .
„ „ „	Astôris =	<i>Astorîjje</i> .
„ „ „	Gôrs =	<i>Gorîje</i> .
„ „ „	Dureylis =	<i>Darêle</i> .
„ „ „	Baltis =	<i>Palôye</i> . Gil. = <i>Polôle</i> .
„ „ „	Ladâki =	<i>Botî</i> . Pl. of Bôt.
„ „ „	Kashmiris =	<i>Kashîre</i> .
„ „ „	Dogras =	<i>Sikkî</i> [Sikhs] now “Dôgréy.”
„ „ „	Affghans =	<i>Patâni</i> .
„ „ „	Nagyris =	<i>Khadjunî</i> .
„ „ „	Hunzas =	<i>Hunzîje</i> .
„ „ „	Yasinis =	<i>Porê</i> .
„ „ „	Punyalis =	<i>Punye</i> .
„ „ „	Kirghiz =	<i>Kirghîz</i> .

NOTE.—The Kirghiz are described by the Chilâsis as having flat faces and small noses and are supposed to be very white and beautiful, to be Nomads and to feed on milk, butter and mutton.

The Chilâsis call the people between Hunza and the Pamêr [our Pamir] on the Yarkand road = Gôjâl.

There are also other Gojâls under a Raja of Gojâl on the Badakhshân road.

The Chilâsis call the Siah Pôsh Kâfirs = Bashgalî (Bashgal is the name of the country inhabited by this people who enjoy the very worst reputation for cruelty). They are supposed to kill every traveller that comes within their reach and to cut his nose or ear off as a trophy.*

The Chilâsis were originally four tribes ; viz. :

The Bagoté of Buner.
 The Kané of Takk.
 The Boté of the Chilâs fort.
 The Matshuké of the Matshukó fort.

* The two Kafirs in my service in 1866, one of whom was a Bashgali, seemed inoffensive young men. They admitted drinking a portion of the blood of a killed enemy or eating a bit of his heart, but I fancy this practice proceeds more from bravado than appetite. In “Davies’ Trade Report” I find the following Note to Appendix XXX., page CCCLXII. “The ruler of Chitrâ! is in the habit of enslaving all persons from the tribes of Kalâsh, Dangini and Bashghali, idolaters living in the Chitrâl territory.”

The Boté and the Matshuké fought. The latter were defeated, and are said to have fled into Astor and Little Tibet territory.

A Foreigner is called "ósho."

Fellow-countrymen are called "maléki."

The stature of the Dards is generally slender and wiry and well suited to the life of a mountaineer. They are now gradually adopting Indian clothes, and whilst this will displace their own rather picturesque dress and strong, though rough, indigenous manufacture, it may also render them less manly. They are fairer than the people of the plains (the women of Yasin being particularly beautiful and almost reminding one of European women), but on the frontier they are rather mixed—the Chilásis with the Kaghanis and Astóris— the Astóris and Gilgitis with the Tibetans, and the Guraizis with the Tibetans on the one hand and the Kashmiris on the other. The consequence is that their sharp and comparatively clear complexion (where it is not under a crust of dirt) approaches, in some Districts, a Tatar or Moghal appearance. Again, the Nagyris are shorter than the people of Hunza to whom I have already referred. Just before I reached the Gilgit fort, I met a Nagyri, whose yellow moustache and general appearance almost made me believe that I had come across a Russian in disguise. I have little hesitation in stating that the pure Shin looks more like a European than any high-caste Brahmin of India. Measurements were taken by Dr. Neil of the Lahore Medical College, but have, unfortunately, been lost, of the two Shins who accompanied me to the Panjab, where they stayed in my house for a few months, together with other representatives of the various races whom I had brought down with me. The prevalence of caste among the Shins also deserves attention. We have not the Muhammadan Sayad, Sheykh, Moghal, and Pathan (which, no doubt, will be substituted in future for the existing caste designations), nor the Kashmiri Muhammadan equivalents of what are generally mere names for

occupations. The following List of Dard Castes may be quoted appropriately from Part II. of my "Dardistan":—

"CASTES.

"Raja (highest on account of position).

"Wazir (of SHIN race, and also the official caste of 'Róno').

"SHIN the highest caste; the Shiná people of pure origin, whether they be Astóris, Gilgitis, Chilâsis, etc., etc.*

They say that it is the same race as the 'Moghals' of India. Probably this name only suggested itself to them when coming in contact with Mussulmans from Kashmir or the Panjab. The following castes are named in their order of rank (for exact details, see "Hunza Handbook"):

"*Yáshkunn* = a caste formed by the intermixture (?) between the Shin and a lower [aboriginal?] owning race. A Shin may marry a *Yáshkunn* woman [called 'Yáshkûni;'] but no *Yáshkunn* can marry a Shinóy = Shin woman.

"*Tatshön* = caste of carpenters.

"*Tshájjá* = weavers. The Gilgitis call this caste: 'Byétshoi.'

"*Akár*

"*Kúlál* = potter.

"*Dóm*[†] = musician |

"*Kramìn* = tanner? } (the lowest castes).

* Both my Gilgiti follower, Ghulam Muhammad, and the Astóri retainer, Mirza Khan, claimed to be pure Shins.

† My Sazini says that the Dóms are below the Kramins and that there are only 4 original castes: Shin, *Yáshkunn*, Kramin [or "Kaminn"] and Dóm, who, to quote his words, occupy the following relative ranks: "The Shin is the right hand, the *Yáshkunn* the left; the Kramin the right foot, the Dóm the left foot." "The other castes are mere names for occupations." "A Shin or *Yáshkunn* can trade, cultivate land or be a shepherd without loss of dignity — Kramins are weavers, carpenters, etc., but not musicians—as for leather, it is not prepared in the country. Kramins who cultivate land consider themselves equal to Shins. Dóms can follow any employment, but, if a Dóm becomes a Mulla, he is respected. Members of the several castes who misbehave are called Mìn, Pashgun, Mamìn and Môm respectively. "A man of good caste will espouse sides and fight to the last even against his own brother." Revenge is a duty, as among Afghans, but is not transmitted from generation to generation, if the first murderer is killed. A man who has killed another, by mistake, in a fight or otherwise, seeks a frank forgiveness by bringing a rope, shroud and a buffalo to the relatives of the deceased. The upper castes can, if

"N.B.—The *Brokhpâ* are a mixed race of Dardu-Tibetans, as indeed are the Astoris [the latter of whom, however, consider themselves very pure Shîns]; the *Gurâizis* are probably Dardu-Kashmiris; but I presume that the above division of caste is known, if not upheld, by every section of the Shinâ people. The castes most prevalent in Guraiz are evidently Kashmiri as :

"Bhat. Lôn. Dâr. Wây. Râter. Thôkr. Bagâ."

*GENEALOGY OF THE GILGIT, YASIN, CHITRAL,
NAGYR, HUNZA, AND OTHER DYNASTIES
SINCE 1800.*

I.—GILGIT Gurtam Khan (1800), hereditary ruler of Gilgit, whose dynasty can be traced to the daughter of Shiribadatt, the last, almost mythical, Heathen Shin Rajâ of Gilgit. Killed in 1810 by Suleyman Shah of Yasin.

Raja Khan (?) died 1814.	Muhammad Khan reigns till 1826 and is killed by Suleyman Shah of Yasin.	Abbas Âli, killed in 1815 by Sulei- man Shah.
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Asghar Ali killed on his flight to Nagyr by Suleyman Shah.

Mansur Ali Khan,
(the rightful Raja of Gilgit, probably still a prisoner in Srinagar).
1827.- Azad Shah, Raja of Gakutsh, appointed ruler of Gilgit by Suleyman
Shah whom he kills in 1829.
Tahir Shah of Nagyr conquers Gilgit in 1834
and kills Azad.

Sakandar Khan, killed by Gauhar Aman of Yasin, in 1844.	Kerim Khan, (Raja of Gôr), (calls in Kashmir troops . under Nathe Shah in 1844) was killed in 1848 in Hunza.	Suleyman Khan.
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Muhammad Khan died in 1859 when on a visit to Srinagar.	Suleyman Khan.	Sultan Muham- mad.	Rustam Khan.
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Alidâd Khan (son of Mu- hammad Khan's sister).	Ghulam Hayder.
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II.—YASIN DYNASTY. It is said that both the Yasin and the Chitral dynasties are descended from a common ancestor "Kathôr." The Gilgitis call the Yasinis "Poryalé" and the Chitralis "Katoré."

there are no Kramîns in their villages, do ironmonger's and carpenter's work, without disgrace; but must wait for Kramîns or Dôms for weaver's work. The women spin. The "Dôms" are the "Rôms" of Gipsy lore.

Khushwakt (?) died 1800 (?) from whom the present dynasty derives the name of "Khushwaktia." [A Raja of that name and dignity often met me at Srinagar in 1886.]

He had two sons, *Suleyman Shah* and *Malik Amán Shah*. The former died about 1829 and left four sons and a daughter whom he married to Ghazanfar, the Rajah of Hunza. The names of the sons are Azmat Shah, the eldest, Ahmad Shah, Rahim Khan and Zarinast Khan.

Malik Amán Shah was the father of seven or, as some say, of ten sons, the most famous of whom was GAUHAH AMAN, surnamed "Adam farosh" (the man-seller) the third son. The names of the sons are: Khuda Amán, Duda Amán, Gauhar Amán, Khalil Amán, Akbar Amán (who was killed by his nephew Malik Amán, eldest son of his brother Gauhar-Amán); ISA BAHADUR (son of Malik Amán Shah by a concubine), Gulsher, Mahter Sakhi, Bahadur Khan (who was murdered) and Mir Amán (?) of Mistuch (?).

Gauhar Amán left seven sons: MALIK AMAN (also called Mir Kammu? now in Tangir?) Bahadur Amán, murdered by Lochan Singh, MIR VALI (who killed Hayward), Mir Gházi, PAHLWAN (who killed Mir Vali), Khan Daurán and Shajáyat Khan. [The Khushwaktia Dynasty has since been dispossessed by the kindred dynasty of Chitrál in 1884.]

III.—CHITRAL OR "SHAH KATHORIA" DYNASTY.

SHAH KATHOR, the son of Shah Afzal, (who died about 1800) was a soldier of fortune who dispossessed the former ruler, whose grandson, Vigne saw in the service of Ahmad Shah, the independent ruler of Little Tibet in 1835. Cunningham considers that the name of Kathór is a title that has been borne by the rulers of Chitrál for 2,000 years.

Shah Kathor had a brother, Sarbaland Khan, whose descendants do not concern us, and four sons and a daughter married to Gauhar Amán of Yasin. The names of the sons were: *Shah Afzal* (who died in 1858), Tajammul Shah who was killed in 1865 by his nephew Adam-khor--or man-eater--(so called from his murderous disposition: his real name was Muhtarim Shah), Ghazab Shah (who died a natural death) and Afrasiab (who was killed). The murdered Tajammul Shah left two sons namely Malik Shah (who revenged his father's death by killing Adam Khór), and Sayad Ali Shah.

Shah Afzal left AMÁN-UL-MULK, his eldest son, the present ruler of Chitrál [1872] Adam-khór (who usurped the rule for a time); Kohkán Beg, ruler of Drus; a daughter whom he married to Rahmat-ulla-Khan, chief of Dir; Muhammad Ali Beg; Yadgar Beg; Bahadur Khan; and another daughter whom Gauhar-Amán married as well as Shah Afzal's sister and had Pahlwan by her.

Amán-ul-Mulk married a daughter of the late Ghazan Khan, chief of Dir, by whom he had Sardar (his eldest son), also called Nizam-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk's other sons are Mufad and others whose names will be found elsewhere. One of his daughters is married to Jehandar Shah, the former ruler of Badakhshán and the other to the son of the present Chief, Mir Mahmud Shah. [Full details are given elsewhere of the Yasin-Chitrál house.]

IV.—The names of the principal chiefs of the Chilâsis and of the Yaghistanis (the independent Hill tribes of Darêl, Hôdûr, Tangir, etc.)

have already been given in my "history" of their "Wars with Kashmir." Just as in Chilás and Kandíá, the administration is in the hands of a Board of Elders. The Maharaja of Kashmir only obtains tribute from three villages in Chilaz, *viz.*, the villages of Chilás, Takk and Bundar.

V.- NAGYR,* [is tributary to Ahmad Shah of Little Tibet about the beginning of this century, but soon throws off this allegiance to Ahmad Shah under Alif Khan.] (?)

Alif Khan. 1800 (?)

[“Nagyr,” which Col. Biddulph very properly writes “Nager” (like “Pamer”) is now spelt “Nagar,” so as to confound it with the Indian “Nagar” for “town,” from which it is quite different.]

Rajah Zahid Jafar (the present Raja of Nagyr).

Son (a hostage for his father's adhesion to Kashmir, whom I saw at Gilgit in 1866). The names of his maternal uncles are Shah Iskandar and Raja Kerim Khan (?) the elder brother. (The full genealogy of Hunza-Nagyr is given elsewhere.)

VI.- HUNZA

Ghazanfar, died 1865.

Ghazan Khan, present ruler.†

Sultan Shah.

VII.- BADAKHSHAN

Rejeb Shah.

Mirza Kalán.

Ahmad Shah.

NIZAM-UD-DIN (surnamed MIR SHAH). Yusuf Ali Khan. Saad-ulla Khan.

Rahmat Shah. Shah Ibra-him Khan. MAHMUD SHAH [1872] (present ruler of

Badakhshan under Kabul) stayed a long time with his maternal uncle, the ruler of Kunduz, whence he has often been miscalled “a Savad from Kunduz.”

Shajá ul Mulk. JEHAN-DAR SHAH, the former ruler, independent of Kabul (now 1872) a fugitive; infests the Kolab road). Suleyman Shah. Shah-zada Hasan. Abdulla Khan (by a concubine).

Yusuf Ali Khan had seven sons: Mirza Kalán, surnamed Mir Jan; Hazrat Jan; Ismail Khan; Akbar Khan; Umr Khan, Sultan Shah; Abdurrahim Khan (by a concubine).

Saad-ulla Khan had two sons: Baba Khan and Mahmud Khan (by a concubine).

* Only so much has been mentioned of the Genealogies of the rulers of Nagyr, Hunza, and Dir, as belongs to this portion of my account of Dardistan.

† Full details of the successor of Ghazan Khan to the present vassal of the Kashmir (Anglo-Indian) Government are given elsewhere.

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VIII.—DIR

Ghazan Khan (a very powerful ruler. Chitrál is said to have once been tributary to him). *

Rahmat-ulla Khan and other eight sons (dispersed or killed in struggles for the Chiefship).

The connection of Little Tibet with the Dard countries had ceased before 1800.

*ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF
THE HISTORY OF DARDISTAN SINCE 1800.*

- 1800.—Gurtam Khan, hereditary ruler of the now dispossessed Gilgit Dynasty, rules 10 years in peace; is killed in an engagement with Suleyman Khan, Khushwaktia, great uncle of the famous Gauhar Amán (or Gormán) of Yasin.
- 1811.—Muhammad Khan, the son of Gurtam Khan, defeats Suleyman Khan, rules Gilgit for 15 years in peace and perfect independence whilst—
- 1814.—(Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khan, Barakzai, is ruler of Kashmir).
1819. —Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.
- 1826.—Suleyman Khan of Yasin again attacks Gilgit and kills Muhammad Khan and his brother, Abbas Ali. Muhammad Khan's son, Asghar Ali, is also killed on his flight to Nagyr.
- 1827.—Suleyman Shah appoints Azad Khan (?), petty Raja of Gakutsh, over Gilgit as far as Bunji; Azad Khan ingratiates himself with the people and rebels against Suleyman Shah whom he kills (?) in 1829.
- 1829.—Suleyman Shah, head of the Khushwaktia family of Yasin, dies.
- 1833.—Gauhar Amán turns his uncle, Azinat Shah, out of Yasin.
- 1834.—Azad Khan is attacked by Tahir Shah of Nagyr and killed. Tahir Shah, a Shiah, treats his subjects well. Dies 1839. Vigne visits Astór in 1835, but Tahir Shah will not allow him to cross over to Gilgit. At that time the Sikhs had not conquered any Dard country. Ahmad Shah was independent ruler of Little Tibet (Baltistan) and under him was Jabar Khan, chief of Astór (whose descendants,* like those of Ahmad Shah himself and of the Ladak rulers are now petty pensioners under Kashmir surveillance). (The Little Tibet dynasty had once, under Shah Murad, about 1660, conquered Hunza, Nagyr, Gilgit and Chitrál, where that ruler built a bridge near the fort.) Zorawar Singh conquers Little Tibet in 1840, but no interference in Dard affairs takes place till 1841 when the Sikhs are called in as temporary allies by the Gilgit ruler against Gauhar Amán of Yasin.
- 1840.—Sakandar Khan, son of Tahir Shah, succeeds to the throne of Gilgit and rules the country—with his brothers, Kerim Khan and Suleyman Khan.

* Abbas Khan (?) now at Srinagur and Bahadur Khan (?).

1841.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin conquers Gilgit. Its ruler, Sikandar Khan, asks Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-din, Governor of Kashmir on behalf of the Sikhs, for help.

1842.—1,000 Kashmir troops sent under Nathe Shah, a Panjabi.

1843.—Sikandar Khan is murdered at Bakrôt at the instigation of Gauhar Amán.

1844.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin re-conquers the whole country, selling many of its inhabitants into slavery.

Nathe Shah, joined by Kerim Khan, younger brother of Sikandar Khan and 4,000 reinforcements, takes Numal Fort, but his subordinate Mathra Das is met at Sher Kila (20 miles from Gilgit) by Gauhar Amán and defeated.

1845.—Karim Khan succeeds his brother as ruler (called “Raja,” although a Muhammadan) of Gilgit and pays a small sum for the retention of some Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Fort under Nathe Shah. The Rajas of Hunza, Nagyr and Yasin [Gauhar Amán sending his brother Khalil Amán to Sheikh Iman-ud-din] now seek to be on good terms with Kashmir, especially as its representatives, the tyrannical Nathe Shah and his equally unpopular successor, Atar Singh, are removed by its Muhammadan Governor.

1846.—Karim Khan, Raja of Gor, another son of Tahir Shah, calls in Nathe Shah and defeats Gauhar Amán at Basin, close to Gilgit. A succession of officers of Ghulab Singh then administer the country in connexion with the Raja of Gilgit (Wazir Singh, Ranjit Rai, Bakhshu, Ali Bakhsh and Ahmad Ali Shah, brother or cousin of Nathe Shah).

“KASHMIR AND ITS DEPENDENCIES EASTWARD OF THE INDUS” are made over by the British to the Hindu Ghulab Singh. Gilgit, which lies to the *westward* of the Indus, is thus excluded from the dominions of that Maharaja. Gilgit was also, strictly speaking, not a dependency of Kashmir.

1847.—The Maharaja restores Nathe Shah, whilst confirming his cousin Nazar Ali Shah as Military Commandant of Gilgit. Raja Kerim Khan sends his brother Suleyman Khan on a friendly mission to Srinagar, where he dies. Vans Agnew arrives at Chalt on the Gilgit frontier towards Nagyr and makes friends with the people, who at first thought that he came accompanied by troops.

1848.—Isa Bahadur, the half-brother of Gauhar Amán by a concubine of Malik Amán Shah, is expelled from Sher Kila, a Fort belonging to Punyal, a dependency of Yasin, and finds refuge with the Maharaja, who refuses to give him up. Gauhar Amán accordingly sends troops under his brother Akbar Amán and captures the Bargu and Shukayôt Forts in Gilgit territory. The Rajas of Hunza and Nagyr combine with Gauhar Amán and assisted by the Gilgit people, with whom Kerim Khan was unpopular because of his friendship for Kashmir, defeat and kill Nathe Shah and Kerim Khan. Gauhar Amán captures the Gilgit and Chaprôt Forts. The Kashmir troops re-invade the country and at the beginning of

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- 1849.—Wrest all the forts in Gilgit territory from Gauhar Amán, and make over the rule of that country to Raja Muhammad Khan, son of Kerim Khan, assisted by the Kashmir representative, Anan Ali Shah as Thanadar, soon removed for oppression.
- 1850.—The raids of the Chilásis on Astór is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilás, which, not being a dependency of Kashmir, is not included in the treaty of 1846. The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under orders of the British Government. Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad, regarding ulterior plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilás.
- 1851.—Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilás and succeed in destroying the fort and scattering the hostile hill tribes which assisted the Chilásis.
- 1852.—The Maharaja's head officers, Santu Singh and Ramdhan, are murdered by the people of Gilgit whom they oppressed. The people again assist Gauhar Amán, who defeats and kills Bhup Singh and Ruknuddin (for details *vide* Appendix, and drives the Kashmir troops across the Indus to Astór.
- 1853.—The Maharaja now confines himself to the frontier, assigned to him by nature as well as the treaty, at Bunji, on the east of the Indus, but sends agents to sow discord in the family of Gauhar Amán. In addition to Isa Bahadur, he gained over two other brothers, Khalil Aman and Akbar Aman, but failed with Mahtar Sakhi, although an exile. He also attracted to his side Azmat Shah, Gauhar Amán's uncle.
- 1854.—The Maharaja instigated Shah Afzal of Chitrál to attack Gauhar Amán, and accordingly in
- 1855.—Adam Khor, son of Shah Afzal of Chitrál, drove Gauhar Amán from the possession of Mistuch and Yasin and restricted him to Punyal and Gilgit.
- 1856.—The Maharaja sends a force across the Indus under Wazir Zoraweru and Atar Singh assisted by Raja Zahid Jafar of Nagyr,* and Gauhar Amán thus attacked in front and flank, retreats from Gilgit and dispossesses Adam Khor from Yasin and Mistuch.
- 1857.—Gauhar Amán again conquers Gilgit and drives out Isa Bahadur, officiating Thanadar of that place. Gauhar Amán and the Maharaja intrigue against each other in Chitrál, Nagyr, Hunza, etc.
- 1858.—Shah Afzal of the Shah Kathor branch, ruler of Chitrál, dies.
Intrigues in Gilgit against Gauhar Amán, by Muhammad Khan, son of Raja Karim Khan, assisted by Kashmir. Muhammad Khan is conciliated by marrying the daughter of Gauhar Amán. The Sai District of Gilgit beyond the Niludar range is still held by the Sikhs.

* I believe that Raja Zahid Jafar's wife was a sister of Raja Kerim Khan and Sakandar Khan of Gilgit (also of Nagyr descent). *Vide* page 63 and Heading V. on page 65.
This connexion might account for Jafar helping the Dogras, who had reinstated Kerim Khan in Gilgit.

- 1859.—Mir Shah of Badakhshan and Raja Ghazanfar of Hunza assist Gauhar Amán in attacking Nagyr, which is under the friendly Raja Zahid Jafar, and in trying to turn out the Sikhs from Sai and even Bunji. Azmat Shah, uncle of Gauhar Amán, is expelled from Chitrál where he had sought refuge.
- Aman-ul-Mulk, King of Chitrál, dispossesses his younger brother, Adam Khor, who had usurped the throne, from the rule of Chitrál and joins Gauhar Amán against Kashmir.
- 1860.—The Maharaja instigates Adam Khor and Azmat Shah, who were in the country of Dir with Ghazan Khan, a friendly chief to Kashmir, to fight Gauhar Amán—Adam Khor was to have Yasin. Azmat Shah was to take Mistuch and Sher Kila (Payal) was to be given to Isa Bahadur, the Maharaja to have Gilgit. Intrigues of the Maharaja with the Chiefs of Dir, Badakhshan, etc.
- Gauhar Amán dies, which is the signal for an attack by the Maharaja co operating with the sons of Raja Kerim Khan of Gilgit. Gilgit falls easily to Lochan Singh, who murders Bahadur Khan, brother of Gauhar Amán, who was sent with presents from Malik Amán, also called Mulk Amán, son of Gauhar Amán. The Sikhs, under Colonels Devi Singh and Hushara and Radha Kishen, march to Yasin expelling Mulk Amán from that country (which is made over to Azmat Shah) as also from Mistuch. Isa Bahadur is reinstated as ruler of Payal, but Mulk Amán returns and drives him and Azmat Shah out. The Kashmir troops fail in their counter-attacks on Yasin, but capture some prisoners, including Mulk Amán's wife.
- 1861.—Malik Amán murders his uncle, Akbar Amán, a partisan of Kashmir. Badakhshan, Chitrál and Dir ask the Maharaja to assist them against the dreaded invasion of the Kabul Amirs, Afzal Khan and Azim Khan. Amán-ul-Mulk tries to get up a religious war (Jehád) among all the Muhammadan Chiefs. Hunza and Nagyr make friends. Both Adam Khor and Amán-ul-Mulk, who have again become reconciled, send conciliatory messages to the Maharaja, who frustrates their designs, as they are secretly conspiring against him.
- Even Mulk Amán makes overtures, but unsuccessfully.
- 1862.—Kashmir troops take the Fort of Roshan. A combination is made against Mulk Amán, whose uncle Gulsher and brother Mir Ghazi go over to the Maharaja.
- 1863.—Mulk Amán advancing on Gilgit is defeated in a very bloody battle at the Yasin Fort of Shamir. Massacre of women and children by the Kashmir troops at Yasin.
- 1864.—Mir Vali and his Vazir Rahmat become partisans of the Maharaja.
- 1865.—Ghazanfar, the Raja of Hunza and father-in-law of Mulk-Amán, dies, which causes Mirza Bahadur of the rival Nagyr to combine for an attack on Hunza with Kashmir. Adam Khor murders his uncle, Tajammul Shah, whose son, Malik Shah, murders

1866.—Adam Khor (some say at the instigation of his elder brother, Amán-ul-Mulk). Malik Shah seeks refuge with the Maharaja who will not give him up to Amán-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk then sprung the mine he had long prepared, and when the long contemplated campaign against Hunza took place in 1866, all the Mussulman Chiefs who had been adherents of the Maharaja, including Mir Vali, fell away. The Kashmir troops which had advanced on Nummal were betrayed, and defeated by the Hunza people (now ruled by Ghazan Khan, son of Ghazanfar).

All the hill tribes combine against Kashmir and reduce the Dogras to the bare possession of Gilgit, which however held out successfully against more than 20,000 of the allied Dards, headed by Amán-ul-Mulk, Ghazan Khan and Mir Vali. Very large reinforcements were sent by Kashmir,* at whose approach the besiegers retreated, leaving, however, skirmishers all over the country.

Wazir Zoraweru followed up the advantage gained by invading Dareyl. Whilst the place was yet partially invested, Dr. Leitner made his way to the Gilgit Fort and frustrated two attempts made against him by the employés of the Maharaja, who ostensibly were friends.

1867.—Jehandár Shah of Badakhshan is expelled from his country by the Governor of Balkh and seeks refuge in Kabul, where he is restored a year afterwards to his ancestral throne by the influence of Abdurrahman Khan, son of the Amir Afzal Khan and by his popularity. His rival, Mahmud Shah, leaves without a struggle. Mir Vali, joining Mulk Amán, made an unsuccessful attack on Isa Bahadur and Azmat Shah, who beat them off with the help of Kashmir troops from Gilgit. The consequence was general disappointment among the Muhammadan Chiefs and the Hill tribe of Dareyl (which had been subdued in the meantime) and all opened friendly relations with Kashmir, especially.

1868.—Mir Vali rules Yasin with Pahlwan.† Mulk Amán flees to Chitrál.

1869.—Mulk Amán takes service with Kashmir and is appointed on a salary, but under surveillance, at Gilgit.

1870.—Mr. Hayward visits Yasin in March; is well received by the Chief, Mir Vali, but returns, as he finds the passes on to the Pamir closed by snow—visits the country a second time in July, after exposing the conduct and breach of treaty of the Kashmir authorities, and is murdered, apparently without any object, at

* Jewahir Singh went by Shigar with 13,000 Baltis (Little Tibetans), 2,000 light infantry came *via* Jagloth under Sirdar Mahmud Khan. The general of all the "Khulle" Regiments was Bakhshi Radha Kishn. Colonel Hoshiára went by the Nomal road to Nagyr, and after destroying 3,000 head of sheep and many villages returned.

Wazir Zoraweru went to Darél with Colonel Devi Singh and 10,000 men (?). Bija Singh was at Gor (?) and Hussani Ali was in command of the Artillery.

† Mir Vali and Pahlwan are brothers by different mothers. Mulk Amán and Nura Gurá (Mir Ghazi?) are brothers by the same mother—so one of my men says. Pahlwan is Amán-ul-Mulk's sister's son (*vide* "History of Wars with Kashmir," Dardistan, Part III., page 67). •

Darkôt in Yasin, one stage on to Wakhan, by some men in the service of his former friend, Mir Vali, who, however, soon flies the country in the direction of Badakhshan, then seeks refuge with the Akhund of Swat, and finally returns to Yasin, where he is reported to have been well received by Pahlwan. Whilst in Chitrál, he was seen by Major Montgomerie's Havildar and was on good terms with Amán-ul-Mulk, who is supposed, chiefly on the authority of a doubtful seal, to be the instigator of a murder which was not, apparently, to his interests and which did not enrich him or Mir Vali with any booty, excepting a gun and a few other trifles. Much of the property of Mr. Hayward was recovered by the Kashmir authorities, and a monument was erected by them to his memory at Gilgit, where there is already a shrine, which is referred to on pages 46 and 51.

1871. — Jehandár Shah, son of Mir Shah, who had again been turned out of the rule of Badakhshan in October 1869 by Mir Mahmud Shah with the help of the Afghan troops of Amir Sher Ali, finds an asylum in Chitrál with Amán-ul-Mulk (whose daughter had been married to his son) after having for some time shared the fortunes of his friend, the fugitive Abdurrahman Khan of Kabul. (Chitrál pays an annual tribute to the Chief of Badakhshan in slaves, which it raises either by kidnapping travellers or independent Kafirs or by enslaving some of its own Shiah and Kafir subjects — the ruler being of the Sunni persuasion.)

1872. — Late accounts are confused, but the influence of Amir Sher Ali seems to be pressing through Badakhshán on Chitrál and through Bajaur on Swat on the one hand and on the Kafir races on the other. The Maharaja of Kashmir on the one side and the Amir of Kabul on the other seem to endeavour to approach their frontiers at the expense of the intervening Dard and other tribes. Jehandár Shah infests the Kolab road and would be hailed by the people of Badakhshan as a deliverer from the oppressive rule of Mahmud Shah, as soon as the Kabul troops were to withdraw.

So far my "Dardistan," in which a detailed "History of the Wars with Kashmir" will be found. The events since 1872 need only to be indicated here in rough outline, and, unfortunately, confirm my worst anticipations as to the destruction of the independence of the Dardu tribes, of their legendary lore, and, above all, of the purity of their languages, including the prehistoric Khajuná or "Burishki" spoken in Hunza-Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. What are the admitted encroachments of our Ally, the Maharaja of Kashmir, have been utilized in our supposed interests, and we have stepped in to profit, as we foolishly think, by his sins, whilst he is tricked out of their reward. Falsely alleging that Hunza-Nagyr were rebellious vassals of Kashmir, when Hunza at all events was under Chinese protectorate, we have reduced their patriotic defenders to practical servitude, and, by to-day's *Times* (21st November, 1892), are starting, along with 250 rifles and two guns, some 100 men of a Hunza levy to Chitrál to put down a trouble which our ill-judged interference has created in another independent principality, where we have put aside the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, for his

younger brother, Afzul-ul-Mulk, on the pretext that the former was intriguing with the Russians. I believe this allegation to be absolutely false, for I know him to be most friendly to British interests. In 1886 he offered to send a thousand men from Warshigum over the passes to the relief of Colonel (now General Sir) W. Lockhart, then a temporary prisoner at Panjah Fort in Affghan hands. As Padishah of Turikoh, Nizám-ul-Mulk was, in his father's life-time, the *acknowledged* heir to the Chitrál throne, and he was made by his father Raja of Yasin in succession to Afzul, who had taken it in 1884 from Mir Amán, the maternal uncle of Pehliwán, who was ruler of Yasin in 1880, when Colonel Biddulph wrote his "Tribes of the Hindukush," and with whom the Khushwaqtia dynasty, as such, came to an end. This Pehliwan killed Mir Wali, the murderer of Hayward, but Pehliwan made the mistake of attacking Biddulph in 1880, and was ousted by Mir Amán. With Nizám-ul-Mulk, therefore, begins the rule over Yasin by the Kathoria Dynasty of Chitrál. He is now a fugitive at Gilgit; had he been intriguing with Russia he would certainly not have sought refuge from his brother in the British lion's mouth at Gilgit. All I can say is that in 1886 he did not even know the name of Russia, and that when he wrote to me in 1887 he referred to the advent of the French explorers Capus, Pepin and Bonvalot, as follows: "they call themselves sometimes French, and at other times Russians." In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1891, there is a paper from Raja Nizám-ul-Mulk on "the Legends of Chitrál," he thus being the first Central Asian prince whose literary effusion has appeared in the pages of a British, or indeed of any, Review. His first letters, sent in the hollow of a twig, like his latter ones sent through British officers, all breathe a spirit of what may be called the sincerest loyalty to the Queen-Empress, were he not an absolutely independent ruler. There will be an evil day of reckoning when the "meddling and muddling," which has created the Russian Frankenstein, will be followed by the exasperation of princes and people, within and beyond our legitimate frontier. To revert to Hunza and Nagyr, Mr. F. Drew, an Assistant Master of Eton College, who was *in the service of the Maharaja of Kashmir*, wrote in 1877 in his "Northern Barrier of India"—which, alas! our practical annexation of Kashmir, and our interference with the Hindukush tribes are breaking down—as follows: "Hunza and Nagyr are two small INDEPENDENT RAJASHIPS. Nagyr has generally shown a desire to be on friendly terms with the Dogras at Gilgit, while Hunza has been a thorn in their side." There is not a word here of these States being tributaries of Kashmir, whilst Colonel Biddulph, who was our Resident at Gilgit, shows that the last Hunza raid was committed in 1867, and that slavery and kidnapping were unknown in inoffensive, if not "timid," Nagyr. My article in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1892, shows that raiding and slavery had been recently revived in consequence of alike Russian and English advances, and that the fussiness and ambition of our officials have alone *indicated and paved* "the nearest way to India."

Woking, 21st November, 1892.

P.S.—In correcting this proof of a paper on the Fairy-land that adjoins "the Roof of the World," which our imprudence has drawn within the range of practical politics, I never anticipated that I should have to refer to my "rough sketch of the History of Dardistan" brought down to 1872 as a refutation of the history written to order by some of our leading journals which, to suit the policy of the moment, would make the Amir of Affghanistan responsible for Badakhshan, and yet blame him for interfering with Chitrál, as is hinted in a telegram in to-day's *Times*. I shall deal with this matter elsewhere.

Woking, 29th November, 1892.

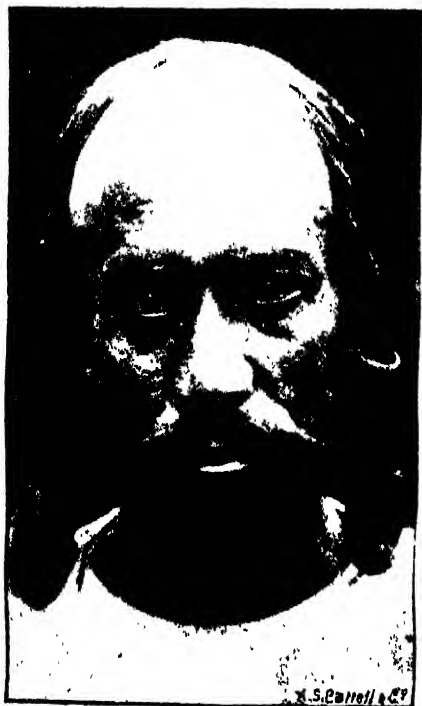
OUR MANUFACTURED FOES.



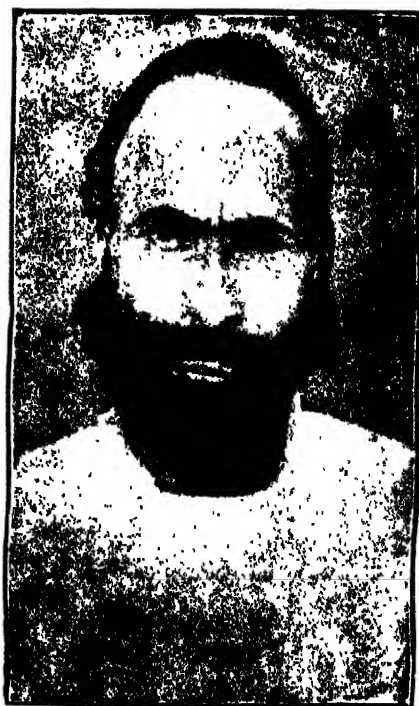
A STUDENT FROM YASGIL.



A NAGARI PEASANT.



A DAREYLI HERDSMAN.



(Already published.)

A WELL-KNOWN HUNZA FIGHTER, BROUGHT
TO ENGLAND BY DR. LEITNER IN 1887.

A. MARRIAGE CUSTOM OF THE ABORIGINES OF BENGAL: A STUDY IN THE SYMBOLISM OF MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

IN his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Col. Dalton describes repeatedly a curious ceremony at marriages among several of the aboriginal tribes. It is known as *sindūr* (or *sindra*) *dān*, and consists in the bridegroom's marking his bride's forehead with red lead. Among the tribes who practise this ceremony it is the essential part of the marriage rite, which renders the union of bride and bridegroom complete, in the same way as the putting on of the ring in the marriage service of this country. In general the bride alone is marked; but among the Bírhors (who daub the neck and not the head) and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm both parties are marked; and this appears sometimes to be the case also among the Oráons. Another variation of the custom is found among the Bírhors, where it is indeed the only ceremony observed at a wedding. Blood is drawn from the little fingers of the bride and bridegroom; and with this they are marked, instead of red lead. In Singbhúm, too, they "touch and mark each other with blood."*

The origin and meaning of the ceremony have been often discussed, but so far as I am aware no satisfactory attempt has been made to compare it with similar customs elsewhere. There can be little doubt that the Bírhors and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm in marking with blood have preserved the primitive material of the rite, and that the *sindūr* or red lead is a mere substitute for it. But what does the daubing with blood signify? Two suggestions have been made. Colonel Dalton's own guess is that it symbolizes the fact that bride and bridegroom have now become one flesh. The other view is that it is a relic of marriage by capture, in which the husband, as a preliminary to connubial felicity, had broken his wife's head.

* Dalton, 160, 216, 220, 252, 273, 317, 319, 321.

The latter explanation has in its favour the prevalent custom of marking only the bride. Moreover, brides are captured in many savage tribes with the club. A native Australian will steal upon his lady-love's slumbers and striking her senseless will bear her off to his haunt in the bush. If this rough wooing had become gradually disused by the blackfellows, it is quite conceivable that a semblance of it might have survived in dashes of blood, or of red paint, inflicted by the bridegrooms of gentler generations upon the objects of their choice. But in that case it is probable that some horse-play would accompany the act; and if any retaliatory daubing by the bride upon the bridegroom took place, it would be a late development, after all trace of the real meaning had faded from the tribal memory.

When, however, we examine the cases mentioned by Col. Dalton we do not find these indications of an earlier wooing by the club. Among the Kharriás the rite is performed after the bride reaches her father-in-law's house, and after she and her husband have been bathed and anointed. The Oráons surround it with an elaborate ceremonial of a domestic and agricultural character, which is enshrouded with some little mystery, and takes place in a bower specially constructed for the purpose in front of the lady's dwelling. A bridegroom among the Hillmen of Rájmahál is first, with his relations, entertained by the bride's father at a feast. Her hand is then placed in his; and her father in doing so, charges the husband to be loving and kind to her. This is the moment chosen for the *sindra dán*, which is accomplished with the bridegroom's little finger; and then linking that finger in the bride's he leads her away to his own house. The complex rituals of the Gopas and the Kúrmis are of the same pacific character; and this may be said of all. Everything points to consent and goodwill by the bride and her party. Nothing in the shape of a weapon appears to be carried or used by the husband. He does not even strike his chosen with a whip, as in ancient Russia.

Then if we inquire whether the reciprocal daubing by the bride of her bridegroom is one of the older or newer parts of the ceremony, we find the indications all in the direction of its antiquity. Col. Dalton mentions three instances,—those of the Oráons, the Bírhors and the Kúrmis of Singbhúm. The first is somewhat doubtful, as the propriety of the procedure is stated to be a controverted point. It takes place behind and beneath screens of cloth, both parties standing in a special attitude on a curry-stone under which a sheaf of corn lies upon a plough-yoke. The symbolism here shows but little sign of modern degradation; and though outside the screens the men of both parties keep watch with raised weapons and fierce looks, they are evidently only the guardians of the solemn and peaceful performance within. But the other two instances are still more unequivocally archaic. For here it is that the marking is made with blood; and among the Kúrmis it is preceded by the curious custom of wedding each of the spouses to a tree—a custom with which we have no further concern for the moment than to note its antique and savage character.

Moreover, the marks are not always inflicted by the bridegroom on the bride. Among the Bodos it would seem to be the rule for two women to accompany the bridegroom and his friends in their procession to the bride's house. These women it is, who, penetrating to her apartment, anoint her head with oil, mixed with red lead prior to her being presented to her husband.* Conversely, the Santal bridegroom in some districts, after reaching the bride's village, is stripped by her clanswomen, and by them bathed and dressed in new garments properly stained with red lead.†

Beyond the limits of Bengal blood is not often a prominent feature in marriage rites. Yet some significant instances may be cited. We cannot reckon that of the ancient

* Featherman, "Social History of the Races of Mankind, Turanians," 30.

† *Ibid.*, 63.

Aztecs among these. When, after the marriage feast, the Aztec bridal pair retired to their chamber, it was only to fast and pray during four days, and to draw blood from various parts of their bodies. The object of this bleeding, however, is said to have been the propitiation of their cruel gods. The ceremonies of the Wukas, a tribe inhabiting the mountains of New Guinea, however, are exactly in point. Their weddings begin with an elopement, followed by pursuit and capture of both fugitives. The next step is to bargain for the price of the bride. When this is settled, and not before, the marriage is effected by mutual cuts made by husband and wife in one another's foreheads, so that the blood flows. The other members of both families then do likewise—a proceeding, we are told, "which binds together all the relations on both sides in the closest fraternal alliance."* The writer I am quoting does not, indeed, *mention* any daubing or exchange of blood; but, as we shall see hereafter, this must be understood. The Gipsies of Hungary preserve some remarkable ceremonies and superstitions. A bride and bridegroom of the northern stock, before setting out for their wedding smear the soles of their left feet with one another's blood. And a bride of the southern stock, or a bride of the Serbian Gipsies, will seek on her wedding night to smear unobserved a drop of blood from her left hand in her husband's hair, in order that he may be constant to her.† The Caribs are reported to have had no specific rites of marriage. But a full-grown

* Featherman, "Social History of the Races of Mankind, Papuo-Melanesians," 32.

† Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki in iii "Am Urquell," 93. Is it a relic of some kindred ceremony in the South of France, when a wag sometimes amuses himself by pricking bride and bridegroom, while they are kneeling before the altar, *until the blood flows*? The object, we are told, is to test their characters, for the one who cries out the louder at the pain is the more jealous or the less amiable of the pair. It does not follow that this was the original object. Béranger-Féraud, "Traditions et Réminiscences Populaires de la Provence," 202. But other jocular tests have also been common, e.g., pinching. See Laisnel de la Salle, ii "Croyances et Légendes du Centre de la France," 39.

man would sometimes betroth himself to an unborn child, conditionally on its proving a girl. When this was done it was the custom for him to mark the mother's body with a red cross.* This is an act hardly susceptible of more than one interpretation. As the child itself could not be reached, the next best thing was done. The red mark over the mother's womb was no doubt originally made with the man's blood, and symbolized the union henceforth existing between him and the unborn infant.

There is one piece of evidence pointing to a practice among the Scandinavian Aryans, or rather perhaps among the non-Aryan races with whom they came into contact, similar to that of the Bengal Turanians. A Norwegian youth was curious to see if it were really true that the Huldren, or wood-women (a kind of supernatural beings), occupied the mountain dwelling in the autumn after it was deserted by the family for the lowlands. The tale runs that he crept under a large upturned tub, and there waited until it began to grow dark. Then he heard a noise of coming and going; and it was not long before the house was filled with Huldrenfolk. They immediately smelt Christian flesh, but could not find the lad, until at length a maiden discovered him beneath the tub, and pointed at him with her finger. He drew his knife and scratched her finger, so that the blood flowed. Scarcely had he done it, when the whole party surrounded him; and the girl's mother, supported by the rest, demanded that he must now marry her daughter, *because he had marked her with blood*. There was nothing for it but to promise marriage; and it is satisfactory to add that when she had been instructed in the Word of God and baptized, she lost the tail which she had hitherto borne, like all her race, and she made the youth a faithful and loving spouse.† Now it may very well be that the reason for compelling this marriage is incomprehensible to the modern teller of the tale, at least as a serious ground.

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 267.

† H. F. Feilberg in iii "Am Urquell," 3, citing Håukenaes.

But the tale can hardly have arisen and been propagated, with the incident in question as its catastrophe, unless a custom of marking with blood in connection with a wedding ceremony had been known to the original tellers. The exact form of that custom is still to seek. It must, however, have been analogous to those we have passed in review; and its barbarous nature points back to a remote antiquity, and a much lower grade of civilization, than the Norwegian people has now, and long since, attained.

From the examination, therefore, of the rites of other races, as well as of the Bengal aborigines, Col. Dalton's interpretation of the custom of marking the bride with red lead, and of its more archaic form of marking her with blood, is found to be correct. It is the obvious correlative of the practice of making covenants by blood, found among so many savage nations. Mr. Ward describes this ceremony minutely on the occasion when he himself entered into the blood-covenant with Mata Bwiki, a chief of the Upper Congo. Its essential part consisted in making an incision in the fore-arm of each of them, and rubbing their arms together, "so that the flowing blood intermingled. We were declared," he adds, "to be brothers of one blood, whose interests henceforth should be united as our blood now was."* Other savages perform the rite differently. The Karens suck a portion of one another's blood from a puncture in the arm, or infuse it in water and drink it; and Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Irish of his day as forming a league in the same manner.† It must be by mixture in one of these ways that the kindred of the Papuan wedded pair cement their alliance. Ellis describes the female relatives of a bride and bridegroom in the Society Islands as cutting their faces, receiving the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, and depositing the cloth, "sprinkled with the mingled blood of the mothers of the

* Herbert Ward, "Five Years with the Congo Cannibals," 2nd edn., 131.

† Macmahon, "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese," 396. Gir. Camb., "The Topography of Ireland," ch. 22.

married pair, at the feet of the bride." And he tells us in so many words that this removed any inequality of rank that might have existed between them, and that "the two families to which they respectively belonged were ever afterwards regarded as one."^{*}

At this point we may pause to glance at some other ceremonies bearing a similar import to the *sindra dán*.

Both at Hindoo marriages and among the non-Aryan population of India it is usual to tie the clothes of bride and bridegroom together.[†] The ancient Aztec priest was wont to take the pair by the hands, asking if they were willing to marry, and on having their consent he tied a corner of the maiden's veil to her lover's gown, and led them thus tied together to the bridegroom's house, where further ceremonies awaited them.[‡] The same rite is recorded of the tribes of Nicaragua.[§] The Kúrmis of Bengal, who take the precaution of first wedding the bride and bridegroom each to a tree, attach some of the leaves of the tree thus married to the wrist of its human spouse: an adaptation, probably, of the same symbolism.||

An image more expressive still of union is found in the practice of covering both persons with one cloth. This obtains not only among several Dravidian tribes, but also among the Abyssinians, and the Chippeway Indians, and in the Society Islands; and it was one of the Aztec rites.[¶] A recent writer in *L'Anthropologie* describes it as still in

* Ellis, i "Polynesian Researches," 272.

† Dalton, 148, 234. 321. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 63, 120, 141. [Compare also the "Chaddar-dalna" "sheet-throwing" marriage form (second-class but still legitimate) among Hindus, especially Sikhs.—ED.]

‡ Acosta, "History of the Indies" (Hakluyt Soc.), 370.

§ Stoll, "Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala," 8, 10.

|| Dalton, 319.

¶ Dalton, 252. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 30, 141; Aramæans, 605; Aoneo-Maranonians, 249; Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 101. Ellis, i. *op. cit.*, 117. The skin of a mare killed and eaten at the wedding banquet forms the first shelter of the happy Patagonian couple. Guinnard, "Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians," 139. Inasmuch as the horse has been known less than four hundred years in Patagonia, this must be a modern practice. What animal's skin was used previously?

use in Hebrew marriages, as it appears to have been in the days when Ruth was described as praying Boaz to "spread his skirt over his handmaid."* Indeed up to a recent time, if not now, this very symbolism has been employed among the nations of modern Europe. In France a canopy, or veil, is held suspended over the heads of the pair during the ceremony: it bears the significant name of *abrisou*, or fool-shelter.† The most picturesque form of the practice was a Hessian usage now extinct. The bridegroom wore a large black mantle; and as he stood with his bride before the altar he flung with one strong sweep its ample folds around her, so that both of them were covered by it. If the bride or her husband had any child, born before marriage, and she took it there and then under the canopy, or the mantle, this act was sufficient to render it legitimate.‡ Much more than mere protection was here symbolized: unity of flesh was proclaimed. Had mere protection been all that was intended, it would have been more to the purpose to place bride and child beneath a shield, or indeed any other weapon. The cloth, or the mantle, represented the solitary garment of a primitive savage; and those who in a solemn ceremony were thus taken beneath it were identified in a peculiar manner with its owner.

The same meaning doubtless underlies a much ruder rite reported of the inhabitants of several of the East Indian islands. On the island of Nias, off the coast of Sumatra, the bridegroom, after a resistance, real or feigned, on the part of the maiden and her friends, gets possession of her, and both prostrate themselves before an idol made for the occasion, while a medicine-man presses them to-

* iii "L'Anthropologie," 365. Cf. Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 87.

† Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.*, ii 13, 39.

‡ Kolbe, "Hessische Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche," 176. A belief is said to have lingered into modern times among "the folk" in England that a mother might legitimate her children born before marriage by taking them under her clothes during the ceremony. Brayley's "Graphic and Historical Illustrator," 36.

gether so that their heads strike.* Among one of the Dyak tribes of Borneo the heads of the affianced pair are knocked together; and in like manner on the Kingsmill Islands their foreheads are pressed together, in both cases by the officiating priest.† This uncouth practice appears happily to be confined to peoples of the Melanesian race.

But perhaps the most striking, as well as the most widely spread, of all these ceremonies is that familiar to us in the Roman law under the name of *Confarreatio*. This solemn form of marriage took its name from the central rite, in which the man and woman ate together a round cake, called the *panis farreus*. In one shape or other this rite is found in many lands. It has been too often described to need an extended notice here; but we may select for mention a few of the more significant instances. Beginning with the Santals—the couple to be married fast on the wedding-day until after the *sindra dān*, when they sit down together and eat. Col. Dalton, in speaking of this custom, reminds us that it is the more remarkable because the Hindoo husband and wife never eat together, and tells us that this meal is the first time the maiden is supposed to have sat with a man at his food, and that it “is the most important part of the ceremony, as by the act the girl ceases to belong to her father’s tribe, and becomes a member of her husband’s family.”‡ Father Bourien was present at several marriages of Mantras,§ an aboriginal people of the Malay Peninsula. According to his report, “a plate containing small packages of rice wrapped up in banana-leaves having been presented, the husband offered

* Modigliani, “Un Viaggio a Nias,” 550. Cf. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 354.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 267. Westermarck, “Hist. of Human Marriage,” 423, citing Wilkes’ “Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition.”

‡ Dalton, 216. One form of the blood-covenant among the Karens is eating together of a bullock. Macmahon, *loc. cit.*

§ This term, as also that of Basisi, is applied by the civilized Malays somewhat vaguely to all the wild tribes of the interior, whether of Negrito or Malay origin.—Prof. A. H. Keane, *Malay Peninsula*, page 7.

one to his future wife, who showed herself eager to accept it, and ate it; she then in her turn gave some to her husband, and they afterwards both assisted in distributing them to the other members of the assemblage." In the feast which followed the remaining ceremonies husband and wife ate from one dish.* So among the tribes of New Guinea when the bride is brought to her husband's dwelling a dish of food is presented to them, out of which they both eat; and on the island of Mangaia, in the Hervey Group, they are seated the while on a single piece of the finest white native cloth, just as at Rome they sat, during one portion of the proceedings, on the fell of a sheep which had just been slain in sacrifice.† Variants in the ceremony among the Papuans are the eating of three mouthfuls in alternate succession out of a pot of sago mush, served by one another, and the eating of a roasted banana, one half by the bride, the other by the bridegroom.‡

The division of the roasted banana brings us more nearly to the Roman rite. In like manner in the celebration of a Yezeedee wedding a loaf of consecrated bread is handed to the husband, and he and his wife eat it between them.§ The Nestorians require the pair to take the communion.|| Nor is this requirement by any means confined to the Nestorians among Christian sects; and even until the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer the Church of England herself commanded, in the final rubric of the solemnization of matrimony, that "the new married persons *the same day of their marriage* must receive the holy communion."

It would be a small and obvious modification of the symbolism of eating together out of the same dish, or of the same cake, to include a common drink out of the same vessel, or even to substitute it for the eating. On the Philippine Islands eating from one plate and drinking

* iii, Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London, N.S., 81.

† 2nd Report Australian Assoc., 314, 319, 330.

‡ Featherman, *op. cit.*, Melanesians, 32, 33.

§ *Ibid.*, Aramæans, 62.

|| *Ibid.*, 75.

from one cup constitute the essential ceremony. Col. Dalton ascribes the same value to a rite which takes place at the marriage feast in Singbhúm. The young couple mix the beer they have been helped to, the bridegroom pouring some of his into the bride's cup, and she in turn pouring from her cup into his. They then drink, "and thus become of the same *kili* or clan."* Among some allied tribes when the bride is conducted to her husband's dwelling she is seated on a pile of unhusked rice. Oil is then poured over her head, and she is presented with some boiled rice and meat cooked in her new home. This she simply touches with her hand, and declares herself to belong to her husband's *kili*.† The touching is doubtless the simplified equivalent of tasting, the simplification being accompanied by words explanatory of the intention of the rite. It was the ancient custom in China for bride and bridegroom to eat together of the same sacrificed animal, and to drink out of cups made from two halves of the same melon, the bride drinking from the bridegroom's half and he from hers,—thus showing, as we are expressly told in the *Lí Kí*, "that they now formed one body, were of equal rank and pledged to mutual affection."‡ In country places in Hesse it is still the custom to take a hasty meal before the bridal party starts for church; and the first act of this is for the pair about to be married to drink together out of one cup or to eat together off one plate with one spoon, as a token of their union.§ According to the old Lombardic laws no further ceremony was necessary to constitute a valid marriage than a kiss and a drink together. The Church struggled long against this practice, but was in the end obliged to sanction it, subject to the condition that a priest should be present to impart the benediction and a "spousal sermon." To this day in Hesse the custom is preserved in the *weinkauf*,|| or assembly of relatives on

* vi. Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London, N.S., 26. Dalton, 193.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 60.

‡ xxvii "Sacred Books of the East," 441; xxviii, 429.

§ Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 171. || *Lit.*, wine-purchase.

both sides. At this assembly the conditions are fixed on which the bride is to be discharged from her native kln to enter the kindred and protection of the bridegroom. When these are arranged she drinks to her bridegroom in token of her consent, and both then drink out of the same glass. From that moment they are regarded as practically husband and wife ; and it only remains to obtain ecclesiastical sanction for the union. This usually follows shortly after ; and between the *winkauf* and the wedding it was formerly not thought proper for a virtuous maiden to go out of doors.*

The list might be indefinitely lengthened ; but the customs with which we are concerned all resolve themselves into the thought presented on another side to us by the tale, said to be of Oriental origin, that on the first day Allah took an apple and cut it in two, giving one half to Adam and the other to Eve, and directing each at the same time to seek for the missing half. That is why one half of humanity has ever since been seeking its corresponding half.†

But here we must go a step further. The remains of the cake, which, in the Roman ceremony of *Confarreatio*, had been broken and eaten by the bride and bridegroom, were distributed among the guests ; just as our own bride-cake, after being cut by the bride and bridegroom, is shared with the entire wedding party. In the same way at a marriage in the Ukrainian provinces a cake called the *korovai* is made with a number of ritual observances. Immediately before the bride is conducted to her husband's house this cake is solemnly cut. The moon which crowns it is divided between the happy pair, and the rest is distributed among the relatives in order of age, great care being manifested that everyone shall have his due portion. The cutting and distribution are performed with ceremonies showing the importance attached to the act ; and we learn from an ancient song that it was formerly the custom to

* Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 147.

† iv. *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, 362.

light a candle and search diligently every corner, to see that no one had been overlooked.* As with other rites already referred to, this is one regarded not only among comparatively civilized peoples. Backward races, as convivial in their instincts as the most enlightened, join not merely in feasting on these occasions, but also in partaking formally of a special article of food or drink as a necessary part of the ceremony. It will be enough to recall two instances. Among the Garos of North-eastern India the married couple complete their wedding festivities by each drinking a bowl of rice-beer and presenting a cup to every guest.† On the Kingsmill Islands bride and bridegroom are led to their hut by an old woman who spreads for them a new mat of cocoa-palm leaves, and makes around them a circle of cooked pandanus fruits. Of these she takes two and hands them to the pair, having first called on the goddess Eibong to take them under her protection, and bless their union richly with children. When these two fruits have been eaten the others are divided among the relatives and friends, who are waiting outside to receive them.‡ I have already mentioned the rite among the Mantras.

The meaning of this extension of the symbolic observance cannot be widely divergent from its meaning and intention when limited to husband and wife. It is not merely assent to the marriage on the part of the guests. It is indeed that; but assent, though, as we shall see, very necessary, may be obtained and given in other ways. To understand its full force we must turn back to some of the examples I have cited. By sitting and eating with her husband the Santal maiden "ceases to belong to her father's tribe, and becomes a member of her husband's family." The Múnda bride and bridegroom, drinking the blended liquor from their two cups, become of one *kili*. But the woman who enters her husband's *kili*, or clan, becomes related to all its

* Théodore Volkov, in ii "L'Anthropologie," 558.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 88.

‡ R. Parkinson, in ii "Internationales Archiv. für Ethnographie," 38.

members. Becoming of one flesh with him she becomes of one flesh with all of his kindred. This is implicitly recognised by those Bengali tribes among which it is not the bridegroom but the women who accompany him who anoint the bride with red lead, and where the bride's clanswomen bathe the bridegroom and dress him in new clothes stained with red lead before he is presented to the bride. The Wukas of New Guinea express it more frankly and crudely when the members of both families follow the example set by the wedded pair of cutting one another slightly in the forehead until the blood flows, and so bind together "all the relations on both sides in the closest fraternal alliance." A hideous rite susceptible of no other interpretation is that performed by the Kingsmill Islanders immediately upon the consummation of a marriage.* The scientific reader will be able to verify the reference at the foot of this page for himself. Lastly, the legitimization in mediæval Europe of the child taken under the cloak which the bridegroom wrapped around himself and his bride, or under the cloth which covered them, belongs to the same order of thought.

It is also presented to us by other usages. In countries where the widely diffused custom of bride-purchase obtains, as in Guatemala, the price is furnished by the relatives or clansmen of the bridegroom.† This is a point to which I shall return presently. Among the Toaripi, a tribe of New Guinea, the bride is decked by her parents not only in her best petticoats, but in feathers, arm-shells, and shell-necklaces. When she arrives in her husband's home all this finery is stripped off her and appropriated by his parents. She and all that is hers apparently pass into the possession of her husband and his kindred. In Esthonian marriages the contents of the

* R. Parkinson, in ii. "Internationales Archiv. für Ethnographie," 39.

† Stoll, *op. cit.*, 8. Compare the Araucanian custom (Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 472), the Kurdish and other customs (ii "L'Anthropologie," 539, n.), the Melanesian custom (Codrington, "The Melanesians," 237), and many others.

lady's bridal box are distributed among the relatives and friends present in the bridegroom's house, who in return are expected to make gifts of money. And a similar custom prevails among the Tcheremiss in other provinces of Russia.*

Many of the Esthonian ceremonies are of great interest. Only one other, however, shall be here mentioned, a ceremony by no means limited to the Esthonians, but practised over a wide area by many different stocks. When the bride has at length been brought into the bridegroom's house a repast is served, and the day is concluded with a dance, wherein all the guests in turn dance with her, for which she is entitled to a piece of money from each of them.† Sir John Lubbock in a note to his work on *The Origin of Civilization* has brought together a number of examples of what he designates as Expiations for Marriage. I cannot help thinking he has there confused two distinct customs. I see no evidence that ceremonial prostitution, such as that ascribed by Herodotus to the Babylonian women, is identical with the even more objectionable rule of the Auxiles, an Ethiopian tribe mentioned by Pomponius Mela, among whom the bride was, on the wedding night, considered as common property. This is not the place to

* 2nd Rep. Austr. Assn., 314. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 490, 539. Among the Osages the bride is stripped for the benefit of the bridegroom's mother; but inasmuch as he goes to live with the bride's family, this is probably a propitiatory gift, notwithstanding its equivalent is returned. See Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 308.

† Featherman, *loc. cit.* The wedding-dance in Dalecarlia, mentioned by Du Chaillu, ii "Land of the Midnight Sun," 240, seems to be analogous. It appears to have taken place in the bridegroom's father's house. Among the Wends, every male guest is expected to dance with the bride, formal permission first being obtained from the *Brautführer*. The bridegroom is sent away during these dances, which last until midnight. They take place, however, in the bride's house. iii "Zeitschrift für Volkskunde," 478. For other examples see Béranger-Féraud, *op. cit.*, 194, 196, 200, 201. Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.*, ii, 50, 66. Zingerle, "Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Tirol," 457. Rogers, "Scotland: Social and Domestic," 112. iii Zeits. f. Volkskunde, 230. A comparison of these passages renders the meaning of the rite unmistakable.

discuss the question fully; but, whatever were the origin and meaning of the Babylonian custom, it seems to me that that of the Ethiopian tribe is to be traced to an assertion by the husband's kindred of their rights on admitting the woman into the clan, and that the Esthonian dance is a civilized survival of a similar practice. It is significant in this connection that the latter takes place in the bridegroom's house. The rights referred to may never again be exercised during the continuance of the marriage. Probably they never would be, at all events without the assent of the husband. But, whether exercised or not, there the rights would be, ready to arise upon a favourable opportunity.

The information we have about most of the peoples referred to in Sir John Lubbock's note is meagre and fragmentary. About the Kurnai of Australia, however, we have full and precise statements. Their only recognised form of marriage was by a species of elopement or capture, performed with the aid of the other unmarried youths of the tribe. With all these youths the unfortunate bride had to observe the Auxilian rite. She then went off with her new husband. This process had to be repeated once, if not twice again, before her relatives could be got to assent to the match; and meantime both bride and bridegroom incurred their wrath, which was much more than a mere form. But when once the elopement had been condoned, if the bride had an unmarried sister, it is said that she also would be handed over to the husband; and in any case on his wife's death he had a right to her. Moreover, on his death, his widow, if he left but one, went by right to his brother; if more than one, they went to his brothers in order of seniority. If the wife ran away from her husband with another man, "all the neighbouring men might turn out and seek for her, and in the event of her being discovered, she became common property to them until released by her husband or her male relatives." Further, the husband was obliged to supply his wife's parents with

the best of the food he killed; but on the other hand he was free to hunt over their country as well as the country of his own ancestors.*

In considering these particulars we must remember that the constitution of society among the Australian aborigines is in process of transformation. They had a system of group-marriage, whereby every tribe consisted of certain classes, all exogamous. Their table of prohibited affinities is highly complex, and need not be here discussed. It is enough to say that the members of each class were looked upon among themselves as brothers and sisters; but towards the class into which they could marry they were husbands and wives; and they were entitled to act accordingly whenever they met any members of the latter class. No sexual relations were permitted with any other class. The system has been in a state of decadence—greater in some tribes, like the Kurnai, less in others—from a time probably anterior to the English settlement. A custom had arisen, it matters not from what causes, of appropriating one woman, or more, to one man. This custom, if not interfered with, would have issued in the evolution of a different idea of kinship, and ultimately of the true family. In group-marriage the wives were not regarded as akin to the husbands. Marriage was the status into which husbands and wives alike were born. The union required no ceremonies to its consummation, because no relationships were changed by it. But with the rise of monopoly by individuals of one another the unappropriated women would be kept at a greater distance from the men, and the act of appropria-

* Fison and Howitt, "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," 201-5. The punishment for a guilty wife among some of the North American Indians was similar to that of the Kurnai. See Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 161. Cf. Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 137. Other traces of the Auxilian rite are to be found among the North American Indians. See, for example, a curious Ponka legend given by Dorsey, "The Cegiha Language," 616. The right of the husband to his wife's sister is widespread. See Bancroft, i "Native Races of the Pacific States," 277, 388. Other instances in both hemispheres might be cited.

tion would gradually assume a ceremonial form. The kindred would be called upon to take part in it, both as assistants and as witnesses. The woman would be introduced by it into a special relation with them. The exogamous classes would be gradually effaced ; a new idea of the clan would supersede them ; and the act of marriage would at length operate as an admission into the clan.*

Now, it is clear from Mr. Howitt's account that, by the marriage, rights were acquired on the part of the husband's kin in the wife and on the part of the wife's kin in the husband. The decaying system would doubtless have sufficient vitality at that stage to permit only members of the husband's class to take part in the capture of a bride, or of a runaway wife ; and they would as yet be all reckoned of his kin. The rights they then exercised would afterwards be held in abeyance ; but, subject to the husband's monopoly, they would survive, to reappear upon his death, if not upon any other occasion in his lifetime. The gradual circumscription of the kindred, by the recognition of closer ties than those of the exogamous class, is indicated by the duty laid upon the husband to supply his wife's parents with food, as well as by the limitation to his brothers of the right to his widows. The Auxiles and other peoples referred to by Sir John Lubbock were probably in the stage in which group-marriage had died, or was dying, out in favour of individual unions. The bride was hardly yet conceived of as taken into the kindred. The Nasamonian habits in particular, as recorded by Herodotus, appear little, if at all, advanced beyond those of the Kurnai. Both among the Nasamonians, however, and the Auxiles it was the practice for each of the guests who had taken part in the rite to reward the bride with a gift, just as among the

* It will be seen that I am assuming that the evolution would be in the direction of patriarchal clans. This seems likely from Mr. Howitt's account ; and, at all events, it would no doubt be the ultimate direction. It will also be seen that I do not accept M. Westermarck's criticism of Messrs. Fison and Howitt's work. My reasons would be irrelevant in the text, and are too long for a note.

Esthonians the bride is rewarded for her dance: an indication that her complaisance was becoming something more than the guests could demand,—something they had, therefore, to purchase. This does not appear to have been the case, however, among the Balearic Islanders—at least Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the custom, says nothing about any gift. Nor is it recorded in an account of the marriage rites of the Wa-taveta given by a lady who has recently travelled in Eastern Africa. In other respects the Wa-taveta would appear to be somewhat higher in the scale of civilization than the Kurnai or the Baleares. The bridegroom's friends are limited to four in number. The capture of the bride in which they aid him is a mere ceremony followed by a five days' feast, during which they participate in the Auxilian rite.*

But until group-marriage had practically passed away, and society had organized itself into true clans, there could be no reception of the wife into the kin. We must, therefore, not look to so archaic a condition for ceremonies bearing that meaning, or for the resulting status of the wife. Where the clan has been most completely organized, we may expect to find its results most logically carried out; and some of the most logical results will often remain even when society has passed into a still higher development. So it was in Rome, where the wife entered into the *familia* of the husband, or, if her husband had a father living and were still in his power, into that of her husband's father. Her offering, on the day following her marriage, to her husband's Penates seems to have been a solemn initiation, in so far at least as that had not been effected by the ceremonies of the *confarreatio*. This is also the interpretation of somewhat similar rites performed by a bride in Ukrania on entering her new home, where she is first welcomed by all the female neighbours of her bridegroom's family,†—and of many ceremonies of the same kind else-

* Mrs. French-Sheldon, in xxi "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," 365.

† Volkov, in ii "L'Anthropologie," 568.

where. A Chinese married woman is taught to regard her husband's parents and his remoter ancestors in every respect as if they were her own; while she ceases on the other hand to have any but a secondary interest in her own relatives. According to Confucius the very object of marriage was to furnish those who should preside at the sacrifices, among which a prominent place is given to the ancestral offerings. This was indeed expressed in the formula of demand for the hand of a maiden in ancient times. And just as at Rome the bride offered sacrifices to her husband's Penates, so in China, on the day after the marriage, she prepared and presented a sucking-pig to her husband's parents, and when they had done eating she finished what was left.* In this way among the polite Chinese the union of the bride with her husband's parents is signified and completed. Among the more barbarous islanders of Bonabe in Micronesia "the wife is tattooed with the marks standing for the names of her husband's ancestors."†

Conversely, it would seem that, at some early stages of civilization at all events, a man on marrying was received into the clan of his wife. It is now generally recognised that the words "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh" could have originated only at a period when it was customary for a husband to go and dwell with his wife's kin,—that is to say, before the development of the patriarchal system on which the Hebrews in later times were organized. Professor Robertson Smith suggests, ingeniously and with probability, that the expression implies "that the husband is conceived as adopted into his wife's kin;" for, as he has previously pointed out, both in Arabic and in Hebrew (notably in the priestly legislation, Lev. xxv. 49) the word for *flesh* is equivalent to *kindred*, or *clan*.‡

* De Groot, i "Religious System of China," 3; xxviii "Sacred Books of the East," 238, 264; xvii, 442.

† Lubbock, *op. cit.*, 84, quoting Hale's United States Explor. Exped.

‡ "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 148, 176. Cf. *idem*. 66.

Residence is one of the tests of kindred. But it is only one, and by no means a conclusive one. For this reason the stories of Isaac's marriage and those of Jacob cannot be safely cited in support of this suggestion. The curious incident of the bargain with Shechem is more to the point; for in that case a rite was to be undergone which would have the effect of making Shechemites and Israelites "one people." If, however, we find cases of marriage where not only does the husband dwell with his wife and her family, but his property and earnings also go to them, or are shared in common with them, this will be further evidence of reception into the kin. Among the Kocch a man is taken on marriage to live with his wife and her mother, and all his property is made over to her.* The Bayaga, a tribe of dwarfs in Equatorial Africa, require the husband to live with his wife's family, and all the produce of his hunting belongs to them. He may, however, return to his own community and take his wife, but only when he has a son and that son has killed an elephant. And then he leaves the son behind to fill the place of the daughter taken away.† This appears to be an instance of the archaic system of mother-right in process of decay. The North American Indians had customs in their various tribes, which exhibited almost all gradations between the complete absorption of the husband in his wife's clan and the last stages of dissolution of the system of mother-right.

The severance of the married person from the clan of which he or she has been previously a member is, as might be expected, sometimes the subject of a special symbol in marriage ceremonies. Thus among the Santals when the clothes of the married pair have been tied together (the symbol, as we have seen, of their union) burning charcoal is pounded with the household pestle and the glow-

* Maclellan, "Studies in Ancient History," 103, citing Latham's "Descriptive Ethnology."

† ii "L'Anthropologie," 117, quoting a communication by M. Crampel to the Société de Géographie.

ing embers are extinguished with water. In this way the old household fire of the bride is, so far as she is concerned, put out for ever.* Among the Wends there are traces of mother-right, though it is no longer the system on which their society is organized. The first night of marriage is always spent at the bride's home ; and sometimes it would seem the bridegroom takes up his permanent residence with his wife's family. On such occasions he bids a solemn farewell, and says to his parents : " Henceforth you will see me no more, nor speak to me ; for I am leaving you. Amen."† The separation of a Chinese woman from her own family on marriage is so complete that when she returns home on a visit no brother, nor even her father, may sit with her on the same mat, nor eat with her from the same dish.‡

The inheritance by the brother, or other male relative, of the widow of a kinsman is a custom so well-known and so widespread that it needs no more than a passing mention, as a mark of the close union of the wife with her husband's family. The right of a man to his wife's sister, either in his wife's lifetime, or after her death, or, as it is found among some races, the right of a woman to share her sister's husband, even in her lifetime, is a corresponding obligation, arising probably at a stage in civilization when the husband enters the wife's family. Among the Tasmanians a widow became the common property of the men of the tribe ; and in several of the tribes of New Guinea, as well as among the Smoos of Honduras, when a widow married again the payment for her would be made to her first husband's relatives, just as if she had been a daughter or a sister.§

The reference to payment brings us to an important point, the last I shall touch upon. The practice of bride-

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 63.

† iii "Zeitschrift für Volkskunde," 391, 479.

‡ xxvii "Sacred Books of the East," 77 ; xxviii, 299.

§ 2nd Report of the Australasian Assoc., 314, 320, 601. Bancroft, i "Native Races of the Pacific States," 731.

purchase is one that we are here concerned with only in a single aspect. If the consequences of marriage were the severance from the family, or clan, of one of its members, and the union of that member to another family, or clan; so as to become one flesh with it, it is obvious that each of the two families, or clans, had a very important interest in the transaction. The marriage would affect not only the two principals; it would extend to every member of the family, or clan, forsaken, and every member of the family, or clan, entered. Such an interest as this would entitle every member of both to be consulted: and, in the one at least, their assent would be required to its validity. Such assent would be shown, as we have already noted, by the presence and assistance of the kindred at the act of marriage; or it might be signified by gifts. But, however shown, it would in many cases have to be purchased by gifts; and these sometimes constitute the price of the bride. I have mentioned in an earlier paragraph an instance, that of the natives of Guatemala, where the price, or dowry, of the bride is contributed by the bridegroom's kinsmen. We are about to deal with the converse case, wherein the price, however made up, is divided between the bride's relatives.

Bride-purchase is a custom which has been, at some time or other, practised almost all over the world; and where we do not find it still in all its ancient force we frequently find the relics of it. As, in the progress of civilization, the bonds of the family are drawn tighter, the power of the father over his children increases, and that of the more distant kinsfolk decreases. The substantial price in such cases is paid to the parent, and the other kinsmen are recognized only by a smaller, frequently a nominal, present. Lastly, the gifts on both sides are transformed into a dowry for the bride, and into wedding presents intended for the behoof of the happy couple. In various nations the application of the marriage gifts is found in all stages of transition, from the rudest bargain and sale up to the

settlements so dear to English lawyers, and the useless toys which the resources of the newest culture enable us to bestow upon our friends on these interesting occasions, to assist their early efforts in housekeeping. The examples following are drawn, of course, from conditions of barbarism when purchase prevails, or when survivals of its former practice have not yet been all swept away. Incidentally we shall find evidence, even outside the contribution on the one hand, and the payment on the other, of the wide extent of kindred whose assent is necessary in early stages of civilization.

Among the Osages a youth is not required to consult his parents in a love affair ; but the consent of his elder brother, if he have one, or his uncle, is the first condition of proceeding in it. Having obtained this preliminary approval the rest of the family are informed of his intention. He then takes a number of horses and ties them in front of the maiden's wigwam. This is equivalent to a formal proposal ; and the damsel's eldest brother, or uncle, is the first to be informed of it. If he approve the match he accepts the horses and distributes them among the members of the family.* The Osages are still, or were when the account was written on which this statement was founded, in the state of society where the husband enters the wife's family and becomes its head. The Omahas, another North American tribe, have passed into the stage where the wife goes to reside with her husband and his family. A wooer is not obliged to give presents to others than the parents, but often does ; and after marriage there is a custom now growing obsolete for the husband's kindred to collect gifts which are sent by the wife's hand to her kindred, who are thereupon entertained by her father at a feast, and the gifts distributed. A year or so later presents are sometimes made in return.† Among the Hidatsas a wooer has to show

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aoneo-Maranonians, 307.

† J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology" (Bureau of Ethnology, 1884), 259, 261.

himself liberal in his presents among the bride's relations, though the gifts are generally returned in due course if he prove a kind husband. In order to win a Seminole maiden the suitor has to prove to her uncles and aunts that he is a good hunter. This is done by supplying them with a quantity of bear's oil and venison. It is they and the lady's brothers who have the disposal—always, however, with her own consent—of her hand; and the father has no voice in the matter.* Among the Peguenches and Patagonians the bridegroom must satisfy the bride's kindred with his offerings,—not always an easy task, especially where the number is considerable.†

Turning to Africa, we find that the Kroomen of Liberia buy and sell their women; and the price of a girl is distributed between the relations of her father and those of her mother.‡ On the opposite side of the continent, where, with Mohammedanism, a somewhat higher degree of civilization has been reached, the payment for a Somali maiden forms her marriage portion. It is arranged, we are told in vague language, by her relations§—an expression including many beside the immediate parents. No doubt in more primitive times the persons who fixed the payment were the ones who received it.

The customs of various Turanian peoples point similarly to the need of obtaining the consent of the general body of the bride's kinsmen. A bridegroom of the Paharias of Rajmahál is required to present not only a turban and a rupee to his father-in-law and a piece of cloth and a rupee to his mother-in-law, but also to several of the nearest relations.|| Striking are the ceremonies performed by two of the northern branches of this widespread race. After

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.* 174, 319.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, Chiapo- and Guarano-Maranonians, 459. Guinard, 136.

‡ Featherman, *op. cit.*, Nigritians, 287.

§ C. P. Rigby, in "Trans. Ethnol. Soc. of London," n.s., 93. The Muhammadan Law prescribes the "Mihr" or dowry from the husband to the wife.

|| Featherman, *op. cit.*, Turanians, 107.

the purchase-money has been agreed upon, but before it is paid, among the Kirghis the bridegroom is allowed to visit the bride. This is done by some tribes with great formality. The young man presents himself first to the oldest member of his bride's family, and asks permission to pitch his tent at the encampment. "This request being granted he distributes presents among the members of the family, and begs them to use their efforts in persuading the bride to pay him a visit in his tent. As success always crowns their efforts, the bride makes her appearance in the tent, where the young couple are left alone. During this interview the marriage is consummated, though the union is not yet formally consecrated. They are now bound to each other, and neither can withdraw from the mutual obligation they have contracted without being exposed to the vengeance of the injured party." Further presents are given to the relatives on the formal celebration of the marriage after the purchase-money has been paid.* Among the tribes of Turkestan, after the payment of the purchase-money to the father, each party is represented by two witnesses at the wedding ceremony, and a *mollah* is employed to legalize the contract. All goes on smoothly until "the bride's witnesses suddenly raise some objection, pretending that they are unwilling to deliver up the bride who is entrusted to their keeping, unless some suitable present is offered for renouncing, on their part, the great treasure placed in their custody." Nor can the marriage proceed until they are satisfied.†

The same part is played in Central Europe by the Wendish bridesmaids. The bride awaits her bridegroom sitting at a table by herself. When his procession arrives, his master of the ceremonies advances to the table and begs her politely to follow him to the wedding. The bridesmaids interfere, and refuse to give her up without being paid for it: they must have the whole table full of gold! After an amount of haggling, which depends on the

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.*, 263.

† Featherman, *op. cit.*, *id.*, 283.

persuasive powers of the damsels and the wealth of the bridegroom, they are at length satisfied ; and sometimes the business is not concluded until a considerable sum has been paid.*

At an Ukrainian marriage presents are made with ritual formalities to every one of the bride's relations by name, and a formal agreement is entered into by which the number, and even the value, of these presents is declared. Among the persons present are women who are strangers to the family. When the presents to the relatives have been settled these women climb on a bench beside the family hearth, taking a sieve which they beat like a tambourine, clamouring also for their share of the ransom. And the bridegroom is compelled to throw some small pieces of money into the sieve for them. As M. Volkov says, it is clear that all this represents a payment in respect of the bride for the benefit of her whole clan. Among the Bulgarians a like payment, distinguished from that paid to the father, is made in money for all the members of the family, or rather, for the family-community. The father usually gives what he receives to his daughter by way of dowry.†

The final difficulties on the part of the bridesmaids among the Wends may be compared with the conduct of the women of the bride's party at a marriage of the Banks islanders. When the last instalments of the purchase-money have been paid, and the bridegroom's father and his party, after the interposition of all sorts of difficulties, are on the point of succeeding in obtaining delivery of the bride, the women step in and refuse to give her up until an extra sum has been made over to them to induce them to let her go.‡

Many more illustrations might be cited ; but enough has probably been said to establish a great range of the

* iii " *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*," 433.

† Volkov in ii " *L'Anthropologie*," 593.

‡ Codrington, *op. cit.*, 237.

custom of purchasing the bride not merely from her father, who in the higher planes of civilization has the largest amount of control over her, but from her whole kin. The reason for this, as I have already said, is to be deduced from the loss which the entire kin sustains when one member is cut off from it, to be united to a different kin. This loss necessitates consent, and consent is usually, though not always, purchased. The price may be commuted for a feast, or a feast may be added to it, and after the custom of purchase has died out the feast only may remain. So among the Arabs, for example, the stipulated purchase-money (which forms the dowry and belongs to the bride) is paid to the girl's father; but before the husband can claim his rights he has to feast the bride, and her relations and friends.* In other cases the price consists of services rendered. When this, however, takes more definite form than going to reside with the bride's kindred and generally casting the produce of labour and skill into a common stock with theirs, it is usually confined to services, like Jacob's, to the bride's father.

An able writer, whose researches into the history of marriage have borne valuable fruit, has lately, if I understand him aright, thrown doubt on the proposition that the consent of the kin generally was required to the gift of a woman in marriage.† The contrary view here urged has been based mainly on a consideration of the marriage ceremonies among widely scattered races. It is only one of many inferences resulting from an inquiry into the meaning of the curious rite from which we started. Its correctness has been confirmed by instances drawn from Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and some of the islands of the Southern Sea. A full discussion on these and other points, on

* Featherman, *op. cit.*, Aramæans, 422.

† Westermarck, *op. cit.*, 215. But cf. 233 (where he admits, as regards men, that they "had apparently in early days to take counsel with their kinsfolk," in choosing a wife), and 393 (where he cites the Banyai as requiring many head of cattle for a family to give up its claim on the offspring of a girl who had come from it).

which, as it seems to me, M. Westermarck has arrived at mistaken conclusions, would require a treatise well nigh as large as his own. The reasons of his mistakes may, however, be summed up in a single sentence: he has not grasped the importance of the study of ceremonies. In a work of 550 pages on *The History of Human Marriage* he has devoted only fourteen pages to Marriage Ceremonies and Rites. He has forgotten the conservatism of habit. He has overlooked the fact that the symbolism of to-day preserves the serious belief of yesterday, and that what in an age more or less distant was a vital motive inspiring an appropriate course of conduct survives in the conduct it has inspired long after it has itself ceased to be active and powerful. He has thus been blind to the stores of material for the investigation of the history of marriage preserved in traditions which are not simply repeated as tales, but handed down as practices from generation to generation. Had M. Westermarck added to his other and varied qualifications for writing a great work on the history of marriage that of a student of Folklore, it is safe to say that his conclusions on many points would have been different from those he has adopted.

NOTE.—Since the above has been in type I have found a passage in a Finnish poem, entitled *The Sun's Son*, descriptive of the hero's wedding ceremony. It runs thus:—The bride's father "leads and places them on the whale's, the sea king's, hide. He scratches them both on their little fingers, unites the blood together, lays hand in hand, unites breast to breast, knits the kisses together, bans the knots which jealousy has conjured, separates the hands, and looses the knots of the espousal." (Castrén, "Vorlesungen über die Finnische Mythologie," 323.) This probably explains the ceremony alluded to in the Norwegian story cited above on page 187, and confirms the suggestion that the practice was non-Aryan. As an example of the contrary effect of mixture of blood, I may refer to the Irish saga of *The Wooing of Emer*. There Cuchulaind wounds with a sling-stone the maiden whom he is to marry. He sucks out the stone with a clot of blood round it. "I shall not wed thee now, said Cuchulaind, for I have drunk thy blood." (i Archæol. Rev., 304.) The explanation is that he had thus involuntarily contracted blood-relationship with her, and hence could not marry her.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

A CORRESPONDENT from Tientsin, China, writes :

THE PAMIRS AND CHINA.

The Russian invasion of the " Roof of the World " has exposed the weakness of the Anglo-Chinese Alliance ; and the episode illustrates the danger of relying on anybody but ourselves to defend the frontiers. The Chinese Government did not know where the Pamirs were. They got their information from Europe as to what was going on there ; and were unable to respond to the efforts of foreign diplomats to arouse their interest in these nebulous operations. The Governor of Turkestan, they considered, knew all about it, and would do whatever was needful ;—besides, they could always censure and degrade him should he turn out not to be omniscient. They felt something like the canny Scot who was in danger of shipwreck and consoled his nervous son by " Man, the ship does na belong to us." True, after many telegrams had been bandied to and fro, a glimmering of the situation reached the Foreign Board, but it was only a second-hand reflected light, and did not affect the Ministers so much as some trivial matter of daily office routine. Failing to make the desired impression on the Tsungli Yamen in Peking, the British Minister deputed H.M. Consul in Tientsin to work upon the Viceroy Li Hungchang ; but that astute man has never shown any alacrity in pulling chestnuts for anybody, and is not likely to be hustled into action which he does not clearly understand.

A. M.

KOREA.

The British Minister to China, who is also accredited to the Korean Court, has retired, after six years' residence in Peking, without having visited Korea to deliver his credentials. The omission has only this importance, that while on the one hand it would seem to be a slight to the Korean King, on the other it may possibly flatter that feeble monarch by seeming to countenance the relaxation of the tie which connects the affairs of the peninsula with the interests of the Chinese Empire. As, however, Great Britain has no interests in Korea excepting to preserve the *status quo* as between the peninsula and neighbouring Powers, and as other influences are diligently exercised to change that *status*, it is difficult to reconcile the omission of the late Minister with the settled policy of the British Government. It is true that certain steps had already been taken to give the British representation at the Korean Court the appearance of being independent of Peking, but this was understood to be not so much an indication of any change of policy on the part of Great Britain as of a desire to please certain individuals about the Royal Court. The Korean peninsula, however, with its weak and facile Government, is just one of

those critical spots on the Earth's surface respecting which there should be no ambiguity whatever, in regard to British policy ; because the intentions of certain other Powers which are clear and consistent and are steadily pursued, will secure to them an easy triumph over a flabby, vacillating policy on the part of Great Britain.

It is impossible for Secretaries of State with the most competent staff ever seen to exercise a practical supervision over every actual and potential imperial interest in every corner of the world. The task must be almost entirely left to the judgment and vigilance of the officials on the spot ; and the Government gets better results, as a rule, by selecting and placing its men well, than by too much interference with them in the details of their work. Even that much of effective supervision, however, seems to be hardly possible under our Consular service regulations, which work rather too like a machine that grinds up wheat and chaff indiscriminately—tempered here and there by a little personal scheming. An apt illustration of this defect in the system has just occurred in Korea, whence the one man who knows the country has been removed from his post under the stern decrees of Service regulations and planted in Shanghai, among a crowd of other Consular officials all as good as he. Mr. James Scott had made a deep study of the Korean language, the only British official at present in the service who has done so, though one Englishman in the Customs Service has also acquired facility in the spoken language. Mr. Scott's mastery of the politics of the kingdom, its history, official customs, etc., is, with possibly the above exception, unique, while his general capacity and zeal are thought highly of, by the public at all events. To retain such a man in the country it would almost have been worth while to create a sinecure post, if necessary ; but there was no such necessity. The post Mr. Scott occupied, as acting Vice-Consul at Chemulpo, was exactly suited to serve the various useful purposes indicated. But the time came for promotion, and the service regulations did not, I suppose, admit of an official of full vice-consular rank remaining in that particular post. So this valuable officer is, according to the newspapers, to be moved off by a stroke of the great machine, and his services as a Korean specialist, services which cannot be bought for money, simply because there is no other man with the same qualifications, will thus be lost to Her Majesty's Government. Such a misfortune as that might possibly have been avoided by a personal visit of the British Minister to the Korean peninsula ; though perhaps even he would have been powerless to turn the great machine out of its rut.

A. MICHIE.

A valued correspondent, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, who is at present engaged in the important task of collecting material from all quarters re the early Russian invasion of Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries under the Valangians or Norsemen, writes to us from St. Petersburg and gives interesting extracts from a correspondence with General Kiréeff, in connexion with this Review, on the Anglo-Russian imbroglio in Central Asia. An opinion is expressed in many circles in Russia, that the whole Central-Asian muddle is neither more nor less than "Much ado about nothing ;" whether this opinion is merely a conventional one to hide deeper thought is difficult to say ; but in a short conversation with the learned Secretary of the Imperial Geographical Society at St. Petersburg, Mr. Steveni was impressed with the fact that such were the views of his acquaintance and General Kiréeff inclines also to this opinion, for in a passage in one of

his letters he writes : " I have been told by my friend Kourapotkin, that the Pamir (the plateau itself) is and *will remain a res nullius*, as being utterly uninhabitable." Mr. Steveni thinks that the distinguished General himself is sincerely desirous of coming to a PEACEFUL agreement with England—not only with regard to the Central-Asian, but also the Eastern Question generally. General Kiréeff writes to our correspondent as follows : " Put a good orthodox prince in Bulgaria, don't touch the religious question, and we will not prevent you from making any commercial treatise for opium or any other stuff you have to sell. I still think the best way of preventing difficulties in Central Asia is to divide it between us ! I have seen a criticism of my letters in the '*A.Q.R.*,' stating that ' I intend to put England's hand in a ' wasps' nest.' " Well ; but as soon as we put our hand in that very same nest, your politicians begin to object. What is to be done ? *Tertium non datur*. We must come to an understanding ; besides the buffer system is already proved impossible to solve the difficulties." On this letter our esteemed correspondent, Mr. Barnes Steveni remarks, that it is gratifying to know that a Russian General of such rank and influence in Imperial Circles has such opinions. " It is to be hoped," says Mr. Steveni, " that he will be able to make converts amongst his many distinguished friends ; for I am certain that, unless we can come to an amicable arrangement with Russia regarding these questions and the free passage of the Dardanelles, a war between her and England is inevitable. When that war will break out, I know not. It may be next year, or when Russia has completed her armaments, which I believe will be more formidable than ever. This is in fact the calm before the storm, and it would be well if we could prevent the latter ever reaching us. There is no doubt, a large empire like Russia will not remain content to see a Catholic Prince always on the throne of Bulgaria, or the Dardanelles blocking her free outlet to the ocean."

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA.

With reference to a communication from an anonymous correspondent, criticising a paper of mine on " The Physical Geography of Persia " in the July Number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which appeared in your issue of October last, I may remark :

1. That the " Report upon a Visit to Persia " alluded to was never published. A limited number of copies were printed in December, 1891, and issued for the information of the Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia, for whose use it was compiled. Your correspondent could not possibly thus have bought a copy of it, though he may possibly have received one—not last year, as he states, as being interested in the Corporation, not as a Shareholder presumably, to judge from the sanguineness of the view which he takes of Persian affairs.

2. That Northern Beloochistan is not practically rainless. The same physical conditions exist there as in Persia. Heavy snow and rain fall thereon and in the neighbourhood of the Mountain Ranges at certain times of the year, and it is upon this fact that the kanats, or karezas as they are called, are dependent for their supply of water.

3. That the simplest method of demonstration on the part of your correspondent of the feasibility of the construction of roads and railways in Persia would be for him to inform the public, as he is doubtless in a position to do, on the following points :

(a) What progress has been made with the proposed road between Shuster and Teheran ? How many miles of it are now open to wheeled traffic ? And at what cost per mile ?

(b) Whether the road from Teheran to Kum is open to wheeled traffic, and, if so, what is the average daily number of vehicles traversing it ?

4. I cannot challenge your correspondent's figures regarding the distances in a bee line and by the new road respectively from Teheran to Kum, as

e has evidently sources of information at his disposal to which I have never had access ; but, assuming his to be correct, the proportion would be about the same as that resulting from my figures :

$$\begin{array}{l} 74\frac{1}{2} : 93\frac{1}{2} :: 1 : 1\frac{1}{4}. \\ 80 : \text{say } 108 :: 1 : 1\frac{1}{4}. \end{array}$$

I repeat, however, that out of the 150 odd miles intervening between Teheran and Ispahan not less than 100 miles are composed of mountainous, hilly, and broken ground, involving abrupt and repeated ascents and descents, which it is impossible to turn in any way, and which would render the construction of a Railway between these two places almost impossible, and that of a road suitable for wheeled traffic only possible at ruinous expense.

In conclusion, I may mention that I forwarded a copy of my "Report upon a Visit to Persia" to Sir Joseph Tholozan, the Doctor to the Shah, who has resided for upwards of thirty years in Persia, and who is well known as a thoroughly reliable and disinterested authority upon all matters connected with the country. His remark upon it was, "*Je trouve que c'est très sage, vous parlez selon les faits et non pas selon l'imagination.*"

Gen. Sir Frederic Goldsmid, to whom I sent a copy for criticism, says :

"Allow me to say that it is a highly valuable and interesting paper, but that it would be more valuable if completer. Full of truths, it has yet statements which require corroboration, and which may, as now presented, be open to criticism. I am, perhaps, rather alluding to deductions than to facts." He disagrees with me, however, upon the following points : (a) The sufficiency of the supplies of the necessities of life at present available. (b) That the resources of Persia are not capable of much further development. (c) That the experience of the Armenian Christian has had to do with the prejudice against other Christians of the present day ; and he remarks : (1) "In paragraph 35, page 28, you have omitted to include the Afghans with the Turks as Sunnis. Persia is wedged in between two Sunni Powers" (2) "At page 29, reason (2), the 'variety of nationalities' needs illustration by statistics."

I should not have thought it worth my while to take any notice of the remarks of an anonymous correspondent, had it not been that you mention that he is "one of your most valued supporters in Persia."

I am, yours truly,

C. E. BIDDULPH,

Officiating Cantonment Magistrate.

Secundrabad, India, November 7th, 1892.

INDIA'S VIEW OF EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

Though all classes in India suffer from the fluctuation of Exchange, for three of them the loss is only partial and comparatively small, while it weighs chiefly and heavily on the fourth and most important. European employés and European and native merchants may and do lose ; but it is the Indian Ryot or taxpayer who eventually bears the entire loss on Exchange, whatever arrangements be made to content the other three. But

while these can, by their power, organization and education, lay their case before the public and loudly do so, both in the press and before the Currency Commission, the Ryot, ignorant of the matter (which they feel but cannot understand) cannot approach either. Most of their self-styled leaders fail to see that there is an Indian Ryot's view of the Exchange question, far different from that of people accidentally living in India. This case I give briefly, merely premising that if I seem to dogmatize, I have figures and facts which your space does not allow me to produce here.

A Parliamentary paper shows that from 1881 to 1892 £41,000,000 in gold and £99,000,000 in silver— a total of £140,000,000,—(one-sixth of the world's produce), flowed into India, to balance her trade with the world. In other words, India had not to send out *money*, gold or silver :—she had only to send out produce ; and after cancelling credit *versus* debit, she still had, each year, to receive in payment of debts due to her by silver and gold using countries, large quantities of these metals. India's currency therefore, is not needed to pay her debts : all these can be paid by her own drafts on her debtors. Her Exchange would always be above par, but for artificial checks. What are these?

1. *Free coinage of silver*, enabling her foreign debtors to flood India with cheap silver in return for good produce. Stop this by reserving solely to the Indian Government the coinage of whatever silver India needs. Make outsiders pay India in gold for her produce.

2. *Absence of a gold reserve in India*. The gold need not be actually coined ; for from her low prices and high credit she needs no gold for internal circulation ; and from her favourable balance of trade (including all payments in England) she need never send out a single coin. Only to meet the interested cry of "depreciated silver" should there be a gold reserve to steady the Rupee, as a token coin—just as the Sovereign steadies the Florin, the twin sister of the Rupee. Let India declare, as Lawrence did, that the Rupee represents $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Sovereign, coining such Sovereigns when necessary. When will that be? Nor for many years, owing to India's favourable balance of trade.

3. That balance is artificially upset, in England by the *sale of "Council Bills,"* solely in the interest of English merchants and financiers. Stop these sales, which, besides vast loss on Government remittances, fix a false exchange entailing loss on every transaction of India with the whole world. India herself should buy gold at the current price and send enough to England to pay one quarter's dues. In the absence of these (to India) murderous sales the exchange, (backed by the fact that the gold reserve had made the Rupee a token for $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Sovereign) would within a year fly up to over par.

Would this be an artificial inflation of the Rupee? Not at all : is the florin inflated by being fixed at $\frac{1}{10}$ of a sovereign? or the German mark? No ; and Why? Because the value of a coinage, besides its metallic price, is fixed by the *solvency and honesty of the government* which issues it. India is as solvent as England and Germany. Let her declare that her Rupee, like the florin and mark, represents $\frac{1}{10}$ of a sovereign ; and that he who buys 10 Rupees' worth of her produce must pay her a sovereign down

in gold ; as she will pay a sovereign for 10 rupees and *vice versâ* for all she owes. What she owes is less than is owed her annually by 4 gold-producing countries alone, not to speak of all. She can, therefore, cancel all her debts by drafts against part of her credits, and still have silver and gold flowing to her, for her vast produce, if she be not handicapped by these Council Bills.

The results of these 3 measures would be : 1, All Indian payments could still be made in gold by Indian drafts on Indian debtors in gold-using countries and all over the world ;—2, the world would still have to send bullion to India ;—3, Indian finances would no longer be jeopardized by the present artificial exchange ;—4, Her trade would increase immensely ; 5, Taxation would go down, and more public works be undertaken ; 6, None would lose except the financiers etc., who now by *secret* tenders exploit the Indian exchange, backed up by those who ought to defend Indian interests but do not. It is singular that the Secretary of State says no Act of Parliament is needed for changing the Indian currency, but his own consent is ! Is he greater than Parliament, then ? In Parliament there would have to be an open discussion. The India Office, on the other hand, can issue a bureaucratic and autocratic decree.

I conclude by remarking, about "hoarding," that *all* countries, and not India only, hoard. What are gold watches and chains and jewellery and plate except particular kinds of hoarding ? Is there no such hoarding in England itself ?

J. P. V.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

It is premature to criticise the deliberations of the Brussels Conference, but so far as matters have progressed it is to be regretted that the Government of India has cast a damper on the proceedings by their recent telegram. It was however to be expected that the Government would decline to have its hands forced and would prefer to retain complete liberty of action though it is not reassuring to those who suffer by the state of exchange to find that now the time for drastic measures has arrived the Government is inclined to continue its policy of what may seem masterly inactivity.

Doubtless it is a serious matter for them to interfere in the natural operations of trade, but still it is the duty of Governments to preserve the standard of currency in such wise as will benefit the majority, and a Government which neglects to do this is culpable. The questions that arise are, In what way can the Government interpose ? and will such interposition benefit the majority ? for we know that there are some in India, not natives thereof, who are opposed to any change in the silver currency.

Well, the Government can in the first place discourage the importation of silver by the closing of the Mints.

At present silver is poured into the country in bars and dollars which are taken to the Mints and, after assay, a certificate is granted to the importer which is cashable on demand at the Paper Currency Office, and this system is not unlike that which M. de Foville lately recommended at the Conference—*i.e.*, the issuing of warrants against deposits of bar silver.

The Indian Government holds at times large deposits of silver bullion for which warrants have been issued, which warrants, or certificates, are convertible at the Paper Currency Office, but the Mints keep working full time, and overtime, to reduce this bullion to coin.

No doubt the locking up of bar silver by various nations would reduce the amount which is now available for export to the East, but palliation is not cure. You cannot go on locking up bullion for ever, and what would be the result in the case of any country placing its hoards on the market?

Suppose now America were to cease purchasing and were to throw all her accumulated silver on to the market what would the rupee go down to? The Indian Government would then have to adopt the measures from which it now shrinks, viz., the restriction on free coinage of silver and the adoption of a gold standard, and it behoves them to be on their guard against an extension of this danger. It is true that there are great difficulties in the way of a gold standard. What these difficulties are I have not time and space at my disposal to detail, but I may allude to one fear, and that is lest exports should suffer. No doubt the tea industry benefits by the present state of affairs and the Darjeeling and Terai Tea Planters' Association went to the length of asserting in a memorial to Government that the closing of the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver, or in other words the improvement of the status of the rupee, would result in the collapse of the tea industry.

This would be a serious matter if true, but the way to look at it is this: does the present state of affairs inflict a serious loss on a larger community? If so the question as affects a minority should be set aside. The proportion of tea to other exports is (taking the figures of 1888-9) about 5½ millions against 87½ millions of other Indian produce.

It is feared that any artificial raising of the rupee will cause the decline of the export trade but surely if a low rate of exchange be beneficial to the export trade it must conversely be prejudicial to the import trade, yet the statistics of the ten years 1879 to 89 show that the ratio of increase of imports (including Government stores) has kept steadily ahead of that of exports although the rupee has fallen in value—*par ex.* imports have increased about 30½ millions and exports 29½ millions and exchange in 1879 was about 1s. 8d. per rupee and in 1889 about 1s. 4½d. per rupee.

It is assumed that local industries and residents of India are unaffected by the low exchange. They are less affected but not unaffected. All local industries are now more or less dependent on imports, all residents of India down to the common coolie have some articles of European manufacture and for all these they pay more than they need.

R. S.

THE INDIA COUNCIL BILLS AND THE EXCHANGE.

We publish the following extract on the Depression in Indian Exchange from Mr. Cecil B. Thipson's letter to the *Morning Post* of the 2nd Nov., 1892: "What now sustains silver bullion, therefore, at even its present price is solely the British importers' demand for it in place of exporters' drafts, as a means of acquiring purchasing power over the labour products of silver-using countries; so that obviously what reduces this demand tends proportionately to reduce this price. Such being the position of silver in the London

exchange market, and of British importers from silver-using countries in respect to it, let us now consider the effect of the Indian Government entering this market for the purpose of making constant, heavy, and increasing sales of Council or rupee bills.

"In the first place, to call this last operation a sale of rupee bills, and so make it appear identical in nature with an exporter's sale of rupee drafts, is to wholly blind both India and England to the true nature of the transaction. For what, of course, it really is is a forced purchase of pounds, thrown merely for convenience' sake into the form of a commercial sale of rupees, which purchase it makes from the small body of British merchants who import goods from India, these being the only holders of pounds in Great Britain who will accept rupees in payment for them. Naturally, then, these importers, so long as they can get in rupees whatever price they ask for their pounds—and, save amongst themselves, there is absolutely no competition—will make no purchases either of silver bullion or of exporters' drafts. So that, to whatever amount the Indian Government in this way purchases pounds, it satisfies to that extent the British importers' demands for rupees, and proportionately reduces his demand for silver bullion and exporters' drafts. The magnitude of this reduction can best be seen from the following table :

Total value of British imports from India for 10 years, 1881-1890.	Means by which these have been paid for by British importers.	
£340,000,000	Council Bills	p.c. 43
	Silver Bullion	18
	Exporters' drafts	39
		100
£340,000,000		£340,000,000

"Now, a mere glance at the above figures makes it clear that directly the Indian Government ceases to flood this market with Council bills, which must be sold at any price—ceases, that is, to make its forced purchases of pounds from British import merchants—an immensely increased demand will at once arise among these merchants both for silver bullion and for exporters' drafts, which demand they cannot satisfy except by paying a higher price in pounds for both. So far, then, as the interest of British investors in India and exporters to it are concerned, it is of supreme importance that a stop should be put to the, to them, disastrous 'sales' of Council bills in the London exchange market. But this stoppage is of even more importance to all Indian debtors who owe pounds in England—chief amongst whom of course is the Government itself—and all Indian merchants who export produce from India, since the present method of purchasing pounds with rupees places a crushing burthen upon the former and withholds a powerful, though artificial, stimulus from the latter.

"Of course had India possessed the practical independence of our self-governing Colonies, or the real independence of any foreign State bound to England by none but financial ties, her Government would never have dreamt of making its purchases of pounds in British instead of in Indian exchange markets, or from British instead of from Indian merchants. So that it is only the anomalous nature of a Government which, with its ostensible seat in Calcutta, has its real seat in London, that has led to the adoption of so costly, not to say absurd, method of paying its debts. What India now does is to restrict its purchase of pounds to a close corporation of British importers, whose annual imports for the 10 years 1881-90 have averaged only £34,000,000, instead of making them from the entire body of Indian exporters, whose annual exports during the same period have averaged nearly £80,000,000. For to become sellers of draft pounds Indian exporters do not require to trade directly with Great Britain, seeing that they can obtain these in payment for their goods in every market in the world, and would, of course, accept them to a constantly increasing extent were there any steady demand for them in India on the part of the Indian Government.

"Thus, by purchasing draft pounds in India from the entire body of Indian exporters instead of token pounds in England from a small number of Britain's importers, not only would the Indian Government obtain pounds sterling at a much lower cost in rupees owing to increased competition amongst genuine sellers, but it would at the same time apply an enormous stimulus to India's export trade with the whole civilized world. India, therefore, even more than England, would thus benefit by a common-sense reform, which should win equal approval from the advocates of mono-metallism, of bi-metallism, and of no-metallism at all, for the evils and absurdities of the present system would be equally injurious, no matter what might be the form of currency adopted. And that this last statement is true may be readily perceived by anyone who will consider how much more onerous, for instance, the payment of her great indemnity would have been to France had she been compelled by Germany to make all her purchase of gold in Berlin, and only from such German merchants as imported goods from France. And yet this is exactly what India is now obliged to do by England. As it was, France, by the method of payment she adopted, viz., by the purchase of French exporters' drafts upon other countries for gold, converted what Germany and all the world deemed a crushing financial burthen into perhaps the most powerful artificial stimulus ever applied to the export trade of any

country. Were the Indian Government equally wise in its generation it might go and do likewise instead of, as now, impotently wailing in unison with its own traders over evils of which its own actions are the cause.

"A supreme merit of the remedy here suggested is that its application lies wholly within the power of the Indian Government itself, requiring neither the sanction of an International Monetary Conference nor the acceptance of erroneous currency theories. It can be tested furthermore tentatively, cautiously, gradually, and the respective advantages compared of purchasing a given number of draft pounds from exporters in India, and the same number of token pounds from importers in England."

The Indian Currency Commission has, we hear, requested Mr. H. D. MacLeod to prepare a scheme for the restoration of the ancient gold standard of India.

We understand that due weight has been attached to the opinion of the late Col. J. T. Smith, master of the Madras Mint, in favour of a gold standard, whether or not supported by a gold currency. The Commission seems determined to do something, but experts are said to prefer that it should do nothing.

JOTTINGS FROM JOHORE (STRAITS SETTLEMENTS).

Have you ever heard *of* the Devil-bird? If you say yes, thank your stars that the *of* is not left out. Ours is not the true Devil-bird of India (I am no scientist, and frankly confess I don't know its Latin name), which is a large creature, and is supposed to cry like a woman being murdered; whereas this is about the size, and very much the colour of the Cape Butcher-bird, and his voice is like a steam whistle, worked by an endless rusty chain. He is very quiet during the daytime, hopping about the shrubberies, and is almost an ornament to the place, but from 4 a.m. he is in fine form, and well deserves his name. One of them has the habit of coming to a tree not three yards from my veranda window every morning, and whistling like a fiend for an hour, when he decamps amidst anything but my blessings. Morning after morning have I hunted for him, but owing to the uncertain light, the thickness of the leaves, and his seemingly ventriloquistic powers, I have never managed to localize him. To have seen two friends and myself in the early morning looking for this bird with double-barrelled guns, you would have thought we were after a furious wild beast. We have shot several Devil-birds, but as two new ones seem to take the place of each one slain, and this fellow still eludes me, I quite dread to-morrow morning, for I know that monster will be there with his steam whistle. (I have just been told that it is the Ceylon robin.)

One evening I noticed a flying fox in a tree close to the house, and was on the point of shooting it for its beautiful skin, when I thought that if I left it alone it might rid me of my enemy, so I left it alone, and this was the result, not only was the Devil-bird there as usual, with its brazen throat, but the fox, during the night, had explored the house, eaten my bananas, and made himself a general nuisance. I am now only wanting to see bird or fox *once*, I think that would be enough, and I am seriously thinking of cutting down the tree which harbours them, for I am getting desperate.

Bird-life teems here, and my bungalow and compound seem to be the hut of the tribe. Sitting in the veranda at 7 a.m., sipping coffee, one sees simply hundreds of them. Of course the common sparrow is in full force; he wades in the water, sports on the roof, swarms in every bush, runs along the veranda, picks up anything that falls from the table, gets up early, and goes to bed late—is always discussing politics and the weather in his shrill little voice, and dies of old age or over-feeding.

Then come the Java sparrows, much smaller ; they go about in flocks. The bird with a red beak, one sees at home, called there the Java sparrow, is really a love-bird. Clambering in the trees are to be seen brilliant green paroquettes, with a tuft of scarlet about the size of a six-pence on the throat, and a corresponding one at the back of the neck, scarlet-tipped tails, and green beaks,—a lovely uniform. Side by side with them are microscopic honey or flower suckers, while green pigeons roost in the trees at night, doves walk about the grounds, swifts sit on the coffee and cotton trees, beautiful kingfishers sometimes fly right into the house, a kind of small finch flies merrily about, and the devil-bird (*I can't keep him out of my story*) is responsible for more bad language than the whole lot put together. Enormous bats scream at nightfall, but the chief nocturnal bird is the ground owl, or chuck-chuck. His body is smaller than that of a thrush, but he has long wings and a broad tail, so that he looks much bigger. He spends most of his time sitting on the ground, or on a bare stump, making a full rich sound just like “chuck-chuck,” often with a friend in the distance answering him. He makes this noise from twice to thirty times consecutively, and the Malays are in the habit of betting on how many times he will do it. One of these birds is outside my window every night, and “chucks” me to sleep, for it is rather a soothing sound. As I have said before, all these birds are to be daily found in the compound ; doubtless in the jungle, close by, there are many others. The majority of them are great *songsters*, at least *they* would say so—at any rate they make a great deal of cheerful noise. A tremendous big hairy monkey with a white face was enjoying himself in one of the garden trees this morning. Although he was close by I did not care to shoot him ; doubtless he will reward me by stealing a goose to-night, or frightening the hens.

No vegetables are grown in Johore, except potatoes and French beans ; everything else is tinned. Anything planted soon runs to seed, and becomes coarse, owing to the great forcing powers of the sun, for the whole country is one immense hot-house. But although the heat is great, we never get dust storms, or furnace-like winds ; in fact our heat is due to the absence of wind, for if there is any at all it is sure to be cool owing to the jungle and perpetual undergrowth. Besides out here we are prepared for hot weather, wear flannel shirts, white linen suits, light shoes, huge cork hats, never venture into the sun, and are always within calling distance of an iced drink. At night, attired in flannel or a sarong, we creep behind the mosquito curtains, slay the one or two who have come in with us, and spread ourselves out on the hard mattresses, covered only with a sheet. Any amount of pillows are necessary for one's comfort, and there is always at least *one* long bolster, rejoicing in the name of a “Dutch wife,” without which one could hardly sleep in the East. You curl yourself round it, and hug it as a child does a doll, when in bed. It has a wonderful effect in keeping you cool, and making you so comfortable that sleep is by no means difficult, in spite of the heat and perspiration.

The latest addition to my live stock is an armadillo. He is exactly like his picture and description in the *Encyclopædia*, though it makes a mistake in saying that the creature is found only in S. America. It is the

queerest-looking beast you ever saw, with his armour-plated body, powerful tail, short legs, and pointed nose and mouth for devouring the ants he digs out with his strong claws. As for making friends with him—well! a dormouse in winter is lively in comparison. If you prod him he rolls himself up into a large loose ball, gazes at you defiantly with a small pig-like eye, and refuses to stir as long as you look at him. He is much prized by the Chinese, who make medicine of him, for they believe that such a strong-looking creature will make them strong too. I have been told that in some places in India the armadillo is part of the housebreaker's outfit, who enters the house by means of the roof, presumably of thatch or bamboo. A long rope is attached to the animal, he is thrown on the roof, and the rope hauled tight. As soon as he feels himself being drawn backwards, he sets all his plates and scales at right angles to his body, and thus brings himself to so firm an anchor, that his accomplices swarm up the rope in safety. I tied my friend up last night with *rôtai*, but feeling sorry for him to day, have given him his liberty; he is now hiding beneath a pine-apple plant, but doubtless he will depart into the jungle in an hour or two. By the way, the *rôtai* I mentioned just now is the pliable, strong stem of a jungle creeper, it is largely used by the natives for all purposes instead of rope, has an immense sale, and is very cheap. It abounds in the jungle, creeping from tree to tree, and men (Malays, for the Chinaman is of no use in the jungle), skilful in getting it, often draw it out in single pieces 100 feet long. Talking of the jungle reminds me that the wild pigs are becoming a perfect nuisance in my garden, routing up and spoiling the whole place. The gardener, who naturally pays more attention to his own piece of ground than to my compound, has made an arrangement with sticks and paraffin tins—when in doubt or “hard up” use a paraffin tin (what did our ancestors do without them?) on which he hammers every half-hour during the night to keep the invaders away. It is not worth while sitting up for them in the garden to be eaten alive by mosquitos, and crawled over by ants and spiders, so I have no thrilling stories to tell of wild boar shootings from up a tree, though I must try to do something of the sort in that dim future time known as “some day.”

If you want to see a house leak properly you should come out here. I was staying in Singapore during some heavy rain, when the floor of every room was decorated with baths, jugs and basins, the furniture was pushed into corners and covered with waterproofs, and we sat on little dry islands, as best we could—à la Captain Cuttle, on Mrs. MacStinger's washing-day—and hoisted umbrellas from time to time. Yet this was a house which had lately been put into order(?), and where the leaks could not be discovered from the outside. All this mischief was caused by that plague of a white ant, eating through the beams and laths, and thus shifting them slightly, and causing the tiles to gape. About the only remedy (?) is to unroof your house, hunt out the ants with tar and paraffin, change the beams, relay the roof, pay a big bill; and try to believe that you won't have to do this all over again in a few months, for once white ants get into a house you can never permanently get rid of them, and they will be a constant source of expense.

The opium question is a prominent one just now, and I believe much misunderstood by many of those who write and petition against it. My experience is local, and still limited, but, after nearly a year's work amongst the Chinese in Johore, and the examination of, and making of notes upon the subject on over a thousand patients as they passed through the hospital, I am of opinion that not only is the use of opium *not* an evil, but in the majority of cases is even beneficial, in warding off, or lessening, attacks of fever, and in enabling the Chinaman to perform heavy coolie labour, with the thermometer at 150°—which no other race can do. If a man over-smokes himself—and one is astonished to find how few do so—he merely goes to sleep, and wakes again quite fresh. It never makes him quarrelsome, it enables him to stand a vast amount of pain, and is one of the very few pleasures of his life. Compare this with the use and abuse of alcohol. I really believe that the more the opium question is inquired into, the less harm will be seen to result from the use of this drug. Of course some carry it to excess; but then so do tea, wine, beer and spirit drinkers, and tobacco smokers.

P. A. NIGHTINGALE, M.B., C.M.

THE FIRST ITALIAN GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS HELD IN GENOA IN 1892.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

Complying with the request of my friends to write an account of the Geographical Congress at Genoa, at which I was present, I reluctantly pen these reminiscences of a delightful week, conscious of my own incapacity and the importance of the subject with which I am dealing.

On Sunday afternoon September the 19th I presented myself at the office of the Congress in the Palace of the University in the Via Balbi, with a note to the secretary from the delegate of the Royal Geographical Society of London, who on account of ill-health was unable himself to attend the Congress. The secretary, Signor Dalla Vedova, although then at a meeting, kindly came out to receive me and enrolled me as a member of the Congress with all the privileges of a delegate.

At this time I made the acquaintance of Chevalier Sommier of Florence, to whom I am indebted for kind attention during my stay at Genoa as well as for introductions to several distinguished members of the Congress.

In the evening of Sunday a brilliant reception was given by the Syndic, Baron Podestà, at the Municipal Palace in the Via Garibaldi. The Duke of Genoa and the Marquis Doria (president of the Congress) were present. On this occasion I had the honour of an introduction to Chevalier Frochlich, Italian Consul in Manchester, and Dr. Steinthal, delegate of the Manchester Geographical Society, from both of whom I received much kindness during the Congress week.

On Monday at 10 o'clock a general meeting was held in the *Aula Magna* of the University, with the President in the chair. Among the distinguished members of the Congress present I noted Commander Casati of African fame.

Signor Dalla Vedova opened the meeting by reading the telegrams which

were to be sent to the King of Italy and the Geographical Society of Budapest, after which the delegates of the various Geographical Societies present, rose in turn to express their good wishes for the success of the first Italian Geographical Congress. I mention the names of Prof. Emil Schmidt from Leipsic, Prof. Semanoff from St. Petersburg, Commander H. Müller from the Netherlands, Dr. Calaparede from Geneva, Dr. Steinthal from Manchester, Prof. Lévasseur from Paris and General Mokhtar Pasha from Egypt.

The Countess Ouvaroff, delegate of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, was also present with her two daughters.

In the afternoon at 3 o'clock the sitting of the three Sections commenced in the adjoining rooms of the University. The Sections were divided into

I. Scientific, mathematical, and physical, etc.

II. Economical and commercial, combining emigration and social questions, etc.

III. Educational.

On Tuesday at 10 o'clock the President opened the conference in the *Aula Magna*. Congratulatory telegrams to the Congress from the King of Italy and the Prince of Naples were read, after which more delegates from Geographical Societies offered their homage to the Congress; Signor Candeo's account of his and Captain Baudi de Vesme's travels in Somali land then followed.

In the afternoon the Sections met as before.

On Wednesday at 9 a.m. the members of the Congress were invited to inspect the Geographical Exhibition in the School of Giovanni Carbone in the Corso Galileo, after which the two Congresses, Geographical and Historical, met at the port to join in an excursion by sea. We first sailed to the east as far as Porto Fino and then in the contrary direction to Voltri, thereby obtaining a most perfect view of the town of Genoa.

On Thursday a large gathering of the members of the two Congresses assembled in the *Aula Magna* to listen to Dr. Modigliani's interesting account of his visit to the island of Engano in the Indian Archipelago, illustrated by pictures, models and native manufactures; at the close the Duke of Genoa, who was present, shook hands with the speaker and heartily congratulated him on his contribution to scientific and anthropological research.

In the afternoon the Sections met as usual.

In the evening the Duke of Genoa received the two Congresses at the Royal Palace in the Via Balbi.

On Friday at 10 a.m. the Geographical Congress met again in the *Aula Magna* and after several presentations of books, maps, etc., from members, Prof. Taramelli gave a profound discourse on the "Glacial period in the valley of the Po."

In the afternoon the Sections met as usual.

In the evening the Syndic received the two Congresses at the Municipal Palace, the Duke of Genoa honouring the reception with his presence.

On Saturday the Sections sat at 8 a.m. and again at 3 p.m.

At 10 o'clock the Congress met in the *Aula Magna*, and after several presentations of books by members, amongst whom was Prof. Lévasseur, who presented his three-volume work "*La population Française*" to the

Congress, and at the same time made a most excellent speech in Italian, Prof. Pigorini gave a discourse upon the "Primitive population of the valley of the Po."

In the evening the members of the two Congresses were invited by the Syndic to assist at the opera of "Rigoletto" at the Teatro Carlo Felice.

On Sunday at 10 o'clock under the patronage of the Duke of Genoa, the Syndic and the Marquis Doria, a solemn ceremony was held in honour of Christopher Columbus.

Prof. Dalla Vedova made the first speech, after which chosen representatives from each country rose in turn and in their own language paid homage to the memory of the great Discoverer.

Signor Carvalho for Brazil came first, followed by General Mokhtar Pasha for Egypt, Prof. Lévasseur for France, Prof. Wagner for Germany, Dr. Steinthal for England, myself, in the place of Dr. George Smith of Edinburgh, for Scotland, Prof. H. Müller for Holland, Colonel Iulio Segui y Sala for Spain, Prof. Efflinger for Switzerland and Signor Polleri for Uruguay.

The Syndic then rose to express his thanks for the sympathetic remarks addressed to the memory of his countryman, and to the city of Genoa, after which the President of the Geographical Congress spoke to the same effect, and after congratulating the Congress on its perfect success, he presented the gold medal of honour to Commander Casati amidst immense applause.

Abbate Beltrami, formerly a missionary in Africa, then asked for a few moments of speech, which being granted he offered hearty good wishes for the prosperity of the Italian colony of Eritrea in Abyssinia. The assembly then dissolved.

At 3 p.m. the Congress met once again in the University to discuss measures for the second Geographical Congress, which it had been decided should be held at Rome in three years' time, on the occasion of the Great Exhibition. Communications were also made with reference to the Geographical Exhibition.

At the close of this meeting the Countess Ouvaroff rose to propose a vote of thanks to the President, which was warmly applauded.

In the evening a magnificent banquet was given by the Syndic, Baron Podestà, to the members of the two Congresses in the Sala del Ridotto of the Teatro Carlo Felice, which was followed by many excellent speeches.

I cannot close my paper without expressing my deep appreciation of this brilliant Congress at Genoa. Words fail me to describe this city of palaces and strongholds, situated in the midst of the hills; the Congress had the opportunity of seeing it at its best, for with the exception of one shower the weather was bright throughout the week. This city may well be called "Genoa la Superba."

The Genoese reception of strangers who had come to participate in the advancement of knowledge can only be described as magnificent. I cannot speak too highly of the courtesy I met with on every side, and as I do not presume to call myself either a scholar or a traveller, I had no greater claim to attention than that of being

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P

BRITISH GUIANA.

At the Colonial Institute meeting held on the 13th Dec., 1892, an important paper on British Guiana was read by E. F. im Thurn, C.M.G. After a detailed and interesting description of the physical geography of the country, and of its climate, he glanced at its ethnology, and then went, at greater length, into a narrative of the various races which have, since its discovery, flowed into Guiana, and whose settlement there constitutes its history. The freeing of the slaves and its consequences were plainly stated, showing that the measure was badly carried out. The timber trade and its capabilities were given. British Guiana is little without its product of gold; and the history of its development is given at length, from the time of Sir W. Raleigh to the present, when the output for 1891 was 101,297 oz., and that for the 9 months ending 30th Sept., 1892, has already reached 91,963 oz. Diamonds have been found, but of small size. The process of gold-hunting was described, and the labour question was then touched, the difficulty lying in the trying climate, which kills off, or at least speedily incapacitates for hard work, most of the races available. There is a large number of immigrants from India—105,463, out of a total population of 278,328. The paper concluded with a statement of the kind of Europeans who might do well to emigrate to British Guiana, the chief qualifications being good health, strong constitution, athletic training, intellectual culture, and at least a small capital. The writer himself said that such persons probably would not like to emigrate to such a country; but he believed that there is a great future for British Guiana.

EASTER ISLAND.

PAYMASTER THOMSON, of the United States Navy, has published the report of an investigation into the antiquities on Easter Island. After a general account of the island, Mr. Thomson gives the present population at 155. The people were shamefully treated by early voyagers, and in 1863 most of the adult men were kidnapped by Peruvians, to work the guano deposits on the Chincha Islands. The people all profess Christianity, but they now have no missionaries, and show a tendency to return to their old Paganism. The island was probably once densely populated, and the remaining monuments show that the inhabitants had attained a higher degree of civilization than other Polynesians. Mr. Thomson counted all the famous stone images of Easter Island, numbering 555. The majority lie near platforms all round the coast, all more or less mutilated, and some reduced to a mere shapeless fragment. Not one stands in its original position upon a platform. The largest, found in one of the workshops in an unfinished state, was 70 feet long; the smallest, found in a cave, less than 3 feet long. One image 32 feet long weighs 50 tons. Though varying in size, the images are all of the same type. The head is long, the eyes close under heavy brows, the nose long, low-bridged, and expanded at the nostrils, the upper lip short, and both lips pointing. The expression is firm and profoundly solemn. Mr. Thomson thinks they were designed as effigies of distinguished persons, and were intended as monuments to preserve their memory, but were neither regarded as idols, nor worshipped. The native deities were represented by small wooden or stone idols. The image was carved in the rock, and the difficulty was to convey it to its destination. It was lowered from the mountain by a system of chocks and wedges. A roadway was then constructed along which it was dragged by ropes made of hemp, while seaweed and grass were used as lubricants. The platforms had sloping terraces in the rear, up which the image was dragged, until the base was over its resting-place, when the earth was dug away to allow the statue to settle down, ropes being used to steady it in the meantime. The incised tablets which are also found show that the natives had evolved a system of writing. These tablets are highly prized by the people, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Thomson was able to purchase two. It is said that a large number were destroyed at the request of the missionaries, so that the people should have as little as possible to attach them to Paganism. The meaning of the characters has been quite lost, and Mr. Thomson thinks this is due to the kidnapping in 1864 of every person of learning and authority in the island.

The great sinologist, Professor G. Schlegel, brings to notice another instance of the ignorance or carelessness of the Royal Geographical Society in matters of Eastern Geography, which Mr. R. Michell and Dr. Leitner have exposed as regards the Pamirs and Hunza-Nagyr. Every specialist, perhaps, considers that Society to be an authority on every subject, except his own. We extract the following from the *T'ung Pao*, a learned and interesting publication, treating of the Languages, History, and Geography of Central Asia and the Far East. (E. J. Brill, Leiden):

"An inconsiderate Critic. The Royal Geographical Society of London* has not been happy in choosing Mr. H. J. A. as a reviewer of my paper on the Land of Fusang.

* Proceedings of the R. G. S. for August, 1892, p. 570.

For when a man sets himself up as a critic upon eastern geography, he should have at least a smattering of the languages of the far East. Now Mr. H. J. A. is sadly wanting in this respect, for, albeit admitting that Fusang is not America, he says, that it can neither be Saghalin, and that, according to his opinion, 'it seems much more likely that Fusang was the treaty Port of Fusan, or Fushan, on the south-east coast of Korea.' If the reviewer possessed the slightest notion of Chinese, he would see that his identification is simply ridiculous. For *Fusan* or *Pusan* in Korea is written 釜山 i.e., 'The Caldron-mountain,*' whilst the land *Fusang* in Hwui shên's report, and in thousands of Chinese authors, is written 扶桑 'The Supporting Mulberrytrees,' as we have explained on p. 19 of our paper. Besides, this name Fusang has been since a long time adopted by the Japanese as a poetical name for their own country (p. 3).

"Mr. H. J. A. gives as his unsupported opinion that the Country of the Women (Nii kwo) is the same as the 'Bo-nin' islands, which he translates 'No-men' islands. Now *Bo-nin-shima* (無人島) means *uninhabited* islands, islands without *men* or *human beings*, and not, as the reviewer implies, islands without *males*. When the Japanese discovered these islands, they found there no inhabitants, wherefore they called them *Bo-nin-shima* (無人島) 'The uninhabited islands'—there were neither males nor females. When they were rediscovered by the Dutch, they called them likewise 'Woeste eilanden' (desolate isles). For a time the Japanese used these islands as a penal colony, but they soon abandoned this practice, and the islands returned to their former state of desolation.† The 'Country of the Women' of Hwui-shên is situated upon one or more of the isles of the Kurile archipelago, as we will prove in a subsequent article of our 'Problèmes Géographiques.'

"Mr. H. J. A. has fallen into the usual fault of superficial critics in general, who fancy they are able to pass judgment in two or three days upon a problem which has been studied for long years by the authors. The rash and careless way in which the reviewer in the Geographical Society has confounded *Fusan*, the 'Caldron mountain,' with *Fusang* the 'Supporting Mulberrytrees,' is typical of this class of critics."

The great loss suffered by Egyptology in the death of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, has led, under her will, to the establishment of a Chair of Egyptology at University College London—the first of its kind in the Empire. Her friend Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie has been nominated as its first occupant, and will begin his work early this year. Besides the endowment for this chair, Miss Edwards has also bequeathed to it for the advance of her favourite study, all her collection of Egyptian antiquities, rubbings, and photographs, with a small library of books of reference. Mr. Flinders Petrie, who to the training of a finished Egyptologist adds an extensive experience in excavations, and is an enthusiast in his work, purposes, we learn, to divide his work as follows: (1) Lectures on Egyptology; (2) Lectures on the Egyptian language and philology, (3) Attendance at the Library, at fixed times, to help and direct students, and (4) Lectures on practical excavation. We congratulate Mr. Flinders Petrie on his appointment, which we know he will value much for the opportunity it gives him of furthering the cause of Egyptology. All the same, it is difficult to say whether it loses or gains most by the removal of Mr. Flinders Petrie from the sphere of excavations in which he was so deservedly and eminently successful.

* Herbert A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference*, p. 82 i. v. *Fusan*.

† See *Nippon Archiv, Discoveries by Europeans, etc.*, pp. 92, 95, 96 seq.—Fried. Steger und Hermann Wagner, *Die Nippon-Fahrer*, p. 103, and other authors on Japan.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

WE have been requested by the Hon. Secretaries of the Japan Society to give publicity to the following letter, received by the Chairman of their Council, from His Excellency the Japanese Minister in London, Viscount Kawasé, President of the Society :

"I have the honour to acquaint you that the Emperor, my August Sovereign, having heard of the organization of the Japan Society in London, and having noted the meaning of its objects, as well as the records of its proceedings, has been most graciously pleased to command me to convey to the Society His Majesty's approbative greetings, coupled with the hope for its continued prosperity, and that I am further commanded to communicate to the Society His Majesty's pleasure to present it with the sum of One Hundred Guineas.

"It affords me now much pleasure to transmit to you herewith enclosed a cheque for that amount."

THE Northbrook Indian Club has been transferred to the *Imperial Institute*, where a Society has also been formed for the promotion of friendly relations between England and Russia. We understand that the negotiations for incorporating the Colonial Institute in the Imperial Institute have failed, but we believe that the Royal Asiatic Society may yet form part of the all absorbing Institution. If its members are as docile as those of the Northbrook Club, the matter may be easily managed by the noble Lord who presides over one body and has given his name to the other. We hear that the word "Indian" will be eliminated from the appellation of the Northbrook Society in future. The Northbrook Club was scarcely a success, but it is a pity that an attempt was not made to preserve its individuality on a sounder footing. We have always befriended the Imperial Institute, but we regret its being built, in any way, on the ruins or with the material of other bodies. Its School of Oriental Languages is made up of the classes of University College, London, and the Oriental Section of King's College, London, but the combination does not seem to have added to the number of students that each possessed at one time separately, whilst the practice of deducting a portion of the fees of the, as yet, unsalaried teachers is scarcely encouraging to them or worthy of an Imperial Institute that has been so liberally subscribed to by India.

WE hear from Prof. Sayce, writing from Tolar, that he is on the point of starting for Upper Egypt, and expects to make important archaeological discoveries there of altogether a novel nature.

In conjunction with Mr. De Morgan, the new Director of the Gizeh Museum, Prof. Sayce will probably enter upon explorations and excavations at Luxor; we may reasonably look forward to important finds, for learning and an almost intuitive perception, as represented by Prof. Sayce, will be joined to enthusiasm and perseverance in the person of Mr. De Morgan.

MATTERS of current Imperial, Eastern or Colonial interest are naturally apt to displace subjects of continuous importance or reference which are the special feature of this Review. In our attempt to do justice alike to the pressing and the permanent, we have constantly increased by 20 to 120 pages the ordinary limit of the Review (which is within 240 pages). Yet, unless our space is to be indefinitely enlarged, we are ever compelled to defer the publication of invaluable papers. We have, e.g., this time to postpone to our next issue the continuation of the "Notes of the late Sir Walter Elliot," which describe "True India" as it was and still greatly is, although they are growing in importance and interest to the Indian Official and Folklorist. Similarly, "The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants" will be resumed next issue, when some of the conclusions of the fine scholars, Wassa-Pasha and Sir Patrick Colquhoun, whose posthumous joint-work we have the melancholy privilege of publishing, will be reached. We hope, however, that, after next issue, the "Notes" and the "Pelasgi" will be uninterrupted, without encroaching on other topics within the range of the Review.

WE have been favoured with several papers on Oriental women by distinguished scholars which we hope to be able to publish in our next issue. We are also preparing illustrations of the history of the manufacture of Kashmir shawls in connexion with its literary features.

PERSONS desirous of instruction in any of the Oriental Languages, ancient or modern, to have books printed in them, or to have translations made from, or into, them, are requested to apply to the Principal of the Oriental University Institute. The meetings

of the Oriental Academy will be held at the Institute on the last Saturday of every month, from 4 to 6 p.m., for the reading and discussion of papers in the various branches of Oriental research. Members will be allowed return tickets for single fares, on production of the Principal's card at the Booking Office at Waterloo Station.

APPLICATIONS for the *Sanskrit Critical Journal* of the Oriental University Institute will be received by the Manager of this Review.

It is unlikely that the Amir of Kabul will meet Lord Roberts at a Conference at Jellalabad. He does not see the necessity of either adding to, or detracting from, the laurels of Lord Roberts before he returns to England.

General Ghulam Hyder Khan may also feel awkward at meeting one who had proscribed him. An appeal in favour of our slaughtered friends, the Hazarahs, would have had a far greater effect on Abdurrahman, than any amount of Rawulpindi or Panjdeh finessing.

THE Geographical Society of Lisbon has elected Mr. R. G. Haliburton a corresponding Member, and so has also the Canadian Institute of Toronto, from which he was a Delegate to the Lisbon Oriental Congress.

WE deeply regret to announce the death of Mr. Arthur Brandreth, one of the truest friends that the natives of India ever possessed. He had a rare knowledge of the Panjab, where he held high office in the Civil Service, and where his death will be universally regretted. The sad event occurred on the 5th December, 1892, at his residence in Onslow Square, London, at the age of sixty.

WE deeply regret to announce the death of Sir Richard Owen, the greatest naturalist of this century, who was born at Lancaster in its first decade (1804), and who died in its last at the age of eighty-nine (18th December, 1892, at 3 a.m., at Sheen Lodge, Richmond, a residence graciously allotted to him by the Queen). His life has thus been that of the century in nearly the whole of its scientific vitality. His connexion with the Oriental Congress dates since 1874, when he was president of its Anthropological Section, and in 1891 he gave the prestige of his name and support to the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in September of that year.

PAPERS OF THE XTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS (LISBON).

IN noticing the publications of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists (of Lisbon), we naturally give prominence to the admirable contributions of Portuguese Scholars; but international scholarship has also largely aided towards its scientific success. Prof. Abel has been strong on "Indo-Egyptian affinities." Among English Orientalists the paper of Dr. C. Taylor on a manuscript of the "Pirke Aboth" and the second part of Prof. Gustav Oppert's "Indian Theogony," will, we hope, be reprinted in this Review, but we would draw special attention to Pundit Mahesha Chandra's most admirable treatment of the religious law regarding "sea voyages" by Hindus, especially as we have been compelled to postpone to next issue, owing to want of space, the continuation of Pundit Gopala Charlu's exhaustive articles on this difficult and much-contested subject. French Oriental scholarship seems inexhaustible; at Lisbon it is represented by Prof. Robiou's invaluable paper on Graeco-Oriental influences and other memoirs. It should, however, now reserve itself for the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in Paris in 1895 in connexion with the centenary of the foundation of the famous "Ecole des langues Orientales vivantes" at Paris.

1. Professor J. Leite de Vasconcellos contributes a paper in French on amulets, in which after defining their nature, he divides them into 4 classes, and attributes their origin to the different races which have successively occupied various countries. He specifies several kinds of amulets, notably some in use in Portugal, among which he seems to include a few objects of Catholic devotion.

2. The same learned Professor, in another paper treats of the Portuguese dialect used in Macao. Glancing at the origin of modern Portuguese from the Latin and at its four co-dialects as the Professor styles

them, he passes in rapid review the subordinate dialects of the Portuguese language, which being conveyed by missionaries and merchants to Africa and the East in general, produced among others, a special variation in Macao.

3. Professor A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, noting the difficulty composers find in setting up for printing the actual multiform shapes of Arabic letters, suggests the reduction of all these letters to one size by the curtailment of the curved finals. Of the 28 Arabic sounds, the primary forms of the letters would represent 18, leaving 10 to be expressed by *over-written* dots. To these he adds the 4 Persian letters, *Pe, Che, Zhe, and Gaf*, with the delicate variations of Malayan and Hindistani sounds, making in all 38 vocals, indicated by 20 shapes of letters with the aid of *over* and *under* written diacritical dots. Opposite each of these (all except the *alif* reduced to one size, the professor puts an equivalent for transliteration into the Roman alphabet, distinctions being noted by dots and lines.

4. Professor Gonçalves Vianna has also given another paper on two points in the history of Portuguese phonology—one the use of the Ç for *Sin* and of S for *shin* in words derived from the Moors; and the other, the softening of the Arabic gutturals into F in the Spanish whence many such words passed into the Portuguese. He illustrates both points by numerous words adopted at various times into the Portuguese.

5. Senhor Demetrio Cinatti, Portuguese Consul at Canton, sends a translation of Dr. McGowan's article in the *North China Daily News*, on "Man as a Medicine" in China, and the special relation of this superstitious belief as a provocative to anti-foreign riots. The paper furnishes some very curious items of information on the supposed therapeutic qualities of man and his various secretions.

6. Monsieur O. L. Godin gives a detailed account of the relationship between the Royal family of Portugal and Flanders, over which some of them ruled by marriage. This connexion leads to the narrative of a number of events in which the two countries acted together, their operations against the Moors in Africa furnishing the connecting link with the Oriental Congress.

7. In *The first labours of the Portuguese in Monomotapa*, Senhor A. P. de Paiva e Pona publishes, from the State and other archives, a number of letters principally from or regarding Father Gonçalo da Silveira (1560). Even in the short space covered by this most interesting paper—quite a book of 100 pages—it can be plainly perceived that a vast mass of information regarding Africa still remains practically unknown to the world in the archives of Spain and Portugal. We therefore welcome it, not only for its own interest, but also as a first instalment of a series of publications which we hope to see issued without delay. The regions embraced in this correspondence are now the scene of varied activity; yet even those earlier explorers of the XVI. century knew of the existence of gold south of the Zambezi; and we should not feel surprised if further publications throw some light on the ruins lately discovered in Mashonaland.

8. *The East and America*, is the title of a paper, or rather a book of 113 pages, by Senhor A. Lopes Mendes, containing interesting notes on

the manners and customs of the races of Portuguese India, compared with those of Brazil. The author modestly disclaims being anything more than a gleaner in a vast field ; but he goes thoroughly into his subject, instituting a series of important comparisons between races very distantly placed, and he shows throughout a most erudite acquaintance with their peculiarities.

9. Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, the Secretary of both the Geographical Society of Lisbon and of the Xth Congress gives, in one of a series of papers, on Discoverers and Discoveries, the history of Diogo Caõ who in 1484 discovered the Congo. With a wealth of research, the learned author gives a summary of the deeds of one of the many sons of whom Portugal is, with good reason, proud. It extends to 79 pages, and is illustrated with 13 *facsimiles* of monuments and inscriptions.

10. Professor Dr. Karl Abel, of Wiesbaden, has contributed a revised and enlarged version of the learned paper on the Etymological affinity of the Egyptian and Indo-European languages, the substance of which he gave at the IXth International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1891. Taking as his example the root *Ker*, and following it, in its various phonetic and other variations, through a host of examples, and comparing the results in the two families of languages, he shows that the development of the root and its ramification, proceed on the same fundamental laws phonetic and intellectual, though the same sound does not always correspond in each family to the same variation of sense. The learned professor's paper, as perfectly complete in itself as it is unique of its kind, opens out a vast field for further investigations.

The ten papers above noticed have been already printed by the Xth Congress, at the National Press, Lisbon, and may be obtained from the Publishing Department of the Oriental Institute, Woking, or from the Secretary of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists, The Geographical Society, Lisbon.

THOSE who care to read the Echoes of the "*occasionally* Ninth Congress of Orientalists" held last September, cannot do better than refer to the London letters in the *Indian Spectator* of the 2nd and 9th October, to the *Madras Mail* of the 7th October, and to the *Pioneer* of the 9th October, which is specially severe on it.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Viceroy's winter tour has been made in the South of India. After a short stay at Ganeshkhind with the Governor of Bombay, His Excellency paid a visit of 6 days to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The state had allotted Rs. 350,000 for decorations in honour of the event, which, though somewhat damped by continued rain, gave abundant evidence of sound loyal feeling. Amid the usual routine of addresses, visits, levées, reviews, parties and dinners, the Viceroy among other things explained why Hyderabad has no special Imperial Defence Corps, though the project itself originated with the Nizam: financial reasons were the cause, and His Excellency spoke to the point on the subject. His Highness, at the sports, astonished all with the singular accuracy of his shooting. Thence the Viceroy proceeded to Mysore, in which flourishing and model state he had nothing but praise to give. Here Rs. 20,000 were spent on decorations. After attending a capture of elephants, the Viceroy went to Madras; in which connexion we note that the Secretary of State has paid Lord Wenlock well deserved praise for his ceaseless and energetic efforts to mitigate the effects of the recent famine. Hence the Viceroy went to Vizagapatam, where at a large reception of chiefs, he decorated the Maharaja and others; and then returned to Calcutta.

On the practical working of the Indian Councils' Amendment Act all the local Governments have submitted their views. Some other proposals have also been made. The Bengal Conference, at a special meeting, expressed the hope that the Act would be interpreted liberally and given a fair trial. They proposed 20 Members, 5 official; from the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association, the Native Merchants, and the University 1 each; from the Calcutta Municipality and District Board two each, Mufussil Municipalities, 3; the Zemindari interest 1, Muhammadan 1, and representa-

tives of minorities 2. They also expressed disappointment for the resolution on the Public Services Commission Report and on the Memorial about Bengali Volunteers, which they hoped the Government would reconsider. One resolution declared the Conference's support of Hindu Sea-Voyages, and another recommended reforms in Civil justice in Bengal, as to the fees, number, pay and qualifications of judges, and the encouragement of arbitration. For Bombay the proposal of the Presidency Association, adopted also by the Provincial Conference of Poona, divides the presidency into 5 Districts—Bombay City, Scindh, Guzerat, Kanara, and Dekkhan; the present Council of five to have a minimum of 25 members, of whom 12 should be elective: *i.e.*, Bombay City 3, Dekkhan 3, Scindh, Kanara and Guzerat 1 each; 3 more at Bombay respectively for the Corporation, the University and the Mercantile Associations. The Government of India has not yet published its decision on the subject.

The answers of the District and High Court Judges to the Government of India circular of May 1890 asking their opinions and suggestions regarding trial by jury have been published. The Bengal Government has, by a decree, suspended trial by jury for offences against the person, as among other difficulties, it was found that Hindu juries were often reluctant to convict men of high caste. The act has caused great agitation among both Europeans and natives. The popular protests against the Cadastral Survey of Behar have been taken up by the British India and the Indian Property Associations as being unjust and a source of litigation. The Government however are not disposed to yield. It is also doubtful whether the Liberal Administration of Mr. Gladstone will agree to the suspension of trial by jury in any part of India. We are glad to hear of the establishment at Calcutta of a Pali Text Society, under the presidency of Babu Surat Chandar Das.

In the military department, we have to record, not with entire approval, the appointment of Major-General

Sir George Stewart White, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., to succeed Lord Roberts as Commander-in-chief in India, superseding a large number of officers, most of whom are his equals and several his superiors in all the qualifications requisite for that high post. Camps of Exercise, numerous but small, have been sanctioned for this winter at Bareilly, Lucknow, Rawul Pindi, Meerut, Saugur, Meean Meer and Muridki; and nearly all the Imperial Defence forces, except those of Jodhpur, will be out for exercise. Over 25,000 Lee Mitford rifles have reached India with 11,000,000 cartridges, for rearming the European army: 25 rifles with 30 rounds each have been given for practice to every European Regiment. The Horse and field Batteries of Artillery also are being gradually but all too slowly rearmed with breech-loading 12-pounders. A Maxim gun has been got for the Pachmari school of musketry; and some comments have been made, both that the Black Mountain expedition had to borrow the private Maxim gun of the old Kolis, and that regiments should have their own private armament, beyond the regulations. If necessary why not all regiments; if not, why any?

In the Native States, the Maharaja of Kashmir has granted timber from the State forests to Rs. 50 to all sufferers from the fire at Srinagar last August. Sirdar Muhammad Hyat Khan has been nominated to the Kashmir State Council. The Railway survey, made at the cost of 6 instead of 10 lacs of Rs., declares the first and third parts (Haripur to Abbottabad and Domul to Srinagar) to be feasible, but the middle portion, Abbottabad to Domul is too expensive for the state to undertake. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda after a second visit to Her Majesty, and an inspection of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield has returned to India. On his own personal initiative, a new survey and settlement has been made in Baroda, rents being reduced, payments made in cash instead of kind, several petty imposts abolished, and much waste land replanted. At Bhowanagar, the Dewan opened

the Khoja Charitable school, built right in the centre of the city by Herjibhai Jammal, on ground given for the purpose by H. H. the Thakur Sahib. At Ulwur the murder of Kunj Behari Lall was proved to have been instigated by the late Maharaja ; Major Ram Chunder and Akhey Sing were sentenced to death, Buddha to penal servitude for life and Chunda Munshi for 7 years—Chima being discharged. From the well-governed State of Mysore, we learn that the cost of the former, including missions, was Rs. 818,000. This year's surplus was Rs. 492,200 ; after spending Rs. 1,250,000, in the Hindu-pur Railway, the State has a nett credit balance of Rs. 8,931,909 ; various improvements have been made in the Police, the Departments of Education and Public Worship Trusts ; and on the petition of the Representative Assembly all marriages of girls under 8. and of girls under 16 with men over 50 will be declared penal. In Hyderabad, pending the Detamation Case, the Nawab Mehdi Hassan has been suspended from office, and the Nawab Mushtaq Hussain, who had just retired after 32 years' service, has been banished. Dr. Lawrie has made further important experiments with chloroform ; and the great central jail at Warangal which has already cost a lac is being continued.

Sir Charles Crossthwaite has succeeded Sir Auckland Colvin as Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P., the latter closing his administration by the opening of a number of public works, among which were the Benares Waterworks, the new eye hospital at Allahabad, a technical school at Lucknow, and hospitals at Mirzapur, Fatehgarh and Benares.

The Black Mountain Expedition under Sir W. Lockhart has returned to its quarters, after burning Baio, but without capturing Hashim Ali, who, though he came to meet the officer deputed for that purpose, refused to surrender. Jihan Dad Khan, a Chief on our frontier (where intrigues are carried on to promote frontier disputes which bring great profit), had his village also burnt. The Kurram Valley

force has received the submission of Chikkai. Muhammad Nazim Khan was installed ruler of Hunza in the presence of the Chinese envoys, who after the ceremony left with Mr. McCarthy for Yarkand. Muhammad Ali Khan after a quarrel with his father, the ruler of Nawagai, fled to Asmar to the Amir's general, but receiving no encouragement, he came to settle at Peshawur. Chitral affairs we have treated elsewhere. Col. Yanoff has left the Pamirs. Russian papers however now pretend that the proper frontier of the Russian Pamirs is a line from Derwaz across N.E. end of Roshan and Shignan, S.E. to Sarhad and the foot of the Baroghil Pass, forming a triangle wedged between Shignan and Chinese Kashgar, with its apex at Sarhad, touching the Wakhan River, the Hindu Kush and the Indian dependencies of Hunza-Nagyr, Yasin and Kashmir. General Brackenbury's speech on the desire of the Indian Government to have a strong and independent AFGHANISTAN has done much good. The Amir has ordered his agent to leave the Waziri country, pending delimitation. Though successful in some battles he has as yet failed to crush the Hazara rising; and it is by no means certain whether the long-talked-of meeting with Lord Roberts will come off.

BURMA.—The Chittagong Minhla Railway line survey has been sanctioned. Siam has accepted the delimitation fixed by the Governor-General; from a point opposite Palharang on the Salwin River, describe a semi-circle embracing the Me Pa, and Me Che streams, northward along ridge of hills parallel to the Salwin River and about 20 miles east of it,—to Mongman,—east along the boundaries of Mesakum-Mong, Tamong, Kiatmong, Hongmong, Hest, and Kyaingmong,—thence along the E. boundary of the last and between it and Kiang Chang and Kiang Hung. The Burmo-Chinese delimitation however has fallen through, owing to excessive demands by China, which is said to have punished some of its officials for over-friendliness with the foreigners. There is a prospect for a

University for Burma ; and to encourage the study of Pali proposals have been sanctioned for holding Pali examinations, as under the kings, at Mandalay, some money provided by Government being supplemented by private gifts. Revised rules have also been issued for encouraging the study of the Shan and Kareyn languages. The Chins have suddenly broken out near Fort White, cutting the telegraphs and attacking various outposts, especially Stockade No. 3. The rebels numbered over 2,000 ; and as a general rising was feared, the S. Lushai and other posts were strengthened. Rain at first delayed the repression, which after the destruction of the offending villages was hastened by dissensions among the chief rebel tribes the Newangal and Siyins : as we go to press another outbreak is reported. In the Bhamo range 5 columns, with over 900 men will operate during the winter. A scarcity of rice at Mymensing is being met by large imports. A proclamation declares that Government will not interfere with domestic slavery in the Kacheyn Hills, but that new captures cannot be allowed. The Mu valley and Wuntho railways, breached by recent rain, are being drained previous to permanent repair. The Perak railway also shows progress.

M. Paul Boel, who started last year from Shanghai for Chungking, on the Upper Yangtse, travelled with only a Chinese servant through Szechuan, Kweichow, Kweiyang, Yunnan, and Manhao, ultimately reaching Mengtze, whence he entered Tonquin and travelled south to Haiphong. Travelling in Chinese costume, he was not molested during the whole of his travels, but the populace in Szechuan were very strongly anti-foreign and much excited over the demonstrations against missionaries in other cities. In Kweichow and Yunnan he found the peasantry very friendly, and the mandarins treated him with great courtesy. Szechuan is a great and rich province, with which a vast trade might be developed, people being more cultivated and better off than those of most other provinces. Yunnan

M. Boel considers to be extraordinarily rich in minerals. The copper mines are fabulously rich, and most easily worked. There are also coal, gold, silver, and tin mines. Yunnan at present has vast stretches of country untilled and unpopulated. M. Boel stopped to visit the ironworks of the Viceroy Chang Chihtung at Hanyang, then far advanced towards completion. The iron ore for the works comes from a mine about 30 miles distant, now being connected with Hanyang by a light railway. M. Boel thinks the ore good for making railway iron. He also visited the extensive cotton-spinning mills established by the Viceroy at Wuchang. From Haiphong he made a tour through Tonquin and Annam, visiting Hué, which he describes as curious and interesting, but squalid even for an Oriental capital, all the city outside the royal and official precincts being very poverty-stricken. He visited the Hongay mines, and was much astonished and pleased with the vastness of the coal deposits; and the extensive works undertaken show with what faith and enterprise the mines are being exploited. M. Boel, after a short stay at Hongkong and Canton, went north again to Peking.

The Dutch East India Budget showed a deficit of £900,000; the revenue being £13,900,000. For irrigation works £90,000 were assigned.

JAPAN.—The British Legation report the total foreign trade of Japan for 1891-92 at £23,286,798;—Exports being £12,798,920 and Imports £10,487,878, the former being an increase of £3,000,000, the latter a decrease of £2,710,000. British trade still holds the first place— $\frac{1}{2}$ of all the imports, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the exports. The United States, France, China and Germany follow in order. Of the foreign population (8,631) the Chinese were 5,256, British 1,382, Americans 721, Germans 432, French 324, and Portuguese 134. Of 567 foreign firms, 116 are British. The expulsion of Japanese from American territory has excited a desire for reprisals. At Tokio, the City Council have assumed control of the Cemeteries, till now under the

priests: their right is contested as *ultra vires*. The Japanese cruiser *Chishima* sunk after colliding with the steamer *Ravenna*, and about 80 lives were lost. A Typhoon is reported from the Liu Kiu Islands, S. of Japan, in which 5,000 houses and 60 junks were destroyed. 1717 miles of railway were open.

CHINA.—Exemplary punishment has been inflicted by the Chinese on all concerned in the Shensi riots against French priests. Further rioting, luckily without serious consequences has occurred in Ichang and at Kien Yang. Among the complaints made against missionaries is their contempt and defiance among others of the local objection to tall buildings, as destroying the privacy of Chinese homes. China continues her energetic protests at St. Petersburg against the violation of her rights in the Pamirs. The wreck of the *Bokhara* with its attendant fearful loss of life has drawn attention to the want of meteorological stations at Formosa and the Pescadores, to complete the circle of such stations in the dangerous Chinese seas. The Shan-hai-Kwan Railway is progressing.

On the Yangtse a great growth in the timber trade is reported from the decrease in transit dues that for many years often were over 100 per cent., *ad valorem*. These checked the trade, which the natural features of the country—steep declines easily formed into timber shoots, and swift torrents float the timber to navigable streams—should have facilitated, and which the very low charge for labour in the forest regions should have made profitable. Now there is an enormous extension of the timber trade at Hankow. The timber goes down the river in huge rafts, which, with the huts erected on them for the raftsmen, look like floating islands, and are a remarkable feature of the Yangtse. The floating timber-yards where these rafts are lashed together reach for six miles along the north bank of the Yangtse at Hankow. Their value must be enormous, but they do not appear in the trade returns for the port. Owing to the increase of both rafts and foreign shipping

collisions were at one time frequent, giving rise to acrimonious and troublesome disputes, which, however, the Consul has now succeeded in obviating by inducing the Chinese to accept certain simple regulations.

An English man-of-war was sent to Vladivostock to inquire into the treatment of English sealers captured by Russians. A Russian scientific mission under M. Potamine, expecting to be out for 2 years, has started from Niachi for Peking to proceed to Eastern Thibet, for natural History and Ethnological investigations. A similar French exploring party were at Leh, driven back by the loss of their baggage animals.

There is nothing to chronicle about PERSIA, except a favourable report of the Persian Bank, and that the Société de Tombeki de Paris agrees to pay £450,000 to Persia in return for facilities for exporting Persian tobacco. The Mission to the Nestorian Christians is said to be in need of money ; and meanwhile the Nestorian Patriarch is reported to have joined the Catholics, with a large portion of his followers.

There are good reports of three TURKISH Railways. One under a German Company, from Haidar Pasha, the Asian suburb of Constantinople, towards Bagdad is completed to Angora, where the first locomotive arrived from Ismid (440 miles) on the 2nd December. Another, from Samsoun on the Black Sea to Ayar on the Mediterranean, has already been surveyed for half its length : it is under a Belgian Company. An English Company is at work on the line from Acre via Carmel, Jezreel, and the Jordan to Damascus and the Euphrates. No time can, however, be yet fixed for the completion of these works. The official Financial Report shows that all sources of revenue have yielded an increase, especially, salt, stamps, fisheries and silks. The 2nd quinquennial results since the reform was begun, show a great advance on the 1st. An inspection has been made of the Dardanelles fortifications, which are pronounced almost worthless. The Department of Pious

Foundations Funds has given £2,000 for repairing Biblical monuments in Jerusalem and has sent an official to supervise the work. Boarding schools attached to Gymnasia have been opened at Salonika, Monastir, Smyrna, Beyrut, and Damascus; and chiefly by promoting the Idadieh or preparatory schools into superior schools, 34 such have been created. Yemen though tranquil is said to be not completely pacified, seditious proclamations being still circulated.

EGYPT.—From the 1st January, the Suez Canal rates are lowered 5d. per ton. His Highness the Khedive visited several schools and colleges at Alexandria and Cairo, and formally opened the new museum for Græco-Roman and early Christian antiquities at Alexandria, and 45 new galleries at the Gizeh Museum, which the new administration has added to the 45 already in existence, stocking them with what had for years been hidden away. The high Nile threatened damage for an unusually long time, but subsided eventually on 7th November, no damage having been done, except a few unimportant breaches speedily repaired. A serious quarrel has occurred between the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and his people, regarding school administration. He excommunicated his opponents, who raised against him a rival patriarch: not much harm has yet resulted, beyond hard words. The Budget for 1893, estimates revenue at £E.10,267,000, and surplus at 472,000; but of this, owing to France's well-known opposition, only 10,000 is at the disposal of Government. This year, however, the Reserve Fund will exceed the stipulated 2,000,000; and thenceforth the whole surplus will be available for extinguishing the debts, and further reducing the taxes. A reduction on the land tax of £123,000 is proposed, making a total of £345,000 in 3 years.

In MOROCCO, the French Mission to Fez has failed as signally as our own late one, and apparently from similar causes. The sultan at first friendly, refused all concessions, and the Mission left Fez with every sign of contempt short

of open expression. Who will try the nut next? The French after a deal of delay, the expenditure of over 6,000,000 francs above the estimates, and much hard fighting, have taken Abomey. Col. Dods proposes to divide the country into 4 parts, that on the littoral between Grand Popo and Kotonou being simply annexed, while the other three are to be governed through native chiefs. Wydah is to be a French port, but its chief is still holding out. The French intend also attacking Samadou once more and in strength. Behanzin is still holding out with 20,000 soldiers at Akraduten. Matters remain quiet on the West Coast; and from the Congo State come letters, showing that Jacques and Joubert, supposed to have been massacred were safe on the 15th September.

Sir H. Loch returned to the CAPE, with a definite understanding with the Imperial Government about Swaziland, which will be communicated to President Kruger. The latter has consented to modify as far as possible certain tariffs seemingly injurious to the Cape. He proposes a law which will, in 14 years, place immigrants on the same footing as the Boers, and the amalgamation will make a United S. Africa. Some think (he said) this would be under the British flag; but he would maintain the Transvaal independence. In Demaraland, the German Company's concession to the English company has been curtailed: for the 13,000 sq. kilometres at choice, they will have only two plots of 500 sq. kilometres each; for free colonization, a preference is required for Germans for whom certain favoured spots are reserved for 10 years; the railway concession is limited to the north part, and does not exclude private enterprise; and when the profit reaches 10 %, they are to pass under government control; and German industries where possible must be patronized. The English Company is much praised by the Germans for gracefully yielding their undoubted rights for a friendly feeling. Mr. Cecil Rhodes at the annual meeting of the S. Africa Company gave a flourishing report, and proposed

a telegraph straight from the Cape through British territory or spheres of influence right up to Alexandria. The Natal self-government Bill was lost in Council. The exports of gold still continue to progress. In Mashonaland, the Beira Railway has 35 miles completed and 15 more surveyed: total 50 miles. Senhor Barbosa de Boccage has succeeded Baron Leite at Mozambique. A great improvement has taken place under Senhor Machado (of the Mozambique Company) especially in the organization of a transport service. Mr. J. Thompson has submitted his report on the Zambezi,—a cautious document, making its very favourable conclusions all the more reliable.

From German E. Africa, Dr. Karl Peters has returned to Germany, and there has been some fighting with the Wahabe of Usagara. Captain Macdonald has returned to Mombasa to continue surveys for the Government. Sir Gerald Portal (with a large staff) has been nominated Commissioner in Uganda, which is elsewhere treated. The White Fathers, whose intrusion into Uganda led to a most melancholy result, are trying to enter some territories occupied by the Church Missionary Society.

From the 1st February, an import duty will be levied at ZANZIBAR on all wines, spirits, tobacco and opium.

Osman Digma has again been showing activity near Tokar, and though repulsed has not quitted Amet.

AUSTRALIA.—Nearly every colony in this group is under financial difficulties and is trying to raise money, in different ways. Complaints are rife in the other colonies about the continual stationing of the fleet at Melbourne, instead of periodical visits all round. The long talked of alternative Pacific Telegraph Cable, from Australia to Vancouver's Island, having hung fire in British hands, is now taken up by a French Company, and the first link between Burnett Heads, Queensland and New Caledonia will be laid in about a year. Thence the route will be Fiji, Samoa, Honolulu, Fanning Islands, and either Vancouver or S. Francisco. The wine export shows a steady progress. * In 1881 the

average stood at 4s. 5d. and a fraction per gallon, in 1888 it was about 5s., in 1890 it receded to 4s. 6d., and in 1891 dropped to 4s. 1½d. An equally low price was reached in 1883, but two years later the highest price yet obtained was recorded. In 1889 159,114 gallons of wine, valued at £33,240, were shipped from Victoria, while in 1890 only 146,663 gallons, £31,990, were exported at the average price per gallon of 4s. 4d. The decennial return for South Australia is: Wine—1881, 54,872 gallons, valued at £12,879; 1882, 68,426 gallons, £19,523; 1883, 90,242 gallons, £23,743; 1884, 50,080 gallons, £14,343; 1885, 70,904 gallons, £22,784; 1886, 83,309 gallons, £23,731; 1887, 89,838 gallons, £23,787; 1888, 130,037 gallons, £33,903; 1889, 180,135 gallons, £44,891; 1890, 221,885 gallons, £50,738; 1891, 286,188 gallons, £58,648. There is a decrease this year of 50,000 gallons owing to frosts. In addition to wines of various kinds, Australia has begun exporting large quantities of good brandy. An inter-colonial conference is proposed at Brisbane, for compiling all statistics on a uniform plan. The Military Commission on Australian Defence has done little beyond proposing certain minor details. Several colonies have declined to be represented at the Australian Federal Council. Jealousies have also appeared regarding the coinage of silver, all wishing to share the profits. Sir George Dibbs declares that the order in Council authorizing the coinage of gold includes permission to coin silver also.

In West Australia, a new find of gold is announced 150 miles from Annean. £160,000 from other mines has this year been entered at the Customs Office. The revenue for last quarter shows a surplus of £124,604, the cash in hand amounting to £337,296, only £297,927 having been expended from the loan of £1,336,000. A Bill is proposed to amend the constitution by abolishing the franchise qualification for both electors and elected, increasing the number of members, and redistributing the electorate.

In S. Australia, a defeat of the Ministry has brought Sir

John Downer to the united office of Premier and Chief Secretary. The Broken Hill strike has caused a decrease in 14 weeks of £109,000 in Railway receipts. A resolution in the Legislative Assembly affirms the desirability of inter-colonial Federation: the opposition criticized, but would not oppose it. 50 camels were landed from Karachi, and are going with loads to Port Augusta where there is already a good number, and where attempts are being made to establish a stud of these animals. The Legislative Council has voted an increase of income tax and certain import duties.

At Melbourne, Sir Bryan O'Loughlin's vote of censure on Mr. Shiel's Ministry was defeated by 13 votes. After a long conflict, the Upper House accepted the Stamp Duties Bill.

The Broken Hill strike has at last broken down, after 18 weeks, doing much harm all round—entailing a loss of £270,000 in wages alone. Six of the rioting miners were sentenced to imprisonment, from 3 months to 2 years. Sir G. Dibbs very properly refused to receive a deputation on the subject; and a vote of censure on the action of the Government was negatived by 30 votes. The French Consulate at Sydney has been raised to the rank of a Consulate General. A Bill is proposed for amending the Sydney Assembly on the one man one vote basis, with a redistribution Bill. Among its admirable proposals are that no election speeches should be made, and all elections should take place on the same day.

In Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffiths resigns the Premiership, and retires from political life as Chief Justice. The Separation Bill having been rejected, the Government will send a special delegate to confer on the question, with the Imperial Government.

The NEW ZEALAND revenue for the past half year was £1,786,000, an increase of £43,000 over last year,—the customs increased by £8,000, the Railway revenue by £22,000 and the stamps by £7,000: land revenues declined £5,000. The Colonial Office has advised Lord Glasgow to

accept the nominations by the Ministry, to the Upper Chamber; they include four of the labour party. Much dissatisfaction exists on the refusal of the Imperial Government to contribute to a monthly mail *viâ* S. Francisco: New S. Wales however offers a subsidy of £4,000 for one year only. A women's franchise bill was passed. As the compulsory clause was struck out of the Arbitrations Bill in the Upper House, the Bill was abandoned.

TASMANIA yielded 28,000 oz. more than last year in gold, 5,000 tons of tin and 2,000 tons of silver ore. The Budget threatens a deficiency of £12,420: it will be 6 years before the total is wiped off. The Bishop of Tasmania, after a long tour in the Pacific declares that the alleged abuses in Kanaka labour traffic are greatly exaggerated.

CANADA'S first four months' financial report shows a surplus of \$4,633,612 or \$1,250,000 more than last year. The order in Council prohibiting the import of Canadian cattle has created much dissatisfaction, being estimated to cause Canada a loss of \$3,000,000. Mr. E. Miall has been named chief of the newly-created department of Trade and Commerce, Customs and Revenue passing into the hands of a Commissioner, the equivalent for an English Under-Secretary. Sir J. Abbott having resigned, Sir J. S. D. Thompson has formed a new Ministry. Gold has been discovered at Lake of the Woods and immense salt beds at Windsor, Ontario. President Harrison seems determined to keep irritating Canada. The United States Government have discovered that, owing to the perfidy of Ivan Petroff an employé, some false statements, unimportant except because arguments had been based upon them, had crept into their statement of the Behring Sea case, and they have promptly notified this to the British Commissioners. The Mail contract with the Allan Line has been extended to another year. Chinese immigration is still increasing; notwithstanding a poll-tax of \$50. Mr. Mercier was acquitted by the Jury. The New Brunswick legislature was dissolved, and a change of Ministry is

expected. A conference was held at Ottawa with the NEWFOUNDLAND Delegates, headed by Sir W. Whiteway, on the Fisheries question; another instalment of papers on this has been published by the Foreign Office, but does not bring us any nearer to a solution with France.

How heterogeneous is the population of Canada appears from the last census. In a total of 4,800,511 the French-speaking number 1,415,090, or 29·4 per cent., against 1,294,304, or 30·1 per cent. (of 4,293,879), in 1881. In ten years the French have increased from 1,071,581 to 1,196,346 in Quebec, where they are now 80·4 instead of 78·9 per cent. In Ontario they have decreased from 101,194 to 101,123, falling from 5·2 to 4·8 per cent., and in Nova Scotia from 9·3 with a total of 40,997 to 6·7 with a total of 30,181. In the North-West Territories they number 1,543 against 2,633, being only 2·3 per cent., against 10·1 in 1881. In Manitoba and British Columbia they show an increase, from 9,868 and 723 to 11,102 and 1,181, but a relative decrease from 15 and 1·5 per cent. to 7·3 and 1·3 per cent. respectively. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the French-speaking people have increased both absolutely and relatively from 57,572 (or 17·7 per cent.) and 10,736 (or 9·8) to 61,767 (or 19·2 per cent.) and 11,847 (or 10·8 per cent.). The foreign-born population of the Dominion is 645,507, against 608,334, the natives having risen from 3,685,545 to 4,155,004. Natives from Scotland and Ireland have diminished from 115,010 and 185,522 respectively to 107,365 and 148,842; those of England, have increased from 169,492 to 218,961; of Newfoundland, from 4,596 to 9,331; of other British countries, from 3,545 to 4,432; of Europe, from 39,154 to 53,778; of the United States, from 77,750 to 80,480; and of China, from 4,383 to 9,127.

The Census states that during the last 10 years, the industrial establishments of Canada have increased from 49,923 to 75,768, or 51·8 per cent.; capital invested from £33,060,524 to £37,706,838, or 114 per cent.; the

employés from 254,935 to 367,865, or 44·43 per cent.; the wages paid from £11,885,800 to £19,954,488, or 67·86 per cent.; cost of raw materials from £35,983,718 to £51,198,643, or 42·3 per cent.; the value of the products from £61,935,213 to £95,089,141, or 53·5 per cent. The capital invested per head is £5 in Prince Edward's Island and the North-West Territory, £7 in Manitoba, £8 in Nova Scotia, £10 in New Brunswick, £16 in Quebec, £17 in Ontario, and £29 in British Columbia. The general results are (1) a large increase, in the number of hands employed, the wages paid, and the capital invested. This last points to a large outlay for improved machinery. (2) The average workman in 1891 was better skilled than in 1881, and turned out 6 per cent. more in value, and (3) in 1891 earned 16 per cent. more wages than in 1881. (4) As every dollar invested produced in 1891 less than in 1881, the capitalist has had smaller profit. (5) Notwithstanding the reduced gross profits of the manufacturer, the workman has received a larger share of the total products by 9 per cent.

In the WEST INDIES, the report for Jamaica for 1891-92 shows a decrease in the Imports and Exports respectively of £400,000 and £180,000. The revenue by import duties fell 13 per cent., principally from the action of the Reciprocity treaty with the United States. The Internal customs also fell by £19,000, and the shipping by 11 vessels, or 12,118 tons. This shows a serious decline in the colony, which complains much of bad treatment at the hands of the Colonial Office and lately held a public meeting to seek a remedy. Sugarcane, tobacco, ginger had remained stationary, ground products and guinea grass had advanced, and 1,100 acres had been added to Coffee cultivation. The house tax gave 89,898 houses, instead of 134,545 given in the last census, which seems to have counted separate flats and even rooms as houses, when occupied by a family.

Obituary.—We have the melancholy task of recording

the deaths, during the quarter, of Mr. Anthony Edwards of Smyrna, over 80 years old, who established European newspapers at Constantinople and Smyrna ; of the oriental scholar and great Sinologist, the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denis ; of General Henry Dyett Abbott, C.B., who served in Kurnoul and during the Indian Mutiny ; of the Central Asian traveller Theodore Child, who perished of Cholera at Teheran ; of Cardinal Charles Allemand Lavigerie, of Algiers ; of Saul Solomon ; of F. A. Lushington, of the Indian Civil Service ; of the veteran Sanskritologist Professor Dr. C. Schütz at the age of 87 ; of W. Piercey Austin, D.D., for 50 years Bishop of British Guiana ; of Mr. James Wild, Curator of the Sloane Museum, a great authority on Arabian art ; of General Count Yamada, a leading Japanese politician ; of Sir W. Ritchie, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada ; of Sir Thomas Cockburn Campbell, Speaker of the Legislative Council of W. Australia ; of the distinguished Oriental Scholar Ernest Renan ; of Leon Joseph Gordon the Hebrew poet ; of Archbishop Lovenan of Pondicherry ; of the Sherif of Wazan, Mulai Sid Al Hadj Abdus Salam, cousin of the Sultan of Morocco ; of General Sir Fred. Abbott, who served in the first Burma and Caubul wars ; of the Hon. Sir James Mac-Bain, K.C.M.G., President of the Legislative Council of Victoria ; of Sir Samuel Grannier, Attorney-General of Ceylon ; of Genl. James Maurice Primrose, C.S.I., who took part in the last Afghan war ; General W. Donnett Morgan, who served in the 2nd Sikh war, the Mutiny, the Umbeyla and Bhotan wars ; of Col. H. W. Buller, who was in the Umbeyla and last Afghan campaigns ; of Genl. Sir Thomas Pears, R.E., K.C.B., who served in Kurnoul, the 1st China and 1st Sikh wars, and afterwards did even greater service on the Indian Railways ; of Genl. Hastings Frazer, C.B., who served in the Mutiny ; of Surgeon-General H. Mills Cameron, who was through the 2nd Sikh war and the Mutiny ; of State Councillor Dr. Paul Kempf, professor of Oriental languages at

Prague ; of Mr. Paul Peel, the Canadian artist and painter ; of Mr. Lionel Moore, attaché to the British Embassy at Constantinople, a ripe Turkish and Arabic scholar ; of Mr. W. Wynn Kenrick, Commissioner of Mines in British Guiana ; of Dr. David Lloyd Morgan, C.B., of the Royal Navy, who served in the Crimea and Chinese wars, and was Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals in the West Indies and at Hong Kong ; of the Honourable Sir Adams George Archibald, of the Privy Council of Canada where he held several important offices ; of Genl. C. Vanburgh Jenkins who had served in the 2nd Afghan, the Umbeyla, and the two Sikh campaigns ; of Sir John Morphett, President of the Legislative Council of Adelaide ; of Mr. A. Brandreth, of the Indian Civil Service ; and of Sir R. Owen, K.C.B.

V.

19th December, 1892.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, from 1784 to 1803*, by HERBERT COMPTON. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892. Price 16s.) This stout, closely printed, and well-got-up volume is a page out of one of the wildest chapters of the Romance of History. Even the adventurous tales of the olden Italian *condottieri* pale before the stirring events in Indian history, during the half century before Lord Lake's capture of Delhi. Of the Europeans who took part in those events and made their history, the Savoyard de Boigne, the Irish George Thomas, and the French Perron have been selected by our author for full notice. An appendix deals, briefly and in alphabetical order, with nearly 70 other adventurers, of more or less note among the many, who at that time sought not only the bubble reputation, but also the more pleasant harvests of the pagoda tree, in the then fabulously rich realms of India. The list is by no means a complete one, nor are these short biographies without an occasional slip. But Mr. Compton has certainly given us a book which enhances the vivid interest of most stirring times and daring persons, by applying a very graphic and graceful style to the results of the diligent and painstaking research brought by him to his task. His book is much more than readable,—more than interesting,—it is positively fascinating; and among its pages is scattered much information on the state of India in those troublous days and on the manners and customs of people of all kinds. Among the side lights which it sheds, we note another ray (pp. 27-29) on the character of Warren Hastings: this seems to come out not only clearer but also brighter as each new document casts its beam or gives its tint to the excellent portrait which even now history has painted and time has matured of this greatest, and at one time most maligned of Indian rulers. We recommend the book to our readers, as one well deserving a place not merely in their hands for cursory perusal, but also on their shelves for occasional reference, in matters of Indian History.

2. *Albuquerque*, by H. MORSE STEPHENS. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s. 6d.) The *Rulers of India Series* would have been, indeed, very incomplete without this volume, in which Mr. Stephens gives us an excellent biography of his hero, coupled with much accurate and not easily accessible information regarding the Portuguese empire in the East, and shrewd observations upon it, of historical and political interest. Albuquerque was not only the greatest and best of the Portuguese Governors of India, but he was also the only one who united in himself the rare qualifications required for that office. He had justice, goodness, firmness, a wide grasp of the state of affairs in the East and of the means of securing to Portugal a high position amid them,—the ability, nerve, and force of character necessary not only to conquer open enemies and opponents, but to overcome the far worse impediments of insubordinate assistants who thwarted, and interested peculators who calumniated him.

Had he got earlier into power or retained it longer, had his distant king and those whom he sent really aided Albuquerque as the situation required, and, above all, had his far-reaching and statesmanlike designs been continued by his successors instead of being cast aside for speculation and persecution, the Portuguese would have had a wider, longer and better empire in the East than they actually did. Albuquerque, great man as he was, had his faults, and our author does not conceal them; but his fair, and judicious remarks clearly show that they were rather the faults of the age and country than of the man, whose character was otherwise as pure, good and high as it is well drawn by Mr. Stephens. The numerous points in the history of the Portuguese in India, to which subsequent events in that of the Dutch and English run quite parallel, are duly noticed. The two concluding chapters give, in about 37 pages, a condensed account of the successors of Albuquerque, down to 1580, when Spain and Portugal became temporarily united under the sceptre of Philip II. Our author rightly mentions the important position which Christian missions held in the History of Portuguese India, but he does no more. There are, as he knows and says, plenty of facts and materials for an historical sketch of the Portuguese missions in India: and it would certainly not be lacking in interest; but as Mr. Stephens did not think that this lay within the scope of his work, he has judiciously left it alone. His book is a well written and full account of an important factor in Indian history, and is a very good number in this excellent Series.

3. *Lord Lawrence*, by SIR CHARLES AITCHISON, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s 6d.) Even in the select group of remarkable men whom the *Rulers of India Series* introduces to the English reader, Lord Lawrence stands conspicuous as one of the most remarkable— a figure to catch the eye of the student of India, as a giant among men. It is a pity, therefore, that his life in this Series has fallen into Lilliputian hands. Sir Charles Aitchison knew Lawrence well, had served under him, and appreciates him; and he had at hand, not only the published lives and notices of his great chief, but also the many unpublished documents which are accessible to the writers of this Series. Much might, therefore, have been fairly expected from him; yet he has signally failed to do his subject justice. He gives us nothing new, and that may not be all his fault; but he does not even make the old matter more interesting: his Lord Lawrence is nerveless, lifeless. What Sir Charles set about to write, it would be hard to tell. At p. 38 he states he is not writing a biography,—at p. 39 he will not narrate events,—at p. 67 he declines to detail Lawrence's pacification of the Punjab,—at p. 176 he will not be tempted to treat of Lawrence's foreign policy in general, and though he "selects" for particular discussion the Afghan question, even that (p. 177) he will not deal with except in very small part. If, then, we are not to have biography, nor history, nor detailed criticism, what is left to tell? Nothing—and this Sir Charles gives us, at great length. We are sorry to say that this volume falls very far below its predecessors in this series. Yet we gladly give Sir Charles Aitchison credit for two good points. He is more outspoken than previous writers on the "Cartridges" which caused the mutiny of 1857,

though the veil hiding the author of that transaction is still undrawn. The only thing which he brings out really well is Lord Lawrence's statesmanly dependence for the safety of the Empire on conciliating the goodwill of the masses of India by just and kind treatment : on this must eventually rest that feeling of loyalty and friendship for England, the fostering and development of which should be the object of the friends and well-wishers of both countries.

4. *Four Heroes of India*, by F. M. HOLMES (London : S. W. Partridge and Co. 1s. 6d.), gives us brief lives of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Sir Henry Havelock and Lord Lawrence. The author does not profess to give fully drawn pictures, but only sketches of these four lives and their times. The sketches, however, are clearly, vigorously, and skilfully drawn, giving life-like portraits, though necessarily in outline only. His Lawrence, for instance, is, in 30 pages, a far more living Lawrence than is given in Sir Charles Aitchison's 200-page volume ; and his Clive, Hastings, and Havelock are equally well treated. The last mentioned, though a conspicuous figure during the mutiny, does not show to much advantage among the three really great men, into whose company he is thrust in these pages. Havelock's advance on Cawnpore and Lucknow was no great military achievement, so far as he was concerned, though the endurance and dash of his troops are above all praise. He was surprised in all his battles—a sure sign of an inferior commander ; in one his success was due absolutely to an accident—the destruction of a bridge not having been sufficiently extensive ; and in another, when he attempted a little stratagem, it failed. His disagreement with Neill is matter of notoriety, nor did all the fault lie with the latter officer ; and it is more than doubtful whether, without Outram's clear head and steady perseverance, the relief of Lucknow would not have come too late. Hence we think that Havelock's place might perhaps have been better supplied, in these pages, by the name of the “ Bayard of India ;” but we have, at least, an excellent life of that very worthy and good man, clearly and briefly told like the other three.

5. *Tanganyika : or Eleven Years in Central Africa*, by E. C. HORE, Master Mariner. (London : Edward Stanford, 1892. 7s. 6d.) Mr. Hore combines in his book a great deal of information on the particular region of which he treats with the charm of dangers by land and adventures in boat and large steam yacht, which recall the days when we read, spell-bound, the pages of “ Robinson Crusoe.” The author's connexion with the London Missionary Society's expedition to Central Africa (long prior to others that have made more noise) and its results are clearly and well told ; and if converts have been few, it is still no little thing to show, as the author does, how prejudices and suspicions have been lived down, mutual good feelings cultivated, some reading and writing taught, workshops established, and much else done to advance the true interests of the various tribes about Tanganyika. Mr. Hore bears testimony to a high degree of morality, intelligence and good feeling on the part of the natives, before intercourse with marauding explorers and grasping merchants and the introduction of our European vices had sown the seeds of evil far more than enough to counterbalance the little good done as a set-off, by the

boasted "spheres of influence" in Africa. It speaks well for the method of Mr. Hore and his companions, that the good fellowship established between them and the natives about Tanganyika has stood the strain of the hostility provoked by European cupidity and Arab aggression—and this alone is worth the large amount of money used and the more valuable lives spent in the great enterprise which Mr. Hore relates with a sailor's frank simplicity.

6. *Newfoundland to Cochin China*, by MRS. HOWARD VINCENT. (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1892.) Mrs. Vincent's is a very interesting and gossiping account of her long journey, out through Newfoundland, Canada, Japan and China, and home by Cochin China and the Suez Canal—all round the northern world. She is an observant traveller and a good narrator. The descriptions are, perhaps, rather overdone; and as is sure to be the case in laboriously simple writing, there result passages which "no fellow can understand," and some rather glaring blunders: e.g., "spring solstice," "horizontally upwards," etc. Mrs. Vincent has strong likings and dislikings: everything Japanese is right and good, and everything Chinese is wrong and bad. Still the book is very pleasant to read. Col. Howard Vincent adds a dry but most useful and important appendix on the commercial relations of Great Britain with each of the countries which he and his wife visited. Its chief utility consists in showing clearly what we are *not* doing to secure and improve our trade; and it emphatically exposes the listless apathy of successive British Governments, which has allowed the trade of the world to pass gradually from England into the hands of Germany and the United States. Is it too late to be wise, even now?

7. *The Story of Uganda*, by SARAH GERALDINA STOCK. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1892. 3s. 6d.) Here, in a small and well illustrated volume, we have a plain, unvarnished account of the Church Missionary Society's work in Uganda, brought down to almost the point when the unfortunate rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant parties culminated in a violent outbreak. The narrative is simple and sympathetic; all the more so, because the authoress, carefully avoiding the extreme of partizanship, is moderate in her tone, and intersperses her own descriptions with extracts from the letters and diaries of the brave and singleminded men who have laboured in Uganda. All praise to the energy, courage and charity which took them there, and to the perseverance which, supplying the place of the fallen by new volunteers, has kept up the succession of teachers continuously till the present. No one can read their deeds and sentiments without a feeling of admiration. All the greater is the pity that the fruit has not corresponded with the amount of the money and energy spent, the number and value of the lives lost, and the bravery and virtue of the workers, in this little grateful field.

8. *Beast and Man in India*, by J. LOCKWOOD KIPLING, C.I.E. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892. 7s. 6d.) Mr. Kipling gives us a very well written and pleasant book, furnishing much interesting information on the relations subsisting between man and beast in India. It contains many good descriptions and better illustrations, notably those from Mr. Kipling's

own pencil. When this is said, we have exhausted all the praise we can conscientiously give him. He has lived long in India, but has certainly not mastered the delicate distinctions between Indian sounds; for while a pretty lullaby, at p. 30, is mistranslated by the misplacement of an accent (Aré for Āre), God, at p. 19, is made "the grandfather of all" instead of "the giver of all" (dāda for dāta). At page 82, "not a week passes without a case of this horror in our police-courts," *i.e.*, nose-cutting, is a libellous exaggeration. Mr. Kipling describes many things which he seems to know only from (incorrect) hearsay; as, when he states, in that dogmatic strain which is one of the chief defects of his book, that in India "railway bank, waterdam and Queen's highway are raised by the slender coolie woman and the little donkey." The share of the latter is great, we allow; but comparatively few women are seen on these works—on roadmaking none—and even these few, generally women left without their bread-winners, thus earn an honest livelihood, when their Western sisters in misfortune too often take to worse courses. Mr. Kipling's disclaimer (p. 309) of personal knowledge of snakes qualifies the statement, which is not a fact, that "in the roof thatch, the stone wall . . . or coiled up in the dusty path, (the snake) *waits his appointed hour to strike.*" The italics are ours, and indicate the point of the mistake: the snake, as all know who have studied that much maligned but timorous animal, is *never* the aggressor. When he tells us (p. 331) that "crows and poultry seldom appear" as terra cotta painted toys, he must have walked the streets of Indian towns with his eyes shut; for the crow is one of the most common of such toys. He has some extraordinary omissions too: for instance, though at p. 304 we are told that the village Brahmin's first care is to find in which direction the great world-supporting serpent is lying—a tremendous generalization, yet he forgets to mention the great *Kili* at the Qutab near Delhi, which Prithi Raj drove through that serpent's head. As a string on which to hang his statements regarding animals, Mr. Kipling has a continued tirade against Indians for cruelty. Thus at p. 78, he foams at the mouth at the senseless splitting of the asses' ears in India, though they are split in some other countries also; but he seems to have quite blunted his feelings of humanity, and even forgotten facts, when he contrasts his own countrymen with the Indians. The Indians do nothing so barbarous as our European customs of cutting the tail of almost every dog and horse, of systematically castrating the latter animal, and massacring in cold blood, pigeons at shooting matches and tame pheasants in preserves. He is equally wrong in his statements regarding hunting cheetahs, at p. 294, for they can be and are trained even when brought up from cubs in captivity. We have said enough to warn our readers that Mr. Kipling's statements about Indians and their ways are not all correct; but his book, though not always trustworthy, is, when treating of beasts, very pleasant and amusing.

9. *Mohammedanism and other Religions of the Mediterranean Countries*, by G. T. BETTANY, M.A. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) This well-got-up book aims at a popular account of the principal religious systems (exclusive of Christianity and Judaism) which have flourished in the regions about the Mediterranean Sea. To these, *apropos de bottles*;

are added the religions of the Teutons, Celts and Scandinavians, who certainly are not included in those regions by nature. A book of 316 pages cannot, of course, even profess to give more than an outline of this large group of religious systems. Mr. Bettany has consulted very good authorities upon each subject—in fact has gone to the best in each case—and his description of each religion is fair, accurate and generally impartial. Here and there we have noticed a few minor inaccuracies; and several of the author's conclusions we do not agree with; as, for instance, his estimate of the moral influence of Grecian Mythology. But on the whole, he has given us a carefully prepared series of sketches of eight different religions, which are very readable and interesting. The book is well illustrated; but here also there are a few inaccuracies, which, with those in the letterpress, cause one to stare at their appearance in so deserving a book. Thus the *Jama Musjid* at Delhi becomes the *Jummoo Musjid*—quite another thing; and the “Apollo Belvedere,” at p. 194, holds, in his left hand, a Gorgon's head, which certainly is not in the original.

10. *Indian Fairy Tales*, by JOSEPH JACOBS. (London: David Nutt, 1892. 6s.) This is a selection of Indian Folk tales rather than Fairy tales; for more than half of the twenty-nine have nothing whatever to do with fairies or demons. Mr. Batten's drawings are most brilliant and imaginative, and full of the spirit of the tales which they illustrate. Why folk and fairy tales should be prepared in a pompously and painfully simple style we fail to see, especially when, as in the present case, thirty pages of closely printed notes and references show that the work is meant for children of mature age. The work is also disfigured with several errors, which would lead one to suppose that the author is not personally conversant with the East. Thus Hindu princesses are made, in their troubles, to recur to *Khuda*, the Muhammadan God; *Kos*, the well-known Indian measurement becomes *Kas*; and some of these tales, though now found in India, are certainly of more Western origin—in Muhammadan Persia and Arabia, and as such have hardly a fit place in any set of Indian Folk tales. These defects notwithstanding, the author, artist and publisher have combined to give us a book which is a pleasure to read and to see.

11. *Far Cathay and Further India*, by GENERAL A. RUXTON MAC MAHON. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1892. 12s.) General Mac Mahon's long and honourable official connexion with Burma coupled with his wide reading led us to expect a treat in this book: and we are not disappointed. It is written in a pleasant and conversational style, often full of fun, and sometimes rippling over with Irish humour, as in describing Burmese women and their dress. The book itself overflows with valuable information on the country and its past, present and future: its religion and history; its earlier connexion with its neighbours; its vicissitudes and governments and peoples. We have also much new matter regarding its last king—Thebaw. General Mac Mahon treats in detail the ethnology, manners, customs and characters of the many tribes inhabiting Further India; and like all who are brought in contact with them, he appreciates their many good qualities and virtues, though not blind to their faults. His laudatory remarks on the Phoonghyees and their time-honoured system of general

popular education are just; and the note of warning which he sounds regarding the results of our unwise interference with this system, as contrasted with Sir J. Phayre's plan of improving while utilizing it, should rouse "the powers that be" now in Burma to reverse their present action before it be too late. Already, our author tells us, there is visible an unpleasant change in the native character in Burma—a change which is not an improvement, as all advance is not necessarily progress. Our space does not permit our noticing this book more in detail; but our readers will find it a mine of pleasant and useful information.

12. *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain*, edited by CAPTAIN F. W. H. PETRIE. Vol. xxv. (London: Published by the Institute, 1892.) Here, besides the report of the Annual Meeting are nine papers, of the usual varied and interesting character, read in 1891 at the ordinary meetings. These are Sir M. Monier Williams on the Monism, Pantheism and Dualism of Brahmanical and Zoroastrian Philosophy—Lord Grimthorpe on human responsibility—the Rev. Dr. Legge on Chinese Chronology—Hormuzd Rassam, Esq., on the Garden of Eden—the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall on the origin, strength and weakness of Muhammadanism—Dr. W. L. Courtney on the reality of the Self—Surgeon-General C. A. Gordon on the Philosophy and Medical Knowledge of Ancient India—the Rev. Theodore Wood on the apparent cruelty of nature—and the Rev. H. J. Clarke on Deontology. Unable to notice each paper separately, we can only specialize for their merit the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 7th; and the 8th, as a specimen of special pleading in which much knowledge is wasted in a necessarily fruitless attempt to prove that pain and cruelty are in nature almost nonexistent.

13. *Sinai*, by the late MAJOR H. S. PALMER, revised by PROFESSOR SAYCE. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892. 2s.) The worth of this little book may not be gauged by its actual size; for its closely-printed 220 pages and its condensed mass of information could easily be made into a much larger volume. It is of great importance and interest, being in fact the reproduction, in a summarized form, of the results of the great Ordnance Survey report, issued in five volumes in 1872. Of this Major Palmer published a summary in 1878; and the present is Professor Sayce's revised edition of it. The advantages of a thorough knowledge of the peninsula of Sinai, one of the most notable of geographical localities, cannot be over-estimated. Its Bibliography alone is very extensive, while many of the works included in it are both too bulky and expensive for the general reader. We are thankful, therefore, to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for giving us a portable compendium of all the information as yet available regarding this region. We are sorry to see reproduced, at p. 169, *et seq.*, the absurd rationalistic explanation of the passage, dry-shod, of the Red Sea by means of a gale of wind strong enough to roll back and hold up the waters of a sea: such a wind and its sudden timely burst, with the Israelites being able to march in its teeth, is at least as great a supernatural displacement of the ordinary laws of nature, as the direct interposition in the Scripture text, which is the simpler of the two equally miraculous things. The most interesting part

of a book everywhere interesting, is the localization of the mount on which the Lord spoke. Professor Sayce has given all the most recent results of research on the Sinai peninsula, rendering this little book a welcome boon to the Biblical student.

14. *British East Africa and Uganda*, compiled from CAPTAIN LUGARD'S and other Reports, with Map. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892. 3d.)

15. *Handbook to the Uganda Question*, by ERNEST L. BENTLEY, with Map and Historical Notes. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892. 3d.) These two pamphlets, the maps in which are identical, though evidently written for a special purpose in favour of the British East Africa Company, are deserving of perusal by all who wish to keep abreast with the actual state of affairs there, and to know all that can be said by the party in whose interest they are written. In the first pamphlet, there is, at p. 15, a direct and plain spoken charge against the French priests of trading, and especially in gunpowder. All trade,—this in particular,—is so contrary to the spirit of true missionary enterprise, especially by Catholic priests, that we call attention to it, in the hope that those who have been making so much out of the late unfortunate conflict in Uganda may refute, if they can, this odious accusation, to which some colour is lent by the fact of its mention in a formal treaty between Mr. Gedge and Emin Pasha, before Captain Lugard appeared at all on the scene.

16. *Aurungzebe and The Chase*. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892. 5s.) This, the third volume of *Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, reproduces Dryden's forgotten tragedy, *Aurungzebe* and the second Book of William Somerville's poem called *The Chase*, and is edited by Mr. Kenneth Deighton. Thirty pages of most unnecessary Biography introduce us to the tragedy, which though obsolete can be still seen in almost any library of the smallest pretension, and the literary worth of which certainly does not require its reproduction. The same may be said of *The Chase*. The mere fact of their being feebly framed on portions of Bernier's travels hardly entitles them to a place in an Oriental Miscellany.

17. *Borneo: its Geology and Mineral Resources*, by DR. THEODOR POSWITZ, Member of the Hungarian Institute. (London: Edward Stanford, 1892. 14s.) Dr F. H. Hatch gives us a careful translation of this very painstaking and thorough work. The introduction gives the rather extensive Bibliography of Borneo. The history of its discovery and exploration, the physical geography of the island, and its geological formations in detail are fully and clearly given; and these are succeeded by chapters on each of its mineral productions, among which are petroleum, coal, iron, copper, mercury, gold and diamonds. Four excellent geological maps accompany the book. The author conscientiously sticks to his last, and quits his scientific disquisitions for no side issues regarding men, and manners and customs. His book is, therefore, a perfect repository of technical information only. Too little is yet known of this interesting island; and now that travelling in it is becoming comparatively more safe, the large remainder of the island, which still appears practically a blank on the maps, should be submitted to systematic research. Both the

specialist in geology and the speculator in mining should study this book if they wish to be thoroughly informed on the vast and varied mineral resources of Borneo. Even the general reader, who cannot be expected to enjoy the details of geological research, will find a good deal of useful information and some pleasant reading in Professor Posewitz's 500 pages. The translator's work is well done, though we object to the use of unnecessary new words: such as "water-parting" for the long accepted "watershed," and "Theodor" for "Theodore."

18. *Morocco as it is*, by STEPHEN BONSAI, JR. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893. 7s. 6d.) Here the author (an American Press Correspondent who was with Sir C. Euan-Smith's mission to Fez and who characteristically publishes in 1893, three months before the close of 1892) gives us his experiences and impressions of that country, after more than one visit to it. There is a great deal of information in it regarding the history of the country and its actual state. Many shrewd observations are made, though most are exaggerated. The book on the whole is pleasant to read, interesting and useful. In history, however, Mr. Bonsal is not strong; nor in botany, for he and others recline under the shade of "a mandragora-tree." While his style is distinctly American, he shows considerable weakness as to the meaning of particular words, thus at p. 185, Moors write their histories upon *illuminated missals* (*sic*). He twice fixes the Jewish Sabbath on Friday, and to his American fancy all Sovereigns live in continual fear of assassination! Of Mr. Bonsal's Arabic we say nothing; he does not even profess to know it, though even ignorance should not err in the transliteration of the usual Mussulman salutation. His morality may be gauged by his confessions of lying, his shameful practical joke on the blind, and above all by his having bribed several student youths to steal valuable manuscripts from the Library of the Fez University: all this he himself unblushingly relates. According to Mr. Bonsal's narrative, the Mission deserved a far more signal failure than it met with. To systematic outrage on the religious and other prejudices of the people, they all seem to have added a swaggering assumption and a bragging tone, equalled only by a thoughtless folly and inconsiderateness, which one does not expect in diplomatists. There was an ostentatious parade of wine-drinking, and much else objectionable; and we note that the first cause of the change which took place in the attitude of both the Sultan and his people was due to the defiant intrusion of the party on the sacred waters of Mulai Yacub. That they got away safe from Fez, is more than, on the showing of our author, they deserved. The second part of the book describes an earlier visit than that paid with the British envoy (absurdly called *Bashador* all through); but why it is not put in its proper place at the beginning of the book, we fail to see. Our experience is that a visitor cannot easily gain a correct knowledge of a strange people even when he knows their language and stays a long while and mixes with them familiarly. Hence we always add a note of interrogation to most things said by writers who scamper once or twice through a country of which they know not the language, and for the people of which they show a contempt incompatible with intimate association and just appreciation. What real knowledge can they acquire or communicate?

19. *The Holy City, Jerusalem*, by S. R. FORBES. (Chelmsford: E. Durrant and Co., 1892. 3s.) This is a very peculiar book, quite like a circle, as having no proper beginning or end, and being in value a perfect cypher. Its chronological table most unnecessarily goes up to Adam, yet vexatiously stops at A.D. 530. Amid the array of quotations, many of which are not to any point at all, there is a marvellous confusion of ideas, coupled with Dr. Forbes' well-known dogmatism, not always founded on accurate knowledge, and often without any foundation at all. We instance his explanations about Melchisedek (p. 27) and his assertion about the burial-place of St. Stephen (p. 67). The *raison d'être* of the little book is the discovery in 1882 of the broken bottom of a glass vase, on which is painted a building that Dr. Forbes makes out to be Solomon's Temple, and further, to be its exact representation. That there is not the shadow of a reason for the two suppositions is quite a little matter to Dr. Forbes, who thereupon dogmatizes, as is his wont also in Roman matters. His knowledge of Jerusalem is no ways peculiar; in many matters, like the identification of the hill Golgotha, he is not up to date. In his preface he says: "Avoiding all controversies, but taking the authorities as our guides, we propose . . . get facts out of the fiction, in order to elucidate its topography and antiquities, with a view to rendering service to those of our readers who may or may not visit the Holy City." This is just what he has *not* done.

20. *Hindustani Idioms*, by COL. A. N. PHILLIPS. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892. 5s.) Col. Phillips' thorough knowledge of Hindustani is manifest in this little manual, and well justifies the certificate of High Proficiency which he holds. Every phrase given is in excellent form, though here and there is a wrong termination, especially in gender. It is a useful book; but we do not see in what sense it is a book of idioms. Half of it is a vocabulary of terms all of which can be found in every dictionary. Section VIII., luckily only 3 pages long, called "a few aids to memory," consists of a score of doggerel verses, the right adjectives for which are absurd and atrocious. If legal and official phrases are idioms, Section V has too few of them; if they are not, the section is useless. In fact Col. Phillips does not seem to know precisely what idiom exactly means. Names for family relations (Sect. IV.) e.g. are not idioms. Proverbs are not idioms, though in general idiomatically expressed. Our author gives several proverbs for idioms; but here there are some mistakes. *Unt charhe aur kutta kate* is not to take a mean advantage of, but expresses the acme of bad luck. As an instance of confusion between idiom and merely correct phraseology let us instance No. 122. Aches from jolting in a carriage are correctly enough expressed as *mera tamam badan dard karta hai*; but the idiom or *thait* Hindustani is *mere huddi pasli ek ho gai*, my bones and ribs have become one (mass). The book will, however, be a great help to students.

21. *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, by SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 3s. 6d.) We gladly welcome this—the 20th edition, revised—of what is now a standard work; for its success shows a growing taste for information on Indian subjects.

It is brought down to date---the middle of the current year. To the praise which we willingly accord to this really excellent epitome of geographical, ethnological, religious and historical information regarding India, we must add, in no unfriendly spirit, a few words of criticism. At page 43, 1827 is a misprint for 1857. It is not fair, while naming Lord Roberts in connexion with the last Afghan War, to omit Sir Donald Stewart whose daring and timely march saved the former. De Boigne, Perron, Thomas and the Begum Sumru, surely deserve a passing half-line. Finally, no History of India can be considered complete without a detailed list of all the feudatory Chiefs of India: the absence of this is perhaps the greatest defect in Sir W. Hunter's justly praised work.

22. *Indian Field Sports*, after designs by CAPTN. T. WILLIAMSON. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892. 10s.) With every beauty of paper and printing, this enterprising firm gives us here 10 very pretty coloured plates, in oblong 4to, of Indian hunting-scenes, accompanied with a short letterpress, sufficient to describe the plates: there is a mistake at p. 3, about the Bombay and Bengal mode of spearing boars. Messrs. Constable and Co. have done their work most thoroughly and excellently; and if there are some inaccuracies of drawing, as in the forelegs of the elephant in the right foreground of the first plate, the fault is not theirs. Their book is excellent value.

23. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present*, by R. S. COPPLESTON, D.D., Bishop of Colombo. (London: Longmans and Co., 1892. 16s.) We have here a most valuable contribution to the study of Comparative Religion. Dr. Coppleston is candid, fair, and just in his work, and his wide experience in Ceylon and acquaintance with its ecclesiastical literature render him well qualified to treat of his subject. He limits his investigation to Sinhalese Buddhism only; and it is open to question whether, in a study of Buddhism, professedly undertaken for purposes of comparison with Christianity, it can be fair to the former thus to limit the inquiry, which in consequence is left simply incomplete. Nor can we say that confining his studies (apparently at least) to particular schools of interpretation, notably Professors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, Dr. Coppleston has not lost a good deal which French and other authors, especially Bishop Bigandet of Rangoon, have contributed to the personal history and the tenets of Buddha. Having begun, as all Christians in such case necessarily must, with a *parti pris*, Dr. Coppleston, though he laudably tries to be fair and generally is, falls into occasional harsh judgments; as when he complains that there is no detailed list of virtues, as there is of vices: the former are surely understood by their contraries. He does not seem to allow tradition its full value; for in the East, above all, tradition is eminently conservative, and generally reliable in its main features. We fail to see that Dr. Coppleston has proved that Buddhism acknowledges no God and no soul, as is assumed by him and many others. Whether a soul be distinctly mentioned or not, Karma cannot be conceived as continuous without a real soul to cleave to, any more than accidentals can without their substance. Nor does it follow that because Buddhism is pantheistic in the widest sense, that therefore it owns no God. Again we must object

to the assumption that Nirvana is plain annihilation. This has never been demonstrated; on the contrary much of what Dr. Coppleston himself gives us tends to show that the Buddha still survives in some unknown form of absorption and rest, which again gives us the original form of the heaven of pure reason, rest and union with God of the soul, enfranchised from the mundane passions of *concupiscibile et irascibile*. With these remarks we end our fault-finding in this excellent work, which we have read with pleasure. Excellent it is throughout, in form, spirit, judgment and learning. We note particularly Chapter XXI., Critical History of the Canonical Literature, which for painstaking research, careful deduction, and general correctness of conclusion, is deserving of every attention. Dr. Coppleston has given us a book of the highest merit and greatest interest, one without which no one can hope to form a true idea of one of the purest forms of Buddhism. He notes the many parallels between Buddhism and Christianity—some as he rightly says real, and others simply accidental or merely apparent—but one of the impressions left on our mind after enjoying the perusal of his work is that there is room still for a side-by-side comparison of the words and phrases used in the Christian and Buddhist Scriptures.

24. *Voices from Australia*, by PHILIP DALE and CYRIL HAVILAND. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892. 3s.) This is a neat little book of poems, in two parts—one by each author. Almost everywhere we have pretty touches of local colouring, as in the Christmas wish, which all would gladly see realized:

‘A sunbeam taken from the plenty here
To melt thy snowflakes, I would send thee, dear.’

Among others, there is (of course) a poem on kissing; but considering the antiquity and frequency of that operation, we cannot say that the poet has here told us anything new, or told the old, old story in a new way. There is plenty of good rhyme, and a good deal of sound reason—as sound at least as is generally found in average fugitive poems, giving us a very readable little book, many of the pieces of which are quite appropriate to this season.

25. *Modern Guns and Smokeless Powder*, by ARTHUR RIGG and JAMES GARVIE. (London: Spon and Co., 1892.) To the well-known series of scientific books for which this firm is so justly celebrated, this volume just out is a good addition, giving much information regarding modern substitutes for the now antiquated gunpowder, especially in connection with modern fast-firing and far reaching guns of large calibre.

26. *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta*, by EDWARD CARPENTER. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., 1892. 15s.) The style of this book is a credit to both printers and publishers. The author, though labouring under the serious drawback of not knowing the languages of the countries through which he travels, has given us a series of good sketches of men and things from Colombo to Delli. They are well-drawn, chatty, and graphic. If not always exact, they have the great merit and charm of being written in a spirit of sympathy and admiration for the good

qualities of the natives, which is unfortunately often wanting in the writings of European travellers. The illustrations scattered in it are excellent.

27. *Sketches from Eastern History*, by THEODOR NÖLDEKE. (London and Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1892. 10s. 6d.) From the learned Strassburg Professor we could expect nothing less than a very exact and comprehensive treatise on the matters which he has chosen for this book; nor are we disappointed. He knows his subject thoroughly, and treats it with ease and facility. But we have failed to find in the book anything that is new, or any new thoughts on what was old. What is said is said rather verbosely, the object apparently being to spin out narratives to the utmost. The sketches of Simeon Stylites and Barhebræus are completely out of place in a work which treats mainly of Islam, its book, and its history; but "Eastern" is an elastic term, and in Professor Nöldeke's case seems to include even Abyssinia, for we have a good sketch of King Theodore. The book will yield pleasure and profit to the general reader.

28. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers*, by ROBERT BROWN, vol. i. (London: Cassell and Co., 1892. 7s. 6d.) This is a very beautifully got-up book, with 200 illustrations, executed in Messrs. Cassell's well-known splendid style, including the reproduction of several ancient maps, which are of the greatest importance for comparison with our present knowledge. Dr. Brown does his work most thoroughly. This volume, after a short introduction on Africa and African Ethnology (which we would have liked to see treated more fully), brings down to our own times the history of the Guinea traders, of the Corsairs, of Timbuctoo and the Niger—that is, only a part, of course, of the West Coast. But Dr. Brown does well to take his arduous task up in parts: the next volume promises to deal with the History of the Nile. The present one contains a vast amount of information regarding the older explorers; and among other matters treated are the myths of Pirate treasure-islands, and Prester John. We recommend this series of publications to our readers as promising to furnish a complete Encyclopædia on Africa, both interesting and useful.

29. *The History of Socialism*, by THOMAS KIRKUP. (London and Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1892.) This stout little book, on one of the burning questions of the day, is deserving of careful perusal, in order to understand the present theoretical position of the movement. Neglecting, or at least passing over earlier socialistic theories, some at least of which were attempted to be propagated by force, our author begins with the inevitable Saint-Simon, and gives a well-connected and well-detailed history of socialist movements in various countries. We purposely use the plural, as we fail to see, and our author fails to show, any unity in these scattered and often dissimilar elements. He fails also to show impartially the practical working of the theory in the hands of the violent. Equally does he fail, and rather unaccountably, in noticing the great help given to Socialism by the present Pope and by Cardinal Gibbons, not to mention several other ecclesiastics of high position who have raised their voices for the people, now that sovereign rulers are the ~~ser~~ servants, and not the masters of the Masses. Mr. Kirkup's book is a valuable contribution to the study of a difficult yet urgent and loud-voiced question.

30. *Une Excursion en Indo-Chine*, par le PRINCE HENRI D'ORLEANS. (Paris : Calmann Levy, 1892.) "Because a few have died from the impact of cherry-stones in the *cæcum*, therefore there is no God," was the pithy summing up of an atheist's long-spun-out sophisms. Prince Henri's little pamphlet may be summed up similarly : Because there is coal in Tonquin, therefore a new Algiers, a new France, an Empire at least equal to that of England in the East, is going to be built up in Tonquin by the French, who though long and strongly and expensively established there, still have their periodical convoys chivied regularly by the so-called Pirates ! Prince Henri knows and feels this, and complains of it ; but of course France is destined to have such an Empire, with Prince Henri as Emperor : both results are equally probable.

31. *Japan and its Art*, by MARCUS B. HUISE, I.L.B. (London : Simpkin Marshall and Co., 1892. 12s.) This second edition of a very elaborate work by a competent author enlarges the first and enriches it with the addition of much new matter, especially on Ceramic art. In it, after a sketch of Japan, the author touches on each point in the religion, customs, history, geography, and folklore of the country as far as these have influenced Japanese art and its peculiar style. That style, beautiful and graceful in itself, and elaborated by the genius and skill of many artists whose name and work have survived to the present day, like those of the makers of Italian art, is well described and abundantly illustrated, chiefly from the author's own collection, in this book. It is one that will be valued, especially by the numerous body of collectors of Japanese wares, and will give the ordinary reader an insight into a peculiar style, the taste for which is on the increase, and which well deserves the notice given to it.

32. *An American Missionary in Japan*, by the REV. M. L. GORDON, M.D. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Miffling and Co.) With very little real information about Japan, or even about the working and progress of the particular mission in which Dr. Gordon laboured as a medical missionary, his book gives us an insight into his own superlatively egotistical mind, where much general ignorance (e.g., of the first principles of Buddhism) combines with a self-conceited pose as a teacher of missionaries, and a style, often flippant, always bombastic, to render his book useless to read and very tiresome.

33. *Japan : in History, Folklore, and Art*, by W. E. GRIFFIS. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Miffling and Co., 1892.) This book, smaller in size than the preceding, is pleasant to read and full of varied information, on the subjects of which it treats. The self of the author is a little unduly protruded where not needed—perhaps a national defect. There is less about art than there should be, perhaps because Japanese art cannot be condensed into the very small limits which the size of the work imposed on the author for that section. As a pleasant and amusing book, if not without some faults, we can sincerely recommend it.

34. *Outlines of Egyptian History*, by AUGUSTE MARIETTE. (London : John Murray, Aldemarle Street, 1892. 5s.) Mr. Murray has improved vastly on the first edition of this book, the value of which to the student of

Egyptology is now too well known to need repetition. It is now preceded by a table of the principal kings of Ancient Egypt, with their cartouches given in small but very clear hieroglyphics. This list evidently follows Dr. Brugsch's; and here we remark that the translator has retained the unvarying 33 + 33 + 34 years conjecturally but persistently given to the three monarchs who are made to fill up each century. This average is absurdly high, compared with the average reigns of sovereigns. These have been, *e.g.*, in England 23 years, in Scotland 20, and in Austria 16, while the average of Saxon Kings and Russian Czars has been only 12 years. With the light of actual discoveries this list clearly requires revision. In a few other points, too, the book is scarcely quite up to date; still it substantially includes all that was known of Egyptian History, till late in 1891, and is most useful as a compendious handbook.

35. *Poems in Petroleum*, by JOHN CAMERON GRANT. (London: E. W. Allen, 1892. 2s.) We have not been able to discover much poetry in this volume; and the only connection that we have been able to discover between these poems and petroleum, is that the first would be most appropriately soaked in the second, and a lighted match applied to the whole.

36. *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, par le CAPITAINE BINGER. (Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1892.) This work, in two very fine 4to. vols., records the author's laborious and most interesting African journeys in 1887-1889. It is embellished with one large and several smaller maps, besides over 160 illustrations. He first went from Senegal to the Niger. Thence, by his simple yet graphic narrative, he takes us through the little known regions and tribes he passed through on his devious way to Great Bassam. A traveller of keen perception, acute observation and deep sympathy, nothing escapes his attention. The geographical details of these countries, still marked on our maps as absolute voids; the people who dwell there, with their manners and customs; its natural history, its political, social, religious, and commercial status and prospects, are all incidentally or professedly treated, with thorough knowledge of his subjects. There is a very interesting chapter on Tattoo-markings. But the whole book is a delightful narrative, and while we regret that the unusual pressure on our pages prevents our speaking more at length of the varied contents of this charming book, we cordially invite our readers to enjoy its perusal.

37. *From the Caves and Jungles of Hindustan*, translated from the Russian of H. P. BLAVATSKY. (London: T.P.S., 7, Duke Street, Adelphi.)

Were it not expressly stated that the book before us is a translation of the letters, contributed in 1879 and 1880 by H. P. Blavatsky in leisure moments to the pages of the *Russki Vyesnik*, we should certainly have considered, from the style and mode of expression, that it had been originally written in English. The translator, in a modest preface craves indulgence for shortcomings of which, we feel confident, the public know nought, and even critics could gather but a meagre pile. The letters themselves, which treat of adventures and scenes in India in the language of an imaginative observer, keen sympathizer with the people and brilliant writer, form a fairly coherent whole, and the book is sure to fascinate, to instruct

and also to amuse. On pages 90, 91 *et seq.* is exposed with considerable ability and spirit the extremely fragile basis of the scientific discussions and deductions—only propped up by supreme arrogance—of the Oriental scholar whom Oxford worships as an oracle, and who calmly corrects the chronological tables and religious books of people into whose country he has taken good care never to set foot and whom he in no way comprehends. The book swarms with interesting and vivid descriptions, that of the witch (subsequently exposed as an impostor)—looking “like a skeleton seven feet high covered with brown leather, with a dead child’s tiny head stuck on its bony shoulders”—and her den, being perhaps the most powerful. Want of space forbids our giving quotations.

If many Anglo-Indians never discover anything interesting, important or admirable in India, it can only be due to a lack of sympathy with the people whom they are supposed to govern. To the same cause must be ascribed, in part, that the glories of Aryavarta are fading fast, and that indigenous arts and sciences have almost died out.

38. *Constantine*, the last Emperor of the Greeks ; or, *The Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks*, after the latest historical researches by CHEDOMIL MIJATOVICH, formerly Servian Minister at the Court of St. James. (London : Sampson Low and Co.) This is a very interesting and well written book indeed. It is a matter of surprise that English literature, before the publication of this work, had no monograph on the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. The author has done well to use the graphic chronicles written (probably) by a Serbian, who was a personal witness of the defence of the city, as none of the French or German works seem to have availed themselves of this direct source of information, which is conspicuously detailed and on the face of it most impartial. The description of Sultan Muhammed’s conduct when at last he entered St. Sophia, bears the stamp of internal truth and refutes strikingly the adopted stories of cruelty. We cannot conclude this brief notice without expressing our surprise at seeing in a monthly magazine for November ’92, the *Cosmopolitan*, an article by Mr. Archibald Forbes entitled “A War Correspondent at the Fall of Constantinople,” in which statements and descriptions from the book we are reviewing are reproduced, often almost verbatim, and invariably without any acknowledgment. In fact, Mr. A. Forbes nowhere mentions our author’s name or book, and has even carried his sincere flattery so far as to reproduce several of the illustrations. This is hardly courteous.

39. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1892. £2 2s.) Yet another “Sanskrit Dictionary for Beginners.” Only the other day we had Apte’s from India, and Dr. Cappeller’s, published in London. One is led to reflect on the years that pass without the appearance of a Sanskrit Dictionary professedly for scholars, and comparable in perfection to the great Latin and Greek Dictionaries ; or to that Shah-in-Shah of Word-Books, the New English Dictionary of Dr. Murray. Surely the problems of Sanskrit Lexicology are not less important or less subject to finished treatment than the problems of Latin, Greek, or English. Of original attempts to place Sanskrit Lexicology on the same footing as that of Greece and Rome, we have had only

one: the Great St. Petersburg Dictionary of Böthlink and Roth. And, since then, how many "dictionaries for beginners." We trust that the inference is not, that the "beginners" in Sanskrit greatly outnumber the "continuers;" but rather that all students who have passed the initial stage, go direct to the fountain-head of Sanskrit learning—the schools and libraries of India.

As a "dictionary for beginners" this work of Professor Macdonell's is very nearly perfect. It is clear, comprehensive, and accurate; the system of etymological analysis throughout is excellent; and of the greatest practical use in establishing a sound habit of thought, and in teaching the learner invariably to follow up the root-idea of every Sanskrit word.

Another feature which strikes us as both good and original is the indication of certain words which have first been corrupted into Prākṛit, and then re-adopted into Sanskrit; for example, the words *bhatta* and *bhata* (Sk. *bhartā* and *bhrta*) which we may compare with the English *guardian* and *guard*, which represent re-adoptions of *warden* and *ward* after corruption by French pronunciation.

Yet another good feature is the suggestion of extinct roots for cognate words the link between which is lost; for example *sthū* to explain *sthūla*, *sthavira*, and *sthūni*; and also the printing of all verbal roots in larger type.

So much for the good features of the book. Our objections to it are these: we cannot justify the arrangement by which (e.g.) *nirvāna* is included in the article on *nirvāchya*, while *nirvāta* is contained in a separate article; either all three should have separate articles, or all three should come under one heading, (*nir* or, possibly, to save space *nirv* or *nirvā*, though we confess we do not like the latter arrangement at all).

Then certain etymological details seem to us questionable; is it correct to call *a-sya*, *a-smīn*, *a-smāi* "inflexions of *idam*"? and to connect *idam* with *a-tha*, *a-tra*? *Idam* is really connected not with these but with *i-dā(nim)*, *i-tham*, *i-tas*; the *a*-root, and the *i*-root being quite distinct (p. 1).

Then how does Professor Macdonell justify the form (e.g.) *Kubera* for *Kurera*: the latter is much more probably the true form; as we know the Bengali pronunciation corrupts *r* to *b* as in *Beda* (for *Veda*) and *Boishtob* (for *Vaishuava*); while the contrary process, the corruption of *b* to *r* is much less likely.

Our last objection is, that in the transliteration the *Missionary Alphabet* has been employed. Professor Macdonell confesses that he shares this objection; so that we may hope to see a change made in a second edition. An amusing instance of the impracticability of this theoretically almost perfect alphabet was exhibited in the *Academy* a few weeks ago, in connection with Prof. Max Müller's letters on Namuchi. This name Prof. Müller wrote *Namuki*; while other correspondents, and we are afraid Mr. Andrew Lang must be mentioned among them, were apparently unacquainted with the *Missionary Alphabet*, and wrote *Namuki*; then it became necessary to express the same name in italics, and the hero became *Namuki*, which would really have a totally different sound in the *Missionary*

Alphabet. There was a certain poetic justice in this confusion arising out of a letter by Prof. Max Müller. (*Academy*, nos. 1068, 1069.)

40. *Simon Magus*, by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A. (T.P.S., 7, Duke Street, Adelphi.) A scholarly treatment of a difficult subject. Everyone is acquainted with the allusion to Simon the Magician in the *Acts of the Apostles*: and theological students have further heard of the tradition identifying Simon with Paul. It has been reserved for Mr. Mead, however, to collect all the existing evidence of Simon's character and doctrine, and to piece together a sympathetic portrait from the sneers and condemnations of the too zealous Fathers of the Church.

The following story, from the *Philosophumena* (Hippolytus?) has a very human interest: "Apsethus, the Libyan, wanted to become a god. But in spite of the greatest exertions he failed to realize his longing, and so he desired at any rate that people should *think* that he had become one.

"Well, he collected a large number of parrots and put them all into a cage. For there are a great many parrots in Libya, and they mimic the human voice very distinctly. So he kept the birds for some time, and taught them to say 'Apsethus is a god.' And when, after a long time, the birds were trained, and could speak the sentence which he considered would make him to be thought a god, he opened the cage and let the parrots go in every direction. And the voice of the birds as they flew about, went into all Libya, and their words reached as far as the Greek Settlements. And thus the Libyans, astonished at the voice of the birds, and having no idea of the trick which had been played them by Apsethus, considered him to be a god.

"But one of the Greeks, correctly surmising the contrivance of the supposed god, not only confuted him by means of the self-same parrots, but also caused the total destruction of this boastful and vulgar fellow. For the Greek caught a number of the parrots, and retaught them to say, 'Apsethus caged us and made us say "Apsethus is a god."' And when the Libyans heard the recantation of the parrots, they all assembled together with one accord, and burnt Apsethus alive."

41. *The Death of Oenone, Akbar's Dream, and other poems*, by ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON (Macmillan and Co.), is a most welcome little volume which probably every educated Englishman already possesses. We would however contrast the reality of "Oenone's death" with the tentative hymn in "Akbar's dream," alike gems, but of which one was a creation of the mind of the great Poet Laureate, whilst the other was a sentiment derived from hearsay. The incomparable lines with which the former concludes have been so often quoted that we need not repeat them, but we almost prefer a mere translation of Abulfazl's inscription on a temple in Kashmir to the less real, if truly poetical, last lines of Akbar's Hymn. Compare for instance the former's "Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them stands behind the screen of thy truth" with

"Warble bird and open flower, and men, below the dome of azure
Kneel adoring him the timeless in the flame that measures Time."

Yet what would not Tennyson have made of an Oriental subject, if he had had the material of Arnold's "Light of Asia"!

42. DR. MAX NORDAU has published the first part of a work on *Degeneracy* [*Entartung*—Carl Duncker, Berlin]. We reserve a review of a work that promises to be the leading one of the age on the subject of which it treats to our next number by which time the second part will have appeared. There is no doubt that it will be translated into English, French and other languages of our degenerate civilization, the victims of which will, we hope, be stirred to healthier thought, if not action, by Dr. Nordau's incisive criticism of modern vagaries in Art, Language, Religion, and Social Life. It is fortunate that this distinguished Physiologist and traveller is able to impart the terrible truths of his scientific investigations in a style which will attract even those whose follies he chastizes. Wagnerites, Tolstoites, Preraphaelites and other mystics generally, as also all the glib "*Fin du siècle*" smatterers will be reconciled to the medical treatment of their mental aberration by the sparkling wit, and vast general information of one who is *facile princeps* among German writers and public-spirited observers.

43. *Rapport sur les Etudes Berbères, Éthiopiennes et Arabes*, 1887-1891, par RENÉ BASSET. (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1892. 7s. 6d.) Not the least of the many good results achieved by the IXth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891 was the series of papers by specialists, giving the principal work done and the books published from 1887 to 1891 in each of the sections in which the Congress was divided. The first of these to be published is the one under notice, in which the learned and erudite professor has with infinite pains given a succinct account of what has been achieved during the time indicated, in the matter of the three languages, which he takes up in separate sections. Everything of importance published, both great and small, finds its appropriate place, for nothing seems to have escaped the lynx-eyed professor. Students will therefore find here a perfect bibliography of each of these three languages, which will be a great help for further work in the same line.

A similar summary of research in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, from the series of the same Congress, is in the Press, and will soon see the light. It was compiled by the learned Professor E. Montet of Geneva. The Chinese Summary, by Professor H. Cordier, is also announced. All these Summaries are being published by the Oriental University Institute, Woking, in a uniform size with the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and are at half price for members of the Congress, and for subscribers to the Review.

44. *Notice sur les Dialectes Berbères des Harakta et du Djerid Tunisien*, par RENÉ BASSET. (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1892. 2s.) This is one of the most interesting papers contributed by the learned and versatile professor of the École Supérieure des Lettres d'Algers to the IXth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1891. It is the result of his personal investigations among the people who speak these hitherto unknown dialects of the Berber family. The paper comprises Grammatical notes, a few texts, and a comparative vocabulary, the whole forming a most interesting study for the learned in Berber and cognate tongues.

We hope to review in our next issue the *Lietuvizskieje Kasztai ir Rasztininkai* of Mr. Girėnas, who has sent several of his works to the Lisbon Congress, including a Lithuanian and Sanskrit ode in honour of Her Majesty. This prolific writer is also a great patriot and polyglot, and is an instance of the vitality and genius of his ancient race.

As we are going to Press we have received a very learned account from the famous Sinologist, Professor G. Schlegel of Leyden, of "La Stèle funéraire du Téglin Gioogh" and its Chinese, Russian, and German copyists. We reserve its review to our next issue as also Count Goblet d'Alviella's supplementary note on "The symbolical theme of the sacred tree between two monsters."

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the following works: 1. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. 23 (1891-92). 2. *Ibn Sina*, the Arabic Text edited by Professor Dr. J. Forget, and printed by E. J. Brill of Leyden, worthy of the well-deserved reputation of both editor and publisher. 3. *The Imperial Institute Year Book* for 1892. 4. *The Contemporary Review* (Messrs. Isbister and Sons). 5. *The Civiltà Cattolica*, which among other important articles has an interesting series of papers on the "Morrow of the Deluge". 6. *The American Journal of Philology* (John Hopkins, University Press). 7. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine*. 8. *Le Polybiblion*. 9. *The American Antiquarian* (S. D. Peet, Chicago). 10. *Biblia*. 11. *The Review of Reviews*. 12. *La Revue des Revues*. 13. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires*. 14. *Lucifer*. 15. *The Journal of the Society of Arts*. 16. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Fortunet). 17. *La Revue Generale*. 18. *Actes du 8me Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Section I., "Sémitique A." (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 19. *Panslavism*, by Mme. Elodie L. Mijatovich, a thoughtful well written pamphlet. 20. *The Young Pan* (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 21. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. 22. *Publications of the Geographical Society of Paris for the Year 1892*. 23. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York). 24. *Gesellschaft* (Wilhelm Friedrich, Leipzig). 25. *The Journal of the United Service Association*, Simla.

THE IMPERIAL
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APRIL, 1893.

I.—BURMAN DACOITY AND PATRIOTISM.

BY GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, V.C., K.C.B.

IT has often grieved me to hear the Burmans branded as Dacoits and cowards, not only by newspaper correspondents and letter writers, but also by officers and gentlemen of the Civil Service.

“Dacoit” and “dacoity” are Indian legal terms which may be translated as “gang-robber” and “gang-robbery.” Major Snodgrass never uses them in his narrative of the first Burmese War, and it seems probable that they were introduced by the Civil Authorities who were responsible for the government and good order of the districts occupied by the British after the treaty of Yandaboo.

They are freely used by Laurie and Fytche, the historians of the second Burman War, and by writers concerning Burma during and after the Burman Expedition of 1885. In an account of the condition of affairs in the middle of December, 1885, written by an able author, it is stated that 10,000 *dacoits* were already in motion, east and west of the Irrawaddy, north of Mandalay, that they were strong in the valley of the Chinwin River, and that the *dacoits* east of Minhla had been strengthened by fugitives from Gwe-gyoun Kamyoo, a fortress on the Irrawaddy, which had been captured by the British. The war was commenced on the 14th November, 1885, and a

month afterwards the Burman armies in the field are dubbed Dacoits, or robbers, although it was not till the 1st January, 1886, that the Viceroy of India, by command of the Queen Empress, notified that Upper Burma had become part of her Majesty's dominions, and would be administered by British officers. To this day even the frontiers of Burma have not been settled. Now the Burmese troops east of Minhla, so flippantly termed "dacoits," are detailed in the Royal Order of 7th November, 1885, as follows: The "Kinda Kalabyo" Regiment, the "Royal Glory Achievers" Regiment, the "Cachari Horse" Regiment, the "Auspicious Braves" Horse Regiment, the "Elephanteers" Regiment, Artillery, Body Guards and Volunteers, 5,000 strong under Thamidaw Wun as generalissimo to form the Taungdwengyi column, and four regiments of Infantry, five regiments of Cavalry with Artillery, Body Guards and Volunteers 10,000 strong to form the Toungoo Column. Among the eccentricities and paradoxes of the Burman Expedition may be noticed that the above-named Burman Regiments, with high-sounding titles, had come nominally under the command of the British General, *who therefore commanded both the contending armies*, and that he actually issued orders through the Hlotdau, or Council to these braves, to retire and lodge their arms at the British stations of Minhla, Pagan, Myingyan, and Ava, orders that were not implicitly obeyed, for the Taungdwengyi and Toungoo Columns were not broken up, although the troops under Colonel Dicken and Major Law had encountered them on several occasions, till the end of March, 1886, when converging detachments from Taungdwengyi, Hlinedet and the Irrawaddy were directed to attack them.

I think that enough has been said to show that the term "*dacoit*" is sometimes used in a very slack and unfair way, and that patriots and regular soldiers have often been thus opprobriously classed.

General Macmahon, who knows the people well, in his

"Far Cathay," says : "The Burman with his numerous faults has many virtues. Given to braggadocio, he is withal the very pink of courtesy ; cruel under excitement, he evinces the tenderest compassion for the meanest of God's creatures ; though bigoted, he is extremely tolerant. Apathetic and lazy when he has no need of exertion, he is vivacious and energetic on occasions ; partial to much exaggeration, yet generally truthful ; sober and abstemious, yet prone to excessive indulgence under temptation ; devoid of ambition or sordid desire for wealth, yet keenly anxious for power and the fruit thereof ; full of eccentricities and contradictions though he be, Englishmen thrown into daily contact with the Burman entertain for him, and in turn inspire him with, a kindly feeling rarely met with where natives of India are concerned."

The Burman is gay and light-hearted, he is always jolly, he will eat anything, he loathes work, and he hates drill and discipline, but no one is more expert than he at preparing an entrenchment, erecting a stockade or constructing an abattis ; he can march, and shoot, and ride, and paddle, and swim ; he is a born geographer, even peasants, men and women can read a map ; moreover the Burman is sure that Burmans are superior to other mortals, that they are wiser, better and braver than any other people.

As examples of his disinclination for labour two instances may be quoted. Early in 1886 it was determined to improve and metal some of the roads in Mandalay, but the inhabitants were by no means anxious to be employed on them, and those engaged were lazy ; but one morning the Commanding Engineer exultingly reported that at last he had succeeded in finding work that suited the natives, for the previous evening, having arranged heaps of stone by the road side, he gave to some Burmans the *contract* for breaking them ; they at once handed over the hammers to the women and girls of their families, who finished their task before morning, while the men sat on the ~~heaps~~ ^{heaps} smoking, joking, and enjoying the beauty of the moonlight night.

These contracts were very popular, and the working parties were very picturesque and joyous.

About the same time the construction of a road from Toungoo towards Mandalay was commenced with the idea of bringing the Burmans together in gangs of workmen and thus pacifying the country. The engineers, however, soon found that nothing would induce the Burman to dig ; he would cut down trees and brushwood, and would make the wooden bridges because he fancied that kind of occupation, but nothing would induce him to touch the earth-work, so it was actually necessary to employ Telugu coolies from the Northern Division of Madras to construct the military road that was urgently wanted to facilitate the movements of troops and stores.

When comparing the courage in war of the Buddhist with that of the Mussulman it is necessary to remember that the former is forbidden by his religion to take life, while the follower of the Prophet attains a glorious hereafter as a reward for death in defence of the faith. But are we entitled to say that the Burmans are cowards ?

Sir Archibald Campbell, who commanded the British Forces, spoke highly of the conduct of the enemy on many occasions. On 1st July, 1824, at Rangoon, they stood till 1,000 Burmans had been killed ; on the 8th October, 1824, a force of 900 men under Lieut.-Colonel Smith was defeated at Kykloo with the loss of 7 officers and 88 men.

On the 7th March, 1825, Brigadier-General Cotton with 1,168 men failed in his attack on the outworks of Donabue ; Sir Archibald Campbell marched to his assistance with 2,400 men, but it was not till the 2nd April, after their famous General, Maha Bandoola, had been killed by a shell, that the Burmans retreated from their works at Donabue.

On the 7th January, 1825, Lieut.-Colonel Conry's attack on Sittang failed utterly ; and on the 11th January Colonel Pepper's columns of attack on the same place, though victorious, were much cut up by the enemy's fire.

In the 2nd war the Burmans were again victorious at Donabue. A force of bluejackets, marines, and 67th Bengal N.I., with 25 officers and two 3-pounder guns, under Captain Loch, C.B., R.N., attacked Donabue, but were defeated, with the loss of Captain Loch and 82 officers and men and the 2 guns. Sir John Cheape with strong reinforcements of men and 2 guns then attacked Donabue, and after a gallant struggle entirely defeated Myat-toon on the 19th March, 1853, but the victory was at times within an ace of being a defeat.

During the 3rd Burmese War I do not think that any considerable British force has been defeated, but, on many occasions, the Burmans have shown real gallantry, and occasionally the enemy has roughly handled detachments of our troops. Considering the vast superiority of the British ordnance and rifles, it must be conceded that some courage must have been displayed by our foe in keeping the field against such odds.

The fact is that the Burman has learnt war in a different school from the British; in 1824-26 he invariably made use of fortifications and stockades except at the decisive battle of Pagan; in 1852-54 he again distinguished himself by his skill in field-works and stockading, notably at Donabue, Prome, and Pegu; and in the operations from 1885 to the present time he has habitually fought behind stockades or other cover.

The Burmans, having neither drill nor discipline, wisely abstain from fighting in open plains, where they could not manœuvre, but would certainly be mown down by troops skilled in the use of arms of precision having a range far longer than that of their own firearms. Burmans are quite aware that for them to form line and charge would be folly; "it may be magnificent but it is not war," but in laying an ambuscade, in fortifying the platform of a pagoda when he knows that an enemy is obliged to pass close to it, the Burman is an adept, and his assaults have often been delivered with great spirit.

Fytche, who knew how to handle them, made excellent use of his Burman Levies in January, 1853, at Eng-ma Khyoung-you, the affair near Lemena, and in his retreat before Myat-toon, in March, 1853.

Although it seems absurd and unjust to class whole divisions of troops in the field as "dacoits," and to speak of 10,000 gang-robbers being assembled in a district, and to stigmatize patriots fighting in defence of their country, and bands of warriors not more guilty than the foragers in the days of Rob Roy, as "dacoits," yet it must be admitted that throughout Burma "dacoity"—to use a common expression—is a favourite pastime. No young man is held in esteem by the girls of his village who has not taken part in one or more of these expeditions.

A and B resolve to plunder C; they make up a party and do so; C does not fight, but clears out of his house promptly, and is robbed of everything he possessed. The neighbours commiserate C. One gives him a bullock, another a cart, a third some clothes, and he is not much the worse for the misadventure. After a time C thinks it is his turn, and with the aid of D attacks A's house; again very little harm is done; but when A and B combine to plunder E, the Englishman or angry Burman, E does not play the game. He, in defence of his property, uses his rifle and sword, and there is bloodshed, horrible gashes with the dah, and trouble afterwards; but that is all because he does not understand the system and accept the custom of the country.

I am not an advocate for robbery in this or any other form, but my desire is to show that Burmans bearing arms are not always dacoits, and that dacoits do not always use arms.

It is very easy for men drilled, disciplined, instructed in tactics, and practised in the use of the Martini-Henry or magazine rifle to taunt undisciplined Orientals armed with swords, spears, fowling-pieces, or, at best, with rifles to which they are unaccustomed, because they prefer wood-

fighting to meeting the enemy in the open. But how would it be if the weapons were changed? Till fighting under such conditions has been tried, are we entitled to consider Burmans cowards? They certainly face death with the greatest composure. I am convinced that Burmans have many qualities most valuable to soldiers, and I believe that Burmans properly dressed, efficiently armed, discreetly treated, and well commanded by officers, selected not on account of smartness only, but for accurate and sympathetic knowledge of the people, their customs, and their language, and for sound sense and activity, would be most valuable auxiliaries in warlike operations within and beyond the frontiers of Burma.

II.—BURMESE POLITICS.

THE conduct of King Theebaw had, since his accession to the throne, been, at all times, unsatisfactory and, occasionally, insolent, yet so long as the Kingdom of Ava occupied an isolated position, the British Government could afford to submit to much provocation, but when the external policy of the Burmese Court indicated designs which, if prosecuted with impunity, could only result in the establishment of preponderating foreign influence in the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, it became impossible for Her Majesty's Government to view the situation without considerable anxiety. In March 1885, a contract for a Royal Bank at Mandalay was signed at Paris and a treaty with France granting a monopoly of railroads was signed in January 1885 and ratified on 25th November 1885; in August 1885 King Theebaw attempted to impose a ruinous fine on the British Burma Trading Company and on the 7th November 1885 orders were issued for the mobilization of the Burman Army and for the march of the advance guard in three columns towards the frontier, the 1st down the Irrawaddy River, the 2nd on Taungdwaingyi, and the 3rd on Toungoo.—War was then declared; the Head

Quarters of the Expeditionary Force crossed the frontier on the 15th November, and Theebaw sued for peace on the 25th (the day on which the monopoly of railways was assigned to France). He was formally dethroned and deported from his Capital on the 29th, and his country was annexed to the British Empire on 1st March 1886. Although with the blessing of Providence and by means of the thunder of heavy guns and the rattle of musketry, by good luck and prudent management, the conquest of Burma and the overthrow of the dynasty of Alompra had been accomplished within a fortnight and the programme issued by the Government of India and Commander-in-Chief had been so completely carried out that Burma from the British frontier to Mandalay seemed to be tranquil, yet looking to the prospect of risings among the natives and to the probability that China would emphasize her objections to the British invasion of Burma by occupying the Northern Districts, the Commander of the Expeditionary Force, having on his own initiative in December 1885 at considerable risk seized and garrisoned with Artillery and Infantry the important Station of Bhamo (250 miles North of Mandalay), which is on the confines of China, and commands the trade routes from Yunnan, established friendly relations with the Chinese frontier authorities. By this decided move the restless spirits on both sides of the border were prevented from raiding and breaking the peace; and in consequence of it the Court of Peking accepted the fact that Bhamo was no longer a part of the Kingdom of Ava, but would, in future, be administered by British officers, loyally recognized the frontier as it existed in the days of King Theebaw and agreed that the boundary between Burma and China shall be marked by a Delimitation Committee, consisting of officers of both nations.

The war with Burma was undertaken simply to obviate the preponderance of other European Powers in farther India; it was quickly finished, but the British Government had not determined beforehand what was to be the fate of

the country after the deposition of the reigning monarch, so it was impossible to act with the energy needed to thoroughly subjugate a territory containing 100,000 to 200,000 square miles, that had for years been in a state verging on anarchy; consequently there were disturbance and brigandage and confusion in Upper Burma for a time. Even in many places where military force existed for the purpose of keeping order there were not sufficient administrative officers, civilians were scarce, and military officers could not be spared; the people were not hostile, but there was no one to assure them that they would be protected and to encourage them to live a peaceful and righteous life, no one to act as their friend and shield when threatened by revolutionary or hostile neighbours. After the more accessible districts had settled down under the charge of Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners it became necessary to deal with Chins and Kachins, dwellers in mountains and forests far from the haunts of civilized man. The golden rule in the East as elsewhere is "first make up your mind deliberately what you should do or get and then do it or acquire it, no matter what the difficulties or obstacles; and on the other hand take nothing that you do not want, and nothing to which you have no right." The Burmo-Siamese frontier has been delimited. Before marking the boundary between Burma and China, it was the duty of engineers and surveyors to ascertain what places must be held by the British for the sake of international trade and for strategical reasons. The obligatory points having been determined it is useless, nay criminal, to postpone the day of delimitation, the interests of all parties being identical. China no longer adheres to her traditional policy of isolation and exclusiveness; she is anxious to promote trade and to ensure a peaceful frontier, and, as matter of fact, China was never opposed to export trade into Burma. The British Empire is large enough and should not be increased by the acquisition of useless territories, and the British Army is not so strong that England can afford to fritter away her Battalions

in unnecessary and inglorious struggles with turbulent Kachins and border tribes ; but, at the same time, England should never retreat, and never relinquish what has once been hers.

British columns have of late been visiting the Kachins north of Bhamo in their fastnesses and the Kachins have in the same way as their neighbours been designated *Dacoits*. It is very important that the policy of England with regard to the Chinese frontier shall, unlike that pursued in the North-West with regard to Afghanistan, be firm, consistent and conciliatory. By such a system we may hope not only to attract the trade of China, but also to induce the immigration of valuable settlers into the fertile, but scantily inhabited, valleys of Upper Burma, and may secure the cordial co-operation of China in such arrangements as may be necessary to prevent encroachments in the Pamir.

THE CHIN AND THE KACHIN TRIBES ON THE BORDERLAND OF BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO,

Burmese Lecturer, Cambridge University.

By the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the British Government was brought face to face with a number of hill tribes inhabiting its mountainous fringe of borderland, of which the Chins and the Kachins have proved to be the most troublesome. Ethnically, these tribes belong to that vaguely defined and yet little understood stock, the Turanian, which includes among others the Chinese, Tibetans, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and the Turks. The evidence of language, so far as it has been studied, leaves little doubt that ages ago China exercised much influence on these Turanian races, whose habitat, it is said, included the whole of, at least, Northern India before its conquest by the Aryans. As in India, so in Burma, one of the problems of administration presented to the British Government is how best to effect the regeneration of these ancient peoples, who have now lapsed into savagery, and are devoid of any power of cohesion, in order that they may be a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the Empire.

Omitting certain districts of Lower Burma, where numbers of Chins are found, the country inhabited by their wilder brethren may be described as touching Burma on two sides, namely, on the east of Arakan, and on the west of Upper Burma; or, in other words, it may be described as the block of country entirely surrounded on all sides by territory under direct British administration or protection as the State of Manipur. The recalcitrant Chins recently referred to in the English newspapers are those who inhabit the latter locality, and who owed allegiance to the late ruler of Upper Burma. They are a strong and hardy race of fierce and desperate fighters, who take a special delight in raiding into adjoining districts, kidnapping men, women,

and children, and driving off cattle. The human captives are either sold into slavery, or held to ransom; and be it said to the credit of the Chins, that they are not cruel task-masters to their slaves. Raiding appears to be one of the normal conditions of their existence. By raiding their numbers are reduced, which is thus a check on the population; and, if successful, a more bountiful food-supply is secured. They may be described as agricultural nomads, moving continually from one locality to another in search of new lands for cultivation. Their system of agriculture is extremely wasteful. It consists in burning down tracts of forests and sowing, on the land, their cereals without ploughing or irrigating it or transplanting the seedlings. Holes are made in the ground with a pointed bamboo and a few seeds are placed in each of them. Their agricultural outturn and the spoils of their chase are hardly sufficient to keep them in health and comfort. Their supplies have to be supplemented from the plains, whence they must also get their salt, and the materials for chewing and smoking—to which they are extremely addicted—such as tobacco, cutch, lime, and betel-nut, besides cotton twist or cotton fabrics to keep themselves warm.

The Chins are broken up into a number of tribes or clans, whose basis of organization is the worship of common tutelary deities, or consanguinity, real or fictitious. Their language presents many dialectical differences, which are so pronounced that they are liable to be taken for linguistic differences. Continual feuds and constant warfare have caused their segregation, and their estrangement from each other.

The Chins have some very quaint traditions which may be of some interest to students of anthropology. They say that mankind sprang from 101 eggs laid by their god Hli. From the last egg were produced the first male and female Chin, who stood in the relation of brother and sister to each other. These two got separated; and when they met each other again the brother had espoused a bitch. The sister wanted to marry her brother, and she appealed

to Hli for assistance. The god advised that certain presents should be given to the bitch in order to induce it to give up its conjugal rights. The advice was followed, and the happy consummation was brought about. It is said that, owing to this circumstance, the worship of the dog *nat* or spirit as the tutelary deity of Chin women, was instituted. Be this as it may, the dog still plays an important part in the religious ceremonies of the Chins, and is used for sacrifice as the sheep was among the ancient Hebrews.

They have another tradition that the mediator between Hli and mankind is Maung Sein, or Nga Thein. This deity plays the rôle of a reporter, and the happiness or torment of mortals depends on his accounts of their actions in this life.

Of all the surrounding tribes, the Chins appear to reflect most the pre-Buddhistic phase of the Burman. Some of the customs of these two peoples, as those relating to marriage, inheritance, and slavery are so strikingly similar, that he who would like to know about the Burmese people of prehistoric times might, with advantage, study the language, habits, manners, and customs of their congeners, the Chins. The fact was recognized by the late Professor Forchhammer of the Rangoon College and the Honourable Mr. Justice Jardine, now of the Bombay High Court, at whose instance a compilation was made of the Customary Law of the Chins *

* Mr. Jardine and the late Dr. Forchhammer made a number of translations of the Burmese Manus, and proved that they were the famous Hindu Manus in a Buddhist and Páli form. They are contained in "Jardine's Notes on Buddhist Law," Nos. 1 to 8 (the recognized authority on that Law); "The Jardine Prize Essay on Burmese Law" by Dr. Forchhammer, and "The Wagaru Dhammathat" by Dr. Forchhammer—Text and Translation. We regret that since the departure of Mr. Jardine, the study of Burmese Law should have been much neglected, and these interesting researches should have been discontinued. The "Customary Law of the Chins," by a Burmese Magistrate at Thayetmyo, was in Burmese Manuscript, pigeonholed and forgotten at the Rangoon Secretariat, when Mr. Jardine and Dr. Forchhammer disinterred it, got it translated and edited it. It also contains an introduction by Mr. Jardine and some remarks by Dr. Forchhammer, as also by Col. Horace Browne, a former Commissioner of Pegu. It is well worth reading as the Chins are a curious people, about whom also much is said in "the Gazetteer of Burma."—ED.

The Kachins, or Singphos, as they are called in Assam, are a race of hardy mountaineers, whose habitat extends from that country to the frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan. The disruption in the eleventh century A.D. of the powerful ancient Shan Kingdom of Pong or Mogaung, which had hitherto served as a breakwater against the waves of barbarian immigration from the west, appears to have facilitated the irruption and the subsequent settlement of the Kachins in the valley of the Irawadi, where they are now found. In several localities they have ousted their weaker neighbours, the Shans; and they have advanced as far as the Ruby Mines district to the north of Mandalay. Their encroachments on the Shan States, especially North Theinni or Hsenwi, have been steadily going on, and the development of their earth-hunger has been assisted by their employment as mercenaries, to support certain parties or chiefs who were divided in council. The Kachins, however, who are now creating disturbances, and against whom military operations are being undertaken, are those residing within the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo, and of the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States.

The settlement of the relations between the Kachins and the British Government is an important matter, because it materially affects the peace and order of Burma. Opium, which is extensively grown in Yunnan, is smuggled by the Kachins into British territory, together with liquor and arms. Their hills afford also a convenient asylum to many bad characters, rebels, and other disturbers of the public peace, who are a standing menace to the plain country. Some of the principal trade-routes between Burma and China are dominated by the Kachins; the india-rubber forests, the jade quarries, and the amber mines are situated in their country; and their exactions and harassments are most vexatious, and are stifling the resuscitated commerce, which requires every fostering care. Besides, they have repeatedly committed raids on the settled villages in the

plain country, and have in some cases assumed a defiant and sullen attitude in their intercourse with the paramount power.

The one great difficulty in dealing with the Chins and the Kachins is their want of any inter-tribal coherence. Almost every village forms an independent community; society is loosely organized among them; *vendetta* is the common motive for aggressive action; and the authority of the chiefs is neither supreme nor effectually exercised. The decisions of the elders of a tribe frequently over-ride the commands of its chief; and such decisions are generally based upon superstitious omens. The Chief Commissioner of Burma has, however, attempted to wield these inchoate units into germs of harmonious village communities, by granting *sanads* to the *de facto* chiefs, who are assured of British protection on condition of paying a light tribute as a visible token of submission, and exercising their lawful rights in accordance with custom and usage. There can be no doubt of the practical results of this plan of settlement, beneficial alike to the Government and to these wild hillmen.

Many of the Kachins have visited the head-quarters of the Bhamo district, and have seen with their own eyes British forts and British guns, and other appliances of civilized warfare. Last year an attempt was made to produce a similar impression of British power on the Chin chiefs of the Siyin tribe. A party of them were brought down to Rangoon under the charge of a young Burmese officer, and were shown the men-of-war, the arsenal, etc. They stayed several days at Rangoon, and went back to their country. Their memory must either be very short, or the impression produced on them too evanescent; because not long after their return home they broke out again, cutting telegraph-wires and setting British authority at defiance. A party of Sepoys with the officer, who had accompanied the chiefs to Rangoon, was sent out to meet them, and the young Burman, who was a most promising officer, was shot dead.

The Chins and the Kachins will seldom acknowledge their defeat, because they imagine that human beings in their quarrels and fights are always assisted by their tutelary deities, who are something like the Homeric gods. They may be defeated and routed to-day, but who knows that, by the help of their gods, victory may not be theirs to-morrow ?

These hill-tribes seem to identify the advent of British rule with the extinction of slavery, which is a most cherished institution among them, with the cessation of all raids and slave-hunting expeditions, and of the levying of blackmail. They strongly resent their being deprived of the exercise of their predatory habits, and they chafe at being put under any settled form of government which imposes upon them the duty of living by peaceful industry. In their treatment of women, the intensity of their feuds, their repugnance to manual labour, their fidelity to their chiefs, their superstition and their fine sense of honour, they resemble somewhat the Scottish Highlanders at the time of the Revolution ; and, as in the case of the latter, it will take some time before they settle down, become reconciled to the new order of things, and learn to adapt themselves to the new set of circumstances.

At present both the Chins and the Kachins are unlettered races. Though several systems of alphabet have been invented for them by certain Christian missionaries, they still remain untaught, uneducated, ignorant, and superstitious. However, there exist grounds for hoping that education and progress will follow in the wake of peace and order, upon a life weaned from primitive barbarism, as exemplified in the case of the Karens of Lower Burma, whose transformation was effected by the noble efforts of the American Baptist Missionaries, headed by Wade and Mason.

The policy pursued by the late Burmese Government towards these wild hill tribes was one of *laissez faire*, and consisted in conciliating them by conferring gold umbrellas

and grandiloquent titles on their chiefs. Their submission was never complete, and they often resisted successfully the advance of the Burmese forces sent against them. It is true that some of them paid tribute in the shape of ivory, beeswax, gold-dust, etc.; but the payment was intermittent, and raids on the plains were frequent. Such a state of things cannot now be tolerated under a highly organized form of Government. A disturbance in one part of the country reacts on another, dislocates trade, and interrupts communication; and it is a policy beneficial to all concerned, to make these wild tribesmen amenable to the orders of the paramount power, and to convince them that it is to their interest to settle down into peaceful and law-abiding communities.

In connection with the Burmese method of dealing with these savage tribes, it may be of interest to mention something about the oath of allegiance administered to their chiefs. These tribesmen do not recognise the sanctity of merely religious or moral sanctions; and the Burmese Government appears to have considered that the best guarantee for the due observance of the obligations contracted by them would be to prescribe certain formalities based on their prevailing superstitious practices. The indigenous custom of taking an oath of friendship among the Chins is as follows: The contracting parties and their friends meet at an appointed place, and proceed to kill a number of dogs, and boil them in huge caldrons. The spokesman of one party then declares: "As long as the horns of the buffalo remain crooked, as long as hills and mountains remain immovable, and as long as streams and rivers continue to run their course, we will remain faithful friends, help each other in the hour of need, and associate together in concord, as brothers of the same parents. I call upon the deities to bear witness to this compact of amity and friendship." This done, the contracting parties proceed to drink rice-beer—their national beverage—in which spears and swords have been dipped, and to eat

the dog-flesh in honour of the solemn occasion. The spears and swords symbolise that if faith is broken, the defaulting party will meet with sure death from a sword or spear. The Kachin oath is somewhat different. A bamboo platform is constructed, and a buffalo is killed near it. A portion of the blood of the slaughtered animal is procured and mixed with native spirits, in which spears and swords are dipped. Then, after invoking the presence of his tutelary deities, each chief comes up to drink the liquor, muttering imprecations that, should he be unfaithful to the compact, some dire calamity may befall him. The Burmese form of the oath of allegiance is devoid of the slaughter of animals. The obligations imposed, and the imprecations attached to the breach of them, are written down on a piece of paper. The highland chief, to whom the oath is administered, kneels down with his face in the direction of the Burmese Capital, and, holding this paper in both hands, recites its contents, after the Burmese master of the ceremony. Then the paper is burnt, and the ashes are thrown into a bowl of water, in which models of the five kinds of weapons, namely, the arrow, sword, spear, gun, and the cannon, are dipped; and this water is handed to the chief, who drinks it.

The extension of the *pax Britannica* over the Chins does not involve any international complications as that over the Kachins does. But it is to be hoped that the friendly relations happily subsisting between England and China will go a long way to minimize possible difficulties and misunderstandings, and to accelerate the work of pacification and civilization which the British Government have undertaken to perform; and that the delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, about which negotiations are in progress in London, will settle once for all the question of territorial limits of the two Powers in regard to the belt of debateable country inhabited by the Kachins.

The accidental phonetic resemblance between the words Chin, Kachin, and China is apt to be associated in the

popular mind in this country with some pronounced political connection between the Chinese and these tribesmen. No misapprehension is more misleading than this; because, except in the case of a portion of the Kachin tribes living in jurisdiction which is admittedly Chinese, the influence of China is, at the present time, neither felt nor acknowledged by these mountaineers. In common with many tribal designations in Asia, both the appellations, *Chin* and *Kachin*, signify "man" *par excellence*. The word *Chin* is a Burmese corruption of the Chinese *Jin* or *Yen*; and *Kachin* is a term obtained by coining. It is made up of *Ka*, meaning *body* or *person* (which is etymologically related to the Chinese numerative *Ko*), and *Chin*, a corruption of the abbreviated form of *Singpho*, signifying *man*, by which the Kachins designate themselves. The appellation *Chin*, unlike *Singpho*, is not a national designation known to the Chins, who call themselves *Shu*.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that some measure of recognition is now accorded to Burmese affairs in Parliament, which has to deal with matters relating to a world-wide empire. On the 7th February last, Mr. Graham elicited a reply from the Under Secretary of State for India regarding the five military police parties engaged in the Bhamo district. Again on the 23rd of the same month Mr. Gibson Bowles asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the cause and origin of the warlike operations carried on against the Kachins on the Upper Irawadi, whether any representations had been received from the Chinese Government deprecating British interference with the territory of the Kachins, and whether the information in his possession showed that the continuance of warlike operations against the Kachins might lead to irruptions of Chinese similar to those of the "Black Flags" encountered by the French in Tonkin. Sir Edward Grey replied: "The operations in question were rendered necessary by repeated raids of the Kachin tribes in the hills, on the settled villages situated in the plain country

east of the Irawadi. An attempt was first made to repress these by punitive expeditions, and as that measure proved insufficient, a more definite attempt was made in 1891 and 1892 to enforce order among the tribes with a view to the safety of the villages under our jurisdiction, and the proper protection of the great trade routes between Yunnan and Mandalay. Representations have been made by the Chinese Government, and explanations have been given in reply, which have been received in a friendly manner. Negotiations are in progress with China for a settlement of the frontier which, it is hoped, may shortly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is not desired to continue the operations longer or further than is necessary for the object already mentioned, and there is no reason to believe that they will give rise to Chinese irruptions of the nature indicated. At this stage of the negotiations it would not be desirable to make the correspondence public."

Latest advices from Burma indicate that the refractory Kachins in the neighbourhood of Bhamo were encouraged to persevere in their unreasonable and unequal struggle by the persuasion of the ex-Sawbwa or Chief of the Shan State of Wuntho, who was himself to blame for his deposition and exile. It will be remembered that since the British annexation of Upper Burma this Chief had rejected all offers of friendship, had refused to meet responsible officers to discuss the relations of his State with the Government, and had placed all possible obstacles against the project of constructing a railway through his territory. Not content with assuming an attitude of disloyalty and mistrust, he violated British territory in 1891 by sending armed men across the frontier. The challenge thus thrown down was accepted. He was driven to the Kachin hills; and his State was amalgamated with the British district of Katha in Upper Burma. He has now shown his hand in stirring up disaffection and strife among the hillmen, who have afforded him a safe asylum. The other agency which is playing a similar rôle among the

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Kachins in the vicinity of Theinni is Saw Yan Naing, the elder of the Chaunggwa Princes, one of the numerous grandsons of Mindôn. In the early days of the annexation he was one of the claimants to the vacant throne ; and numerous lives were lost before he was forced to seek an asylum in the Kachin hills on the Burmo-Chinese frontier. These two foci of disaffection have to be reckoned with in dealing with the Kachins, whose credulity and gullibility, like that of the Chins, is unbounded, especially when their fair-spoken seducer has donned the garb of authority or is of royal extraction. The Chins, a few years ago, experienced the consequences of rallying round the standard of a Pretender, the *soi-disant* Shwegyobu—Prince, of plebeian extraction.

The precise cause of the recrudescence of disorder among the Chins cannot yet be explained ; but it is hoped that the spirit of unrest is not general among them, and that it will subside without prolonging the necessity of the employment of armed force in inducing them to accept British suzerainty cordially and peacefully.

In dealing with the Chins and the Kachins, it might be as well to bear in mind that among them, as was among the ancient Romans, to avenge the death of a kinsman is more than a right : it is a religious duty. for his manes have to be appeased ; and that it is more than probable that the notion of blood-feud, which is supposed to have been created between them and the British Government, is responsible in some measure for the repeated disturbances among these wild tribesmen.

Cambridge,
March 14, 1893.

In independent corroboration of the above valuable and interesting article, we quote the following remarks in a letter which we have received from Mr. J. ANNAN BRYCE, who is an authority on Chin and Kachin matters.—ED.

“The question of the Kachins, Chins, and the like is a somewhat difficult one. My point at the Society of Arts was that by the annexation of Upper Burma we had brought upon ourselves the question of these frontier tribes, which by a simple mediatization might have been avoided. As it is, I think it is quite impossible for us to avoid reducing these tribes to order. You see it is not we who attack them, but they who attack us. In the days of the Kings of Burma, all these tribes were in the habit of making raids and carrying off the quiet Burmans and Shans into captivity, and the Kachins were continually advancing South and driving before them the peaceable Palaungs and Shans. It is absolutely impossible for us to allow that kind of thing to go on. It is a mere question of good order and police, and, apart from that, the Shans, Palaungs, etc., are more desirable subjects than the Kachins and Chins.

“Moreover, apart from the necessity of maintaining the Queen’s peace, even if our policy meant the extinction of these peoples, which it does not necessarily do, there would not be the same reason for regret as at the extinction of a nationality like the Burmese. These tribes are totally uncivilized, and have not, properly speaking, a conscious nationality. They are a congeries of small tribes, who war on each other as much almost as on the Burmans and Shans.

“Nor do I think that our operations against these people will necessarily get us into trouble with China, though conceivably they might do so. If there were a complete buffer formed by them between us and China, the objection to operations against them would have been greater, but it is not so. On the Eastern frontier of the Shan States, further South, we are already in actual contact with the Chinese, so the evil, such as it is, already exists. That evil also would have been entirely avoided if we had abstained from annexing Upper Burma—another reason against that annexation.”

INDIAN OFFICIAL OPINIONS ON TRIAL BY JURY

BY THE HON. J. JARDINE,
Judge of the Bombay High Court.

THE issues raised by public opinion, on the order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, are of grave importance. They have been discussed from the official's point of view all over India, as appears from the papers published by the Government. That interesting compilation contains the history of the matter, which may be shortly stated here. In the year 1861 the first Code of Criminal Procedure for the whole of India was enacted: this empowered the local Governments to extend to interior districts the system of jury trial, which under Acts of Parliament and Charters had long existed in the Presidency Towns. Without losing time, the Government of Bengal in 1862 availed itself of this power: and ever since then, murders, robberies and many other crimes have gone before the juries in the seven great districts into which the system was introduced. Now, with the approval of the Viceroy, murders and some less important cases have been withdrawn from the juries: and will under the new order be tried by the Sessions Judge, sitting with two or more Assessors. The law requires the latter to pronounce their opinions in open Court. The Judge is bound to consider these opinions, but not obliged to follow them. Thus the responsibility for correct decision on the facts as well as the law rests with the Judge. Whereas, when a jury finds a verdict, whether it be unanimous or that of the majority, the Judge *is* bound to accept their view of the facts and pass judgment in accordance, unless he differs from it *so completely* as to make him consider it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the case to the High Court. In that event, he prepares a statement of his opinion: the record comes before the superior tribunal: the whole case

is re-argued there much in the some way as an appeal, which the law allows, as of right, from the decision of a Sessions Judge sitting with Assessors. The responsibility for correct decision is thus thrown on what I may call the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court. This machinery was designed to save the new and rather exotic institution of trial by jury from the reproach of corrupt and perverse verdicts. In Bombay, as many reported cases show, it is the practice of the High Court not to interfere with the verdict, unless it is shown to be manifestly and clearly wrong. Thus a reasonable verdict is upheld, without making a strict inquiry into its correctness. The same practice obtained for many years at Calcutta; but, as Mr. Justice Prinsep points out in a published Minute, there have arisen different opinions among the learned Judges, some of whom hold that the High Court, once a case has been referred to it, is bound to determine not merely whether the verdict is reasonable but whether it is correct. It may be added that the Viceroy, anxious to keep up the responsibility of juries, has declined to pass a declaratory act on this vexed point of interpretation.* His Excellency has also refused to enact that *whenever* a Judge differs from the jury, he shall refer the case to the High Court. The only change to be made in the law is based on a suggestion of the Justices Birdwood, Candy and Telang of the Bombay High Court, to enable the Sessions Judge, "whether before or after a general verdict has been given, to take special verdicts from the jurors on particular issues of fact, and perhaps on the general credibility of particular evidence." It remains to add that Sir Charles Sargent, the Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Farran gave their weighty opinions against the proposed novelty in procedure.

After stating as above how the fabric of law about trial by jury stands to-day, and how it is proposed to repair it, I will proceed to the objections which have been taken to

* I refer the learned reader to the following leading cases on the point : *Empress v. Itwari*, I. L. R. 15 Cal. 269 ; *Dada Ana's Case*, I. L. R. 15 Bombay 452 ; *Empress v. Guruvada*, I. L. R. 13 Mad. 343.

it by the various authorities whose opinions make up the printed compilation presented to the public. The sphere of trial by jury can be expanded or contracted, like hydraulic pressure, by mere order of an Indian Government, without any change in the law. The Viceroy, it appears, was informed in 1890 that "the jury system has in some degree favoured the escape of criminals," and in May of that year he demanded from the provincial governors a report on its working, and as to "what opinion is entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime." It must be borne in mind that the Viceroy in Council bears a responsibility for the whole of India, and that an Act of Parliament confides to him the control of all the civil and military establishments. But in this particular matter, the supposed tendency of trial by jury to favour the escape of criminals, he had been forestalled in Bombay, not by the Governor, watchful over public order, nor by the High Court, anxious about justice, nor by the public, clamorous against perverse verdicts, but by an Under Secretary engaged in compiling statistics. The first batch of opinions sent up by the Bombay Judges, including the proposal about special verdicts, are comments on the Under Secretary's conclusion from statistics that the proportion of convictions by juries in murder cases was unduly low. The Under Secretary's views do not appear in the print: but we find the Bombay Government delivering opinion that throughout the Presidency murders had steadily increased, and convictions had fallen off 17 per cent. in the non-jury districts, and 32 per cent. in the jury districts: that in three districts it was the general opinion that murder cases should cease to be put before a jury, and that in the Presidency Town of Bombay, and in Karachi, Poona and Thana, the system "may be considered moderately successful." Again, it is said that the extension of the jury system does not appear desirable, one reason suggested being that the Sessions Judges, who are almost all members of the Indian Civil Service, are, from inexperience of juries, not very competent persons to guide them to a right

decision.* Nevertheless Lord Harris seems to have advised to let well alone. He sees the political value of trial by jury and he drops statistics as a criterion, and after a judicial statement of the *pros* and *cons*, in which, as Sir Raymond West lately stated, he had the advantage of that distinguished colleague's advice, he delivers the following opinion—"Where, however, the jury system exists, it ought not, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, to be abolished, except on clear proof, for the particular Sessions division, of *flagrant abuse or failure*. Where it is retained, all cases committed for trial, and triable exclusively by the Sessions Court, ought in the opinion of the Governor in Council to be tried by jury with the exception (by mere omission) of political cases and of those relating to the Army and Navy. In particular Sessions Divisions there might be an exception also of capital cases, but this is an exception which should be cautiously made. In Ahmedabad at least, and possibly elsewhere, the exception of capital cases may be forced upon Government, but it must be remembered that any marked increase in the proportion of convictions resulting from the abolition of the jury system might tend to diminish confidence in the administration of justice. On the other hand, if there were no great increase, the change

* This reason seems to have occurred to the Bombay Government itself; at least, I do not find this objection to Sessions Judges in the opinions of the Judges of the High Court. Mr. Justice Farran says: "I would rather impress on Sessions Judges the importance of their charge to the jury, and the desirability of leading them to a correct verdict by laying the facts of the case clearly and logically before them, than the importance of correcting their verdict by a reference to the High Court." Mr. Justice Shepherd, at Madras, notices, however, that from want of experience Sessions Judges are likely to fail to sum up with care and patience; and the Chief Justice, Sir J. Edge, at Allahabad, using his experience of trials in England, writes: "A jury in the hands of a strong Judge may go right, but in the hands of a weak Judge, or of a Judge who cannot influence his jury, the result of a trial is very doubtful." The Bengal Inspector-General of Police thinks the present Sessions Judges have less weight with juries than those of ten years ago, because they have had less executive training. From several provinces comes also a confession that it is no easy task to charge a jury in a language foreign to the speaker.

would be of no effect in making crime more perilous to the criminal." The Viceroy's Government in reply remark that no proposal to amend the law had been sent up, and say that the reports from Bombay as well as Bengal show clearly that capital cases should be withdrawn from juries. Lord Harris is reminded that three Justices, Messrs. Birdwood, Farran and Telang had advised that this should be done in Ahmedabad, Belgaum and Surat ; and is quietly told to revise the list. So the opinion of the Under Secretary who set the ball rolling prevailed in the end.

In Assam, trial by jury has been used in six districts out of eleven since 1862 : and the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Quinton, being of opinion that the system had not favoured the escape of criminals, advised the Viceroy that no change should be made. The report of the Assam Judge, Mr. Luttman-Johnson, is very full and interesting. He shows that the Judge agrees more often with the jury's verdicts than with decisions passed by Magistrates and open to appeal. The fact is the more remarkable, because some executive order in 1877 had practically restricted the operation of the jury system to the most serious of all crimes, namely, those in which death is caused. " Native jurymen in my division," this Judge writes, " are like native jurymen elsewhere, loath to take the responsibility of imposing a capital sentence. Out of 403 jurymen in the division for 1890, 27 are Marwari merchants, of whom a majority are Jains, and the rest very pronounced Vishnavites. It is one of the marks of a very advanced stage of civilisation, that people grow too humane to tolerate capital punishment. The time has not perhaps come when we could safely abolish capital punishment in India, but I cannot condemn a system which gives more practical effect to the feelings of the people than the law, as it stands, contemplates. A large number of my people, certainly the more educated classes, are in advance of the law in this matter. The result of course is that I only impose the capital sentence in very heinous cases. If I

were a hanging Judge, my juries would not convict as readily as they do. Mr. Ward (the present Chief Commissioner) was also a *soft* Judge." The printed papers show that the Viceroy did not agree either with the Chief Commissioner or the Judge. After Mr. Quinton had been killed at Manipur, and Mr. Ward had succeeded him, the Government of India moved the latter to agree to exclude from trial by jury all cases of homicide, which exclusion seems tantamount to abolition of the system. The endeavour is said to be to "eliminate those offences which experience has shown to be unsuitable for trial by juries in India." It may however be presumed that this elimination is not to be applied in the Presidency Towns, as no such change in the law is suggested. One curious reason given for the new order in Assam is the insuperable difficulty of explaining to juries those intricate clauses of the Penal Code which explain how murder differs from manslaughter.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the local Government reports that the system has worked fairly well, and has been a success. The Chief Justice however suggests its abolition, and so does the Sessions Judge of Lucknow, but only on general grounds, and not because they are dissatisfied with the verdicts. The Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Justice Young however give credit to the jury for knowing more about native customs and habits of thought than the most experienced Judge. In those Provinces, cases of homicide do not go before juries, and the same restriction applies to the Presidency of Madras, where however a great experience has been obtained of other cases, as trial by jury exists in almost every district. The Government of Madras in a short letter answer the Viceroy's question by saying that the jury system is unsuited to the country, and that it has had no effect one way or another upon crime. It appears also that in Tanjore but of 135 cases tried there in five years, the Judge only referred 3 to the High Court as bad verdicts. In the present article I refrain from discussing the working of

trial by jury in Bengal, because the learned Judges there differ in their opinions about it, and because the Viceroy has refused to amend the law in the way proposed by the Bengal Government, so as to allow appeals against verdicts, or to require the Judge to refer the case to the High Court *whenever* he differs from the jury. The Chief Justice writes—"I am unwilling to express any opinion unfavourable to the existence of the system of trial by jury, as it is called, in these provinces, or as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime."

I think the above facts and opinions show sufficiently that the concrete question raised as to any particular district requires local knowledge as a factor in the solution, exactly as in Ireland, where I notice, in the reports of Parliament, trial by jury is not assailed merely on general reasons such as its unsuitability, or because trial by an expert, I mean a Judge, may be a better system, but only as to its use or abuse in some county or other, Clare or Kerry, where, it is alleged, crime becomes rampant because the local juries, misled by political feeling, agrarian grievances or outside intimidation, refuse to convict on clear, uncontradicted testimony. Whether such a state of things exists is of course a serious question for the Executive Government to decide; and it is in my opinion wrong and foolish to impute to the Indian Governments any motives inconsistent with that desire for pure justice which they have invariably shown. Neither have I any sympathy with that class of writers who wish or expect that no questions will be put in Parliament about the official action taken in India: as it is part of our constitutional system that the control of Indian affairs is vested in a Minister responsible to Parliament, and it has always been the custom, as in the case of the corrupt Magistrates in Bombay a few years ago, for Parliament to make inquiry into what goes on in Indian Courts of Law and the Secretariats. It is absurd to suppose that either House will ever pass a self-denying ordinance, excluding from its view matters of

weighty concern which an Under Secretary in India is encouraged to take up as a volunteer. Moreover there is no reason to be angry with the more highly educated sections of our Indian fellow-subjects, who value trial by jury much as a man would prize some heirloom of great cost and beauty, which he has held in secure possession for many years, under the will of a guardian, who has long cared for his moral and material interest. As a matter of mere policy, the case is thus stated in the Bombay Government letter:—"In this country the jury system is looked on with considerable pride by the pretty large class whose idea of progress consists in the imitation of English institutions. The more interested they thus become in the jury system, the better on the whole will it work in their hands or with their aid. They would certainly resent its extinction, and their reclamations would find echoes elsewhere." The case for and against jury trial in India should be considered without any special prejudice or bias, as it is not a matter in dispute among political parties, and there is nothing to appeal to the passions, as in the accounts of outrages in some parts of Ireland.

The disadvantages of the system are set forth here and there in the Indian compilation, more especially in the Viceroy's letters. One objection made as regards particular districts is that the jurymen are stupid and uneducated. Now it can hardly be the case anywhere that this description applies to the whole population: the objection is not treated as serious by the executive governments, and must lose its force as education advances. It applies as much to trials with Assessors who are men of the same classes as the juries; and its logical result is to remit trials to the Sessions Judges alone. In England we have grown familiar with trials of civil actions by single Judges without juries. But in India, where these Judges are foreigners, often ignorant of the language and customs of the districts to which they have been transferred, no responsible authority has yet advised that the Assessors should be abolished in criminal trials.

Assam is an example of the trouble caused by the multiplicity of languages which an Indian Civil Servant is called on to learn. Mr. Luttmann-Johnson, the Judge, brings it into clear view.

“If a European officer remained in one district all his service, he might acquire such a knowledge of the language as might enable him to charge juries efficiently. I commenced with Bengali (not the Bengali of the books). I then learned Behari (not the Hindustani or even the Hindi of the books). I then learned Sylhetia, both eastern and western. I am now learning Assamese, of which there are many varieties. I cannot pretend to be competent to charge a jury in Assamese.” This experience of languages is of a type common all over India. The present writer, for instance, found himself in a new world of things when promoted from Bombay to be Judicial Commissioner of Burma. In Rangoon witnesses speaking the following languages have to be examined in the Courts—English, Burmese, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Hindustani, Shan, Karen, Red Karen, Chinese in several dialects. No wonder then that the Judge of Assam and I suppose every Judge finds it no easy task to explain correctly to the jury the definitions, explanations and exceptions, which the Penal Code uses about murder and grievous hurt. The fault is not with either the Judge or the jury : the intricacy is in the subject-matter. The Viceroy treats it as an obstacle to trial by jury. But it is a matter of everyday experience that a Judge without a jury may fall into the trap : and what seems to be wanted is a simpler statement of the law. It is natural however that the official class in India should assume, what as regards the Judges of England so high an authority as Sir James F. Stephen believes to be the fact, that a Sessions Judge is more likely to come to a correct judgment on matters of fact than a jury is. But this view has I believe never been propounded by the higher authorities in India ; and as like causes produce the same effects, the administrators there

have always tried to get the opinion of the natives, by means of Panchayets, Assessors or juries on issues of fact, like as the earlier Norman Judges and Exchequer Barons in England availed themselves of the local inquests, those dignitaries being unfamiliar with the Saxon dialects and local customs. While on this point I may refer again to the objection taken to trial by jury on the ground that the Sessions Judges are not very competent to work the system. But I must add that I am not aware of this kind of inefficiency having been used by any High Court as an argument against it.

Another objection pointed out to the disadvantage of trial by jury is that innocent men, especially when jointly tried with a number of guilty persons, are sometimes convicted from heedlessness. But the Indian Law Reports show that this result happens also at trials by Judges without juries: no known system is so perfect as to avoid it, although in England it was a common direction that it is better that nine guilty should escape rather than one innocent prisoner should suffer. The usual course is to represent the case to the Crown for pardon; and if the mistake has occurred through a defective summing up to the jury, the convict can appeal to the High Court.

The *gravamen* of the results of jury trial in India, according to the views published by the Viceroy, is that suggested by the form of His Excellency's question, as to the merits of this form of trial in *repressing* crime. The chief ground of the new orders in Bengal is that great criminals, especially murderers, are acquitted by juries perversely or wantonly. The papers seem to disclose two causes, the first being the dislike of Hindus to take action against Brahmans, whom they believe to be sacred persons, sprung from the head of Brahm, the universal, impersonal deity. It may well be that this sentiment has been operative at trials in Bengal; in opposition to the equity of the law, of which we say proudly, that it is no respecter of persons. As to other parts of India, anyone who knows the people

will admit the tendency. But people are often better than their principles. The Act which emancipated the Roman Catholics used to be opposed on the ground that members of that religious communion must logically, even if appointed to be Judges, be Papists first and Queen's subjects afterwards : yet in practice this is not realized. The subject is not even mentioned in the very full opinion given by the Government of Bombay.

The second cause of the alleged perverse acquittals is the dislike of the Hindus to concur in what leads very often to the sentence of death, although under the Indian Penal Code the Sessions Judge may, for definite reasons, refrain from passing a capital sentence and award life-long transportation instead. It appears that Bengal juries have lately found a number of prisoners not guilty, whom on references made by the Judge, the High Court convicted of murder. We may concede that as any system which allows the greatest criminals to escape scot-free must lead soon to general disorder and a paralysis of the law, the Executive has both a right and duty to use such lawful means as it may judge best to prevent the danger and uphold the law. The principle is admitted by the present Ministry in the debates when attacked by the Opposition for not suspending jury trial in Clare or Kerry. It is urged that the Irish Executive has no means of getting a change of venue to another county, a means often used in India when it is shown that justice requires the transfer. Doubtless the Commission now sitting in Bengal will inquire into the state of things existing there : and it would be premature to discuss them here at present. I have personally no doubt that the general feeling of the Hindus is adverse to capital punishment. The sentiment is older than the time of the Emperor Asoka : it is inscribed as a command on his tables of stone, and tradition and religion have written it on the fleshly tablets of the heart. The Mosaic injunction, "Thou shalt not kill," happens to be one of the five great commandments of Buddhism : it is revered in Burma. It

is held in equal veneration by the Jains wherever found, in Gujerat or Assam, Bengal or Madras. The warlike people of Kattywar so far as they follow the reformer Swami Narayen in his gentle religion have adopted it too. My impression is that Pantheism, the belief in a diffused, immanent deity, is the parent of this sentiment. The Greek poets quoted by St. Paul sang, "We are also his offspring." The Hindu even in the lower castes assents to the doctrine that every living thing is part of God. Hence a dislike to kill man or animal : and a widely diffused habit of vegetarian diet. Besides this, the juror as well as the Judge is conscious of the awful issues involved in the trial of a capital case : and while rightly cautious in weighing the evidence, may sometimes push the virtue of prudence to an extreme. But where, as these Indian Sessions Judges allege, the dislike to capital sentences is so general, we may expect it to extend to the witnesses as well, and that the police will have unusual difficulty in procuring true evidence of the murder. If it is procured by improper means or if false evidence is put forward, the work of adjudication, of sifting the evidence, becomes much harder for both jury and Judge; and the need of caution before convicting becomes, as all Judges know by experience, most difficult and painful. Let anyone read through the published opinions, and he will see laid bare, under the question of abolishing trial by jury for murder, two yawning abysses, the use or abuse of power by the police and the efficacy of capital punishment as a means of repressing crime. The French expedient is to allow the jury to find extenuating circumstances, which they do, as most Englishmen think, too readily. But even in law-respecting England and Wales many murders go undetected, and juries are eager to avoid their share in a capital sentence. The Howard Association have shown from the judicial statistics of ten years 1879 to 1888 that in capital cases the convictions at trials only averaged 45 per cent., whereas at *all* trials of indictable offences the proportion was 77 per cent. Coroners' juries returned 1766 verdicts of wilful murder : but only 672 persons were arrested and committed

for trial. Of these 299 were convicted and sentenced to death, 231 were acquitted, and 142 were found insane. Out of the 299, 145 had their sentences commuted and only 154 were executed. We have no full statistics from India, but it would probably be found that in many cases the High Court has upheld the verdict of acquittal which the Sessions Judge referred as wrong; and that many convictions passed by the latter, sitting only with Assessors, have been reversed on such grounds as that the superior tribunal thought too much credence had been given to a retracted confession or to the story told by a child witness,* or to the statements of an accomplice, or that the inference arising from possession of stolen property had been wrongly drawn. *Humanum est errare.* When Sir James F. Stephen was Legal Member of the Indian Council he wrote a Minute advocating the replacement of the Civilian Sessions Judges by Barristers and better lawyers: and it is not improbable that these Judges think the High Courts often make mistakes in reversing their judgments on the facts. No Judge is infallible: we all adopt some of those idols of the den, the market-place or the theatre which Lord Bacon exposed: and according to Forsyth can no more resist or escape from our own frame of mind than juries can. This risk arising out of the structure of the human intellect is no doubt reduced when several Judges sit together as we do in hearing appeals. But in the three last State trials in India where high public servants were arraigned before Benches of two or three learned Commissioners, the verdicts returned by them were not accepted by the Executive when dealing with the facts.† Where the statements are definite and the witnesses respectable, these opposite conclusions of tribunals are rare: the differences of opinion oftener arise about the

* Some years ago the Secretary of State for India in a despatch took notice of the fact that in many very serious trials, the case for the prosecution rested on the statements of little boys and girls, eye-witnesses.

† The Blue Book on the Crawford case shows how widely Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, Sir R. West and the other members of Council, differed from the findings returned by Mr. Justice Wilson and his brother Commissioners.

value of more tainted evidence. When I was Judicial Commissioner of Burma I remember hearing a story which is quite consonant with judicial nature. A general inquiry being made about the increase of crime, one Magistrate reported that the Judicial Commissioner was the cause, meaning that the superior tribunal was too prone to acquit on appeal men rightly convicted by himself.

Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and examine the reasons given in favour of trial by jury. In his *History of the Criminal Law of England* Sir J. F. Stephen points out three general advantages : and I find nothing in the Indian correspondence to gainsay them in regard to India. The first remark is that trial by jury is considered by the people of the land to be more just, it being felt that the sympathies of Judges are on the side of authority. The second is that trial by jury interests large numbers in the administration of justice, and makes them responsible, and thus gives it a power and popularity which would hardly be derived from any other source. The third reason is that this mode of trial puts the Judge in the place he ought to hold as a moderator in the struggle before him, and a guide and adviser to those who are ultimately to decide. At the last meeting of the East India Association Lord Hobhouse in an eloquent speech added another reason. He said that juries have kept the law sweet and wholesome, thus making it respected and triumphant over superfine legislation, and taking out the sting of cruelty or political faction by persistently acquitting in the times when our penal code was bloodthirsty, and the Government, under the panic of the French Revolution, too readily indicted men for seditious libels or mere discontent. Some of the Indian officials deal with this part of the case. The following rather frigid passage in the opinion of the Bombay Government reads to me like an echo of Sir J. Stephen's more expanded praise : " The use of juries, when fairly good juries can be had, possesses some undoubted advantages. It prevents the main principles of justice and legal reasoning from being hidden away in technicalities. Everything laid before a jury has to receive

a popular exposition, and be submitted to common-sense tests. The jurymen themselves receive and carry away a true idea of legal principles. They learn that the Judges are acute, wise and impartial, and see how really difficult a task adjudication is. They diffuse their experiences and the consequent regard for law and the judicial administration throughout society. Culprits, again, who are condemned on the verdict of a jury can never say that they have been sacrificed to official animosity or prejudice. The jury form a group always ready to contradict any such assertion. It appears to the Government in Council that it is a distinct benefit to have the odium of apparently harsh decisions thus taken off the shoulders of the official classes." This remark applies more weightily to cases where, as several Judges report, the police connive at the production of false evidence, or where a wholly false case is got up in order to revenge some private injury. There are trials on record where a dying man, to gratify his spite, has named an innocent person as his murderer. The Bombay reports contain a case where a crocodile's bones were brought to Court as those of a murdered man, and another where, in pursuance of a factious conspiracy, some Mussulmans at Broach beheaded their own mother, and then accused the opposite faction.* One Judge in Bengal in favour of trial by jury writes that the jurors regard the accused as being subject to all the weight of official pressure brought to obtain a conviction, and that this feeling is increased by the native sentiment objecting to the severity of the sentences under the Penal Code. Another Judge there thinks the system unsuitable for the latter reason, and because the Indians do not sympathize with our law, the gulf between

* When I was a young Magistrate at Dharwar, nearly 30 years ago, the other Magistrates told me of a woman under sentence of death for murdering her baby immediately after the birth. A missionary got some information showing that the case for the prosecution might be false : and she was respited. The signs of pregnancy appeared ; and it was shown to be physically impossible that she could have ever given birth to the baby supposed to have been murdered. I have lately heard of a like case in the Central Provinces.

English and Oriental ideas being so great. The opinions recorded hardly suggest corruption on the part of the juries, and they are not accused by any of the writers of wilfully convicting innocent men, or of shutting their eyes to the evidence, or convicting under the influence of such feelings as actuated juries against Papists in the reign of Charles II. It is interesting to find that many of our Indian subjects admire the jury because of a supposed likeness to the indigenous Panchayet or Arbitration of five. This reminds one of the argument of English patriots based on Magna Carta, implying that the trial by one's peers, the famous *judicium parium suorum*, meant trial by jury. It may be that some juries are liable to be bamboozled by Counsel in India, or to take a stupid view of the case like the Coroner's jury on the body of Miss Kilmansegg with the golden leg :

“The foreman was a carver and gilder,
They brought in a verdict of *felo-de-se*,
For it was her own leg that killed her.”

But the responsible Governments in India do not appear to lay any stress on the argument from stupidity.

The whole compilation of Indian opinion is worthy of careful study, not only for the variety of views expressed, but because of the lights it throws on Indian life, and because the writers are experts on the subject. It must not be forgotten that the High Courts can change the venue of a trial, that the Advocate-General can file criminal informations in the High Court, and that the Governors can pardon a man wrongly convicted. There is also some advantage in the finality of a jury's verdict. The Crown and the prisoner both have the right of challenge : and arrangements are being made to improve the whole panel. Lastly, we may draw attention to the conclusion of Sir James Stephen about trial by jury in this country, that whatever defects there may be in it may be effectually removed by having more highly qualified juries, men of some position and intelligence and above the danger of intimidation.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

By C. D. FIELD, M.A., LL.D.,

Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law ; (late Judge of the High Court,
Calcutta).

WHEN the Supreme Courts were established in the Presidency Towns of India, a hundred and twenty years ago, most of the principles and forms of English procedure were introduced ; and amongst them trial by jury, which has since that time formed part of the system of administering criminal justice in the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Nuncoomar was tried by a Calcutta jury more than a century ago, Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, presiding at the trial. The Jury panel has included Natives as well as Europeans, and in every jury there have usually been found representatives of both races. There had therefore been some eighty-eight years' experience of the jury system in India, when the Penal Code became law in 1860, and it was thought desirable at the same time to reform and improve the procedure in the trial of Criminal Cases in the Mofussil (as the provinces outside the limits of the Presidency Towns were termed). For this purpose the Code of Criminal Procedure was passed in 1861, and by this Code jury trial was first introduced into the Bengal Mofussil. We had long pursued a system of education under which the natives of the country were taught everything English ; and the educated youth in the districts about Calcutta were as well acquainted as most of their rulers with the theoretical ideas of English institutions. It seemed therefore that the rising generation might well be invited to practise what they had been taught, and that the administration of justice might be served by this forward step, which would also afford a useful lesson in self-government. At the same time it was not overlooked that all parts of the country were not equally advanced, and therefore not equally fitted for the experiment. It was reasonably supposed that the local Lieutenant-Governor would

be the best judge of the districts best fitted : and it was accordingly provided that he might by order in the Official Gazette direct that the trial of all offences or of any particular class of offences before any Court of Session should be by jury in any district ; and might revoke or alter such order.

Under these powers the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1862 directed that certain offences should be tried by jury in the following seven districts, viz., Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Hughli, Burdwan, Nuddea, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. The language of the first six districts is Bengali. That of Patna is Oordoo. For those who are not intimate with the geography of Bengal, it may be added that the Twenty-four Pergunnahs is the district just outside and round about Calcutta, the old boundaries of which (like the old boundaries of London) have become practically obsolete, a very large portion of modern Calcutta being outside these boundaries and in the district of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. The Sessions Court of this district is in the suburbs of Calcutta at Alipore, about a mile or less from the city boundary on the south side which is formed by the site of the old Mahratta ditch. The District of Hughli is separated from Calcutta and the Twenty-four Pergunnahs by the river Hughli. It consists of two parts, Hughli proper and Howrah. The Sessions Court-house of Howrah is on the river bank opposite to, and in sight of, the Calcutta High Court. The town of Howrah is joined to Calcutta by a bridge, and is really a large suburb of the city. Burdwan is on the East India Railway beyond and adjoining the Hughli district. Murshidabad adjoins Burdwan to the east. Nuddea lies east of Burdwan, Hughli and the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. There is easy access by rail, road, and water from all these districts to Calcutta, and they have fully enjoyed the benefits of the education which has long been afforded at very little cost to those educated. Dacca is the capital of the district of the same name and indeed of Eastern Bengal, and is the seat of a college. Patna, also the seat of a college, is the most important place in

Behar. It will thus appear that whatever opinion be formed as to the wisdom of making this experiment in the administration of justice, sufficient caution was shown in selecting the localities most advanced, and therefore best suited for success.

The offences made triable by jury in these districts were :

(1) Offences against the Public Tranquility (Chapter VIII. of the Penal Code)—including rioting in all its branches;

(2) False Evidence and Offences against Public Justice (Chapter XI. of the Penal Code) ;

(3) Offences affecting the Human Body (Chapter XVI. of the Penal Code)—including murder, culpable homicide, suicide, hurt, kidnapping, wrongful confinement, causing miscarriage, and rape ;

(4) Offences against Property (Chapter XVII. of the Penal Code)—including theft, robbery, dacoity, criminal breach of trust, receiving stolen property, cheating, burglary and arson ;

(5) Offences relating to Documents and to Trade and Property Marks (Chapter XVIII. of the Penal Code)—including forgery in all its branches ;

(6) Abetment of, and attempts to commit, any of the above Offences (Chapters V. and XXIII. of the Penal Code).

When the experiment of trial by jury in the Bengal Mofussil was thus inaugurated in 1862, danger was apprehended from several sources, namely—corruption ; caste prejudices ; and want of ability in the jurors to understand the evidence and proceedings. It was hoped, however, that, as the Judges became accustomed to the work of putting the case before the jury ; that, as education spread, and public morality and public opinion improved, these dangers would be lessened. As regards corruption, this hope may be said to have been fairly realized. The Writer of this article went to Bengal just before the Code of Criminal Procedure came into force and for twenty-six

years had an opportunity of watching its operation. For the greater portion of this period he had actual experience of the working of the jury system as a Sessions Judge in four out of the seven districts in which it has been tried ; and afterwards as a Judge of the High Court, in which latter capacity he dealt on the appellate side with cases from all seven districts ; and on the original side, holding the Sessions for the city of Calcutta, had some experience of juries in the Presidency Town. He has pleasure in being able to say that he has not met with any case in which it was shown that a wrong verdict was due to corruption. He has read of an alleged instance since his retirement ; but those who are conversant with the history of the institution in England know that corrupt verdicts there once constituted an evil of such magnitude, that special legislation was more than once used to suppress it.

As to caste prejudices the apprehension of danger was well founded : and it cannot be gainsaid that some failures of justice at first occurred from this cause. So long as the influence of the old religion is not overcome by the enlightening effects of education in the broad sense of the term, this danger will not wholly disappear. There is however reason to believe that it has diminished and will further diminish under the influence of progress. At the meeting in Calcutta several cases were referred to, in which juries had convicted Brahmins of murder. In the early days of the experiment such instances were wanting, and juries unwilling to give a verdict that might bring capital punishment, in more than one case, convicted of a minor offence, for which, however, a substantial punishment could be inflicted. Have not English Juries notoriously done the same, when death was the punishment for sheepstealing and other offences under a Draconian code, which has happily been mitigated ? Do they not to this hour usurp the prerogative of mercy, when they acquit on the capital charge and convict of mere concealment of birth a hapless girl, who has been betrayed, while Justice

pitying scarce regrets her blindness? The danger here existing can to some extent be met by greater care, greater caution in the Judge's summing up in any case in which the danger is apprehended. The Writer can bear testimony that his monition was not unheeded, when he warned his jurors that *their* consciences were concerned only with the truth of their expressed belief or disbelief in the evidence, that the responsibility of the punishment rested with the Legislature and the Judge.

The danger from the incapacity of the jurymen to grasp the points of the case and understand and apply the law is one that can be largely controlled by the capacity of the Judge. When the law is lucidly explained to them and their minds are rightly directed to the real points in the case, average jurymen in the great majority of cases find no difficulty in coming to a conclusion; and the quick-minded Bengali is not below the average in this respect. When the law is not understood and an untrained mind without a guide has to deal with a complicated mass of facts and statements not properly digested or reduced to order, bewilderment ensues, and the bewildered mind, unable to see its way to a conclusion, extricates itself from the darkness and doubt by the verdict thought least likely to do anybody any harm—a verdict of acquittal.

When jury trial was first introduced in the provinces, the verdict of the jury was conclusive upon the facts; and in case of appeal by the prisoner could be reviewed by the High Court only upon a question of law. A certain number of failures of justice, however, satisfied the Legislature after ten years' experience that a jury in Bengal could not be placed in exactly the same position as a jury in England without risk to the interests of justice. It was accordingly provided in 1872 that when the Sessions Judge disagrees with the verdict of the jurors or a majority of them, and considers it *necessary for the ends of justice* to do so, he may submit the case to the High Court. In the last amended Code of 1882 these provisions are still more

definite—"when he disagrees . . . so completely that he considers it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the case to the High Court, he *shall* submit the case accordingly, recording the grounds of his opinion." In dealing with the case so submitted the High Court may exercise any of the powers which it may exercise on an appeal; but it may acquit or convict the accused of any offence of which the jury could have convicted him; and, if it convicts him, may pass such sentence as might have been passed by the Sessions Judge. These provisions so largely modified jury trial in the Bengal Mofussil that it may be said, that the very essence of the institution was gone and the name alone remained. This observation has still more truth when we learn that the jury consists not of the time-honoured twelve, but of such uneven number not being less than three or more than nine as the Local Government may direct for each district—and further that it is not necessary that the jurors should be unanimous, but the opinion of the majority will suffice for a verdict. It may also be mentioned that the jury are not locked up as in England, but are allowed to disperse for refreshment, and, if the case lasts over one day, to go to their homes or lodgings at night.*

The powers given to the High Court in 1872 and more largely defined in 1882 excited no popular outcry. The people have confidence in the High Court, and would probably raise no objection to any further power in the same direction given to this tribunal, which exercises its functions openly in the sight of all men—a strong ground of confidence to the natives of India. That the powers already given, if effectually used by Sessions Judges and the High Court, are large enough to prevent any serious detriment to the interests of justice by the system which still continued to be called trial by jury in Bengal, would

* The Code of 1882 indeed empowered the High Court to make rules for *keeping the jury together*, when the trial lasted more than one day; but the power was not exercised up to my retirement, nor, I believe, since.

however appear to most persons competent to form an opinion to be a proposition not admitting of doubt. The burden of proving the negative of this proposition lies upon those who say that the privilege of trial by jury in the form in which it has existed since 1872 or since 1882 ought to be taken away in whole or part. The issue into which the whole question resolves itself is then a very simple one—Has it been proved by the experience of the last ten years that the retention of the privilege, as modified by the legislation of 1882, is so seriously prejudicial to the interests of justice that it has become the duty of the Government to take it away wholly or in substantial part?

When the Executive Government reduced its policy of action to this issue, and began to consider the expediency of wholly or partly abolishing jury trial, it was to be expected that the High Court of the province would be consulted as to the wisdom and necessity of this course of action. It cannot be controverted that the opinions of the Judges of that Court should have been asked, and should have had the greatest weight with those who had the legal power to act. Amongst those Judges are two Hindu gentlemen, who would have looked at the matter from the point of view likely to be taken by the Hindu community, and would have been able to enlighten the Government as to the feelings and wishes of that community. Yet we find that upon the essential question the Judges were not consulted. In May 1890 they were indeed asked for their opinions, (1) as to how the system of trial by jury has worked; (2) as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime; and (3) as to what improvements, if any, are called for in its application. They were not asked to say if in their opinion the experiment had so far failed that the Legislature ought to retrace its footsteps—they were not asked whether, in their opinion, the working of the system, as modified and safeguarded in 1872 and 1882, was so detrimental to the administration of criminal justice that in the interests of good government it ought to be abolished

in whole or part. Their published opinions show that they were not considering any such question, but directed their minds, according to the tenor of the questions asked them, to certain suggestions for amending and improving the existing system. Unfortunately then the action of the Executive derives no support from that important quarter, where advice should first have been sought.

Let us now understand exactly what has been done. By the notification of the 20th October last the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has abolished trial by jury in the seven districts already mentioned in regard of the following offences :

(a) Offences against the Public Tranquillity (being No. (1) of the classes given above, p. 311, to which jury trial was applied in 1862) ;

(β) Offences affecting the Human Body (being No. (3) of the above classes), with the exception of kidnapping, abduction and rape ;

(γ) Forgery and using forged documents, coming under class (5) above ;

(δ) So much of Class No. (6) above as is concerned with abetment and attempts of offences under (a), (β) and (γ).

At the same time jury trial has been extended to Offences relating to Marriage (Chapter XX. of the Penal Code), to which it did not before apply, and which include bigamy and adultery, the latter being a criminal offence in India. Roughly speaking, according to a numerical estimate, the number of offences falling under the classes in respect of which jury trial has been abolished, is about half of the total number triable by jury before the Notification ; but inasmuch as the offences withdrawn from the cognizance of juries are the most serious in the Calendar, a numerical estimate does not afford an adequate test of the change.

It is proper to point out that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has acted strictly within the law in issuing the Notification of the 20th October. He has done more. By submitting his proposed action to the Supreme Govern-

ment beforehand, he has safe-guarded his own position ; and if only the papers on the subject, which were published a fortnight afterwards, had appeared simultaneously with the Notification, public criticism could not have assailed the method of doing the thing, and must have confined itself to the thing done.

It may be scarcely necessary to say that the Notification does not affect jury trials at the Calcutta Sessions of the High Court, nor does it in any way affect European British-born subjects. There is, however, a considerable class of Europeans and Americans which it does affect. Tea and other industries, which have been started in the Hills and other places throughout India, have attracted thither Americans and men of almost all European nationalities. The wishes and feelings of this portion of the community were considered by those able men, whose names are associated with the great Indian Codes ; and it was provided that in every case triable by jury, in which a European (not being a European British-born subject) or an American is the accused person, not less than half the number of jurors shall, if practicable, and if such European or American so claims, be Europeans or Americans. The privilege thus conferred is taken away by the Notification as regards those offences in respect of which jury trial is abolished—a change which may appear all the more disagreeable and unreasonable to those concerned, as Sessions Judges may in the near future cease to be Europeans.

In examining the case made in support of the withdrawal of the most serious offences from trial by jury in Bengal, we labour under some difficulty, as same statistics have not been used by all parties to the controversy. We should be sorry to overlook any evidence which may be, or has been, adduced in support of the course of action adopted ; and we have therefore been careful to collect all such evidence procurable. We have first a set of figures supplied by the Registrar of the Calcutta High Court, and quoted in the Minutes of the Judges. According to these figures 1,708

cases were tried by juries in the seven districts during the years 1884-1889. In 325 of these cases, or just over 19 per cent. of the whole, the Sessions Judges disapproved of the verdicts; but in 114 cases only, or a little less than 7 per cent., considered it necessary to make a reference to the High Court. It does not appear what exactly was done in these 114 cases submitted to the High Court—in how many that Court took the view of the Judge; in how many that of the jury.

We have next certain figures given by the *Calcutta Hindoo Patriot*, which show 2,537 cases to have been tried by juries during the previous eight years. In 478 (which, as with the previous figures, is about 19 per cent.) the Sessions Judges disapproved of the verdict wholly or partially, but referred only 125 cases, or nearly 5 per cent., to the High Court. In 70 of the cases so referred, or about $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the whole number of cases tried, the High Court took the same view as the Sessions Judge; in 47 cases refused to interfere with the verdict of the juries; and eight cases had not been disposed of.

Lastly we have the figures given by the Government of India in their Despatch, which are as follows:—there were 1,489 cases tried by juries in Lower Bengal during the last five years. Of these, 698 came under heads now withdrawn from their cognizance, while 791 fall within those classes, which still remain triable by jury. In the former cases the Sessions Judges recorded their dissent from the verdicts in 97, or 13·8 per cent. of the cases tried; but submitted the verdicts in 67 cases, or 8·8 per cent. only; and the High Court reversed or modified the verdicts in 34 cases, or 4·8 per cent. In the second class of cases the Sessions Judges dissented in 7·7 per cent., and submitted only 4·1 per cent. to the High Court, and that tribunal found it necessary to interfere in merely 13 cases, or 1·6 per cent. It may be observed that there is no material difference between the results obtainable from the three sets of figures, which, however, belong to different periods. The figures relied

upon by the Government of India are more precise, for they distinguish between offences now withdrawn from the cognizance of juries and offences still left triable by jury—very properly so, inasmuch as the figures relating to the former class of offences are alone concerned with the action of the Government, who have shown a wise discrimination in selecting those figures which supply the strongest argument.

Let us now examine this argument. The Sessions Judges recorded their dissent from the verdicts in 13·8 per cent. of the cases tried by jury ; but in only 8·8 per cent. did they disagree so completely that they considered it necessary for the ends of justice to submit the proceedings to the High Court. Now it is not suggested, and it cannot be presumed, that the Sessions Judges did not properly exercise the discretion given them by law, and that the cases actually submitted formed a portion merely of what should have been submitted to the High Court. Indeed if the Sessions Judges have erred at all, the figures show that it was in the opposite direction, for the results prove that more cases were submitted than was necessary for the ends of justice—almost twice as many indeed as were necessary. In 4·8 per cent. of the cases tried by jury, the High Court reversed or modified the verdict—in other words, in 4·8 per cent. juries had convicted where they ought to have acquitted, or acquitted where they ought to have convicted, and the High Court by the exercise of the ample powers, by which jury trial was safeguarded in 1872 and 1882, was enabled to *remedy these defects of justice*. There remains then not even a decimal of argument to support the affirmative of the only possible issue in the matter. The argument, used for abolition, is in fact an argument for retention and extension, if the subject were one which could properly be treated on the basis of statistics alone.

But in truth there are many other considerations which ought to be weighed in dealing with the question, and which doubtless would not have been overlooked if the Judges of

the High Court had been afforded an opportunity of expressing their opinions beforehand upon the course of action proposed to be taken. Were erroneous verdicts due in any respect to defective summing up? * Were these again in any way the result of want of training for this duty, † of less acquaintance with the colloquial language ‡ than is necessary to explain law and summarize facts, or of translations of the Penal Code not quite intelligible to the people? § Could these difficulties be removed by a more careful selection of Judges for jury districts, regard being had to their experience and natural or acquired powers; and by popular translations of the Penal Code in which some attempt might be made to amplify abstract language not easy to translate into Oordoo or Bengali? || Would not jurymen serve more readily and therefore more effectually if the Jury Lists were more carefully revised at the stated periods provided by law, so as to increase the number of jurors as education spreads, and so decrease the burden of this public duty by dividing it between more persons? These and other matters ought fairly to be considered before it can be decided whether the success of the experiment has become impossible. Apart from these considerations, it is not fairly to be concluded that jury trial is more unsuitable at Howrah or Alipore than within the obsolete boundaries of old Calcutta.

Throughout the discussion which has arisen an idea appears to pervade many minds that trial by jury is an

* Justices Ghose, Norris, and Bannerjee suggest that they were.

† Sessions Judges do not rise from the Bar to the Bench, and have not, therefore, had previous training necessary to proficiency—in public speaking.

‡ Sessions Judges have usually to sum up in the vernacular. No interpreter is employed as at the Sessions in the Presidency towns.

§ A letter from Patna to the *Calcutta Englishman* says that the law is there read from the authorized Oordoo translation, which is full of Arabic and Persian words, and as intelligible to the average jurymen as Chinese.

|| The definition of murder, and the distinction between murder and culpable homicide not amounting to murder, are exceedingly difficult of explanation in the vernacular to the average jurymen.

institution, of which the operation ought to be as regular as that of nature, the results as uniform as those of a machine, and the effects as satisfactory as abstract justice could desire. Such, however, has not been the proved experience of any country in which it has existed, of England, of Wales,* of Ireland, or of America. Social prejudices, personal feelings, differences of opinion in creed or politics, erroneous ideas, and hopes or fears excited by recent events have ever been disturbing elements operating at one time against the accused,† at another time in his favour. To mention all this, however, is merely to say that trial by jury—like every other form of administering justice, and like all things human—is not perfect. But it is due to those responsible for the existing system of administration of criminal justice in India (and to the memory of such of them, as are no longer with us) to say, that the safeguards there provided (which would gladden the soul of an Irish Attorney-General) have proved effectual to remedy failures or perversions of justice, such as in our native land have passed irremediable.

At a public meeting of the native community held in Calcutta on the 20th December last, the following resolutions were adopted :—(1) That this Meeting desires to enter its respectful but firm protest against the withdrawal of the most serious offences from trial by jury in the districts to which that system was extended thirty years ago—such withdrawal being contrary to the principles of British law

* The story of the Welsh jury, who acquitted the prisoner, but warned him not to do it again, even if not capable of authentication, is at least *ben trovato*, and some evidence of the popular estimate.

† This personage, though he has supplied all the figures, does not appear to have received in the controversy that amount of consideration to which he is fairly entitled, and the operation is certainly against him when *dacoity* is rife and juries in a funk. For a parallel, Macaulay, describing the state of things in the North of England during the seventeenth century, says :—“Juries, animated by hatred and by a sense of common danger, convicted house-breakers and cattle-stealers with the promptitude of a court-martial in a mutiny; and the convicts were hurried by scores to the gallows.”—Chap. iii., p. 140, of the popular edition.

and tending to disturb the trust of the people in the Government ; (2) that this Meeting also desires to enter its emphatic protest against the manner in which a valued right has been withdrawn—by Executive order, without giving an opportunity to the people to consider the matter and submit their views to the Government ; (3) that the Criminal Procedure Code be so amended* that the Local Government may not be able in future to take away one of the greatest safeguards of liberty by executive order ; (4) that a memorial be sent to the Secretary of State, and that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of bringing about the withdrawal of the order."

These moderate propositions are the natural and legitimate fruit of the education which we have given to the people of Bengal, of the ideas which we have instilled into the minds of her children. Let no man condemn this public utterance, saying that it expresses the mind of a few only, of a mere clique. It is the voice of that select few whom we ourselves have educated to be the leaders of the mass, and throughout history the mass has been led by the few. Neither let any unthinkingly smile at the talk about safeguards of liberty. Self-government does not yet exist in India ; and throughout the length and breadth of the land the work of administration is carried on by a strong and vigorous Executive, always meaning well, but sometimes high-handed, sometimes wanting in tact even where right, sometimes wrong in its estimate of facts, sometimes mistaken in gauging the feelings of the people, and too often forced to rely upon native subordinates not animated by the spirit of their superiors. How many acts of misguided energy and seeming oppression are patiently submitted to, because under the constitution which we gave to the country by our earliest laws, redress can be sought in the Courts of

* This would well have been done in 1882. The powers very properly conferred upon the local government at the inauguration of the experiment in 1862, became 'inexpedient and impolitic after a twenty or thirty years' prescription.

Justice, and the people have faith in them. If this faith, more potent than an army, while costing the Treasury not a cowrie, be weakened, while discontent is aroused, the counsels which have brought these results will assuredly prove impolitic. The popular feeling which has been evoked on the present occasion shows that the people of Bengal have learned to regard trial by jury as a privilege. If their rulers yield a sympathetic response to this feeling by restoring the privilege, the incident may be productive of good by creating a popular opinion, to which every future juror in Bengal must be amenable in the discharge of a solemn public duty.

THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN AND THE PRESS.

BY AN EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL.

IN the last number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" it was suggested in an article "on recent events in Chilas and Chitral" that it was physically impossible in point of distance and date for the Amir Abdurrahman to have connived at the usurpation of Sher Afzul on Chitral, as was alleged in the newspapers.* It is very much to be regretted that, owing to the remoteness and obscurity of the question, anonymous writers should have it in their power to embroil this country in War with Afghanistan.† With some honourable exceptions both in England and India, the Press, which hopes to obtain news, has written under the inspiration of those who hope to obtain official honours or promotion by fishing in waters that they have troubled. Insinuations, misrepresentations, and, in one instance, a direct provocation in a Newspaper, to which the Amir has condescended to reply indirectly in an official pamphlet, have achieved results in perturbing the public mind that could not have been surpassed by the so-called "reptile" prints of other countries. It is, therefore, with regret that one finds in such company the names of leading papers that

* The Amir's interest in Chitral is platonic, for that country runs alongside of the mountains of Kafiristan that separate it from Afghanistan proper. At the same time, an independent Chitral is required in the interests alike of British India and of Afghanistan. Besides, Chitral was never really subject to Kabul, and its ruler, the late Amin-ul-Mulk, was far more afraid of Kashmir, than of Afghan, encroachments.

† One of the meddlers lately sent the Amir an English Map of Afghanistan, in two colours, one showing the English, and the other, the Russian portions of his country! In spite of the great cleverness of the Amir, he, like the Shah of Persia, cannot always "realize" that the views of our Press may be entirely independent of, or even opposed to, those of the British Official Government, although in his "Refutation" of an Indian newspaper (see further on) he sarcastically suggests that our Government should reward the newspapers that calumniate it. For his own part, he would prefer sending lying correspondents who endanger peace out of the world altogether.

have been misled by a false patriotism, which is not always the last refuge of the honest, to write in haste so that the country may repent at leisure.

Abdurrahman has always been a listener to newspapers, which he regularly had read out to him even during his exile in Russian territory. I am not aware that he knows Russian, but he certainly used to have Russian, among other papers, translated to him. At the Rawalpindi Assemblage, where I had several lengthy conversations with him on non-political matters in his favourite Turki language, he took an interest in all that was going on. Even Lord Dufferin felt sympathy for a man, who forgave us Panjdeh, and whose manly tender at the Rawalpindi Durbar of his sword, whenever required by us, convinced every hearer of the genuineness of his friendship.*

He has, however, never concealed from us, even before he *took* the throne, that he means to rule Afghanistan as a country given to him by God, and not by us, and to rule the same as a pious Muhammadan autocrat. He accepts our subsidy, because we wish him to defend his northern frontier against Russia, not because he hates Russia or cares much for Badakhshan or at all for outlying districts like Raushan, Shignán, and the still more distant Wakhan and the Pamirs. He, however, most honestly believed, and was not undeceived by us, that he had to watch those frontiers against Russian encroachments, whilst his local representatives imagine that they have to do so against all comers. This is why the Afghans would not allow Col. Lockhart to proceed beyond the Panja Fort, in Wakhan, where he was kept a prisoner pending reference to Kabul, and this is why, in all truth and honour, the Afghan outposts allowed themselves to be shot down at Somatash by

* A recent proof of this was afforded by his contemplated visit to England, which was not encouraged by our officials, so that this country does not know him, except through *their* reports. He has also just sent Mr. Pyne, the English master of his workshops, with letters to the Indian Viceroy, which will, no doubt, explain much that has been misrepresented.

the Cossacks of Yanoff.* This is why our most loyal ally at once proclaimed throughout his country that he had called in the English to drive out the Russian infidels, and if our Indian Foreign Department had a little statesmanship as it has abundance of diplomacy, the opportunity would have been taken at once, in his and our interests, to lay the foundation of a belief in *our* loyalty among his suspicious subjects and the frontier tribes, by the expectation of a comradeship in arms between our respective peoples, whenever needed, and, in the meanwhile, to show to Europe and to the Muhammadan world the community of British and Afghan aims. As the first and smallest result of such loyal alliance, our Survey parties would, with the Amir's permission, have been able to perform a duty which they now discharge more or less stealthily, and to the alarmed suspicion of the Amir. Lord Lytton, who is very much underrated as a Viceroy, had a very vivid conception of the advantages of a British and Pan-Muhammadan fraternity based on a Turkish alliance.† Instead, however, of responding in a hearty way to the Amir's proclamation,

* Somatash is, no doubt, Chinese territory, but did we ever mention China to the Amir? Why, we ourselves attacked and, practically, annexed Hunza, which owes some sort of allegiance to China, as I pointed out in 1866.

† His recognition of Amir Abdurrahman was an act of statesmanship rather than of diplomacy, for Abdurrahman advanced from his exile in Russian Turkistan with the aid of a small Russian gift of arms and money, whilst we also asked him to come, and, finally, in the most open manner as regards Russia, we made him our nominee as he was already that of Russia. He, however, came as "*called*" by Islám and by the people to strike a blow for his inherited rights, and he accepted our moral and pecuniary support, in order to become more, not less, independent against alike British and Russian encroachments. As for the separation of Kandahar from Kabul, it had been proclaimed by us *before* Abdurrahman left his Russian exile, and this separation was, or rather would have been, extremely distasteful to him, but, fortunately for the Amir, Sirdar Sher Ali, who was to have been the hereditary ruler of Kandahar, collapsed after Ayub Khan defeated a British force at Maiwand, and as we certainly were not prepared to maintain the Sirdar by permanently occupying Kandahar, there was nothing to prevent its coming under Abdurrahman (see Sir Lepel Griffin's article in "*The Fortnightly*" of last January). This may also serve as a correction of a misapprehension in Mr. Dacosta's otherwise able and certainly well-meaning article.—ED.

we vacillated in harmony with political fluctuations in England, and even pretended to a virtuous indignation—stimulated by fear of Russia—because the Amir, in perfect good faith, had occupied parts of Shignán and Raushan. I will only allude to the unwise proposal of an interview at Jelalabad with a Commander-in-chief whom he would not care to meet, even if Lord Roberts did not mind meeting the Afghan Generalissimo, Ghulam Hyder Khan, who was one of the four that he had proscribed. The request was made at a time when the Amir was busy quelling a revolt, and so an excuse was forced on him by us to avoid an interview which he would not have sought anyhow.

For let it be told, that the Amir has many, and well-founded, grievances against us that are far more real and serious than the *peccadilloes* which I shall mention further on, and which are evidently invented in order to pick and to justify a most unrighteous and impolitic quarrel with him, to the interests of Russia and to the eventual loss of Northern India. He is to go to the wall for doing his duty by us, whilst the Press magnanimously suggests an understanding with Russia with or without him and certainly at his expense. Such a result, with its fatal consequences, will be rightly laid at the door of our perfidy, and Russia will gain not only territory, but also the respect and affection of the despoiled, as in the case of Khokand and Bokhara.

First, and foremost, at any rate for the purposes of this paper, among his grievances is the ever-restless system of *espionage* by news-writers, underlings, and even members of his family under which he suffers. That this is no calumny may be inferred from the following passage in Sir Lepel Griffin's most opportune article on him in the last *Fortnightly Review*:

“Many of the inflammatory letters of Abdur Rahman fell into our hands, *for we had spies and paid agents all over the country attached to the household of many of the principal chiefs. Armed with these I was able to remonstrate with full effect, and confronting Abdur Rahman with his own*

letters, presented him with what was literally an *ultimatum*, which, finding that further delay and hesitation were of no avail, he was wise enough to accept.—In this conduct, full of anxiety and embarrassment as it was to us at Kabul, I see nothing of which we could fairly complain. Abdur Rahman was playing for his own hand, and he not only wished to get as much as he could out of the English; *but to secure his own position when we had left by representing himself as in no way a servant and nominee of the Viceroy of India; but as chosen by the free voice of the people of Afghanistan to protect the country in the name of Islam against all infidel encroachments.*" [The italics are mine.]

I would also venture to call attention to the remarks on the same subject in this *Review*, dated the 5th December last, before the writer could have had the advantage of reading the article of an authority on Afghan affairs, who, if there is any sense in the existing Ministry, should be again placed in a leading position with regard to their settlement.

"By setting son against father, brother against brother, and in the general tumult destroying intervening republics and monarchies, Anglo-Russian dominions are becoming conterminous. Above all,

" 'There's not a one of them but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd.'

And it is this unremitting suspicion which is alike the secret of present success and the cause of eventual failure in wresting and keeping Asiatic countries, and of the undying hatred which injured natives feel towards Europeans."

Only the vilest of their race will lend themselves to *espionage*, however necessary or common the unworthy procedure may be in European policy. Yet, these very spies have to be protected, not only in the discharge of their functions, but inevitably also in other disgraceful conduct. Indeed, especially if successful, they have to be honoured under the pretext of their "loyalty," and it often happens that a whole village, district, or tribe has to be handed over to the tender mercies of one whom all know to be a scoundrel.

If we want information about Afghanistan, we should get it direct from the Amir, or from persons whom *he* authorizes for the purpose.* We know quite enough from general public sources to be able to check such information; but I am convinced from the extraordinary frankness and courage of the Amir's character that it would never intentionally mislead, whilst there would be a fulness of knowledge about it which would destroy intrigues, whether European or native. Indeed, were the whole truth known, we should find that many a sudden reputation or fortune is due to the Government being obliged, for the sake of its supposed prestige, to manufacture heroes out of its failures.

I have already alluded to the irritation caused by stealthy surveys, and it may have been inferred that our constant interference and advice in matters between the Amir and his subjects is singularly unpalatable to a man whom his enemies accuse of never taking advice, and whose mind is conscious of acting rightly by us in his foreign relations. It is, therefore, to his *acts*, that I appeal as being friendly to us and not to idle *words* uttered under great provocation and their still idler interpretations by those who do not perfectly understand his language. I have heard of Foreign Department messages conveying unintentional insults, and unless I see the offensive letters attributed to the Amir, I shall refuse to believe in his affronting a powerful Government, when his letters to humble individuals breathe the soul of courtesy, as I can testify from personal knowledge.

When it, however, comes to *our* acts, how can we justify the precipitate annexation of the tribes subject to him on the Beluch frontier?† How our vaguely-explained Railway encroachments, the interference in, and practical

* Say from Mr. Pyne, who is said to be a simple-minded and trustworthy person, and to be devoted to the Amir.

† He may have retaliated by encroaching on Chaghi in the desert on the ground of some obscure historical right, but his claim to Wana is, at least, as good as our own.

incorporation of, districts bordering on our frontier of which he is, if not the sovereign, even if not the suzerain, at all events an honoured Afghan Chief or arbitrator by courtesy and, if nothing else, *our friend and ally*? Is it neighbourly to drive away his agents and to be in constant correspondence with his known enemies? Are we aware that there exist traditional ties and written engagements between Kabul and some of the independent Chiefs, even including Chitrál, far more genuine than the solemn farce of our sending so many Infantry and Cavalry and Gatlings in order to *assist* the sturdy inhabitants of this or that village to drive away a couple of agents of the Amir? Is it wise to expect him to fight for us on the North when we infringe his rights on the South? * Has Russia taken from him a hundredth part of what we have placed under our protection? Above all, are we not to take him at least into our council, if the unutterable folly of constructing a military road through Dir and Chitrál is to be persevered in, so as to enable the Russians to have their choice of invading India either by that road or by the route *via* Gilgit to Abbottabad, in which we have equally broken down for them the existing physical and tribal barriers?

What we require is an intelligent and sympathetic person, able to speak and write Persian and Turki, who would listen to the Amir's grievances and submit our own, for their respective rectification, on the *do ut des* principle, if need be, or—on *what has never yet failed to impress Orientals*—on grounds of chivalry (a notion introduced into Europe by the Arab Knights), of justice, of magnanimity, of friendship, and of duty to God.†

* This also applies to our relations with China, whom we cannot afford to offend on the Burma border, whilst expecting her to fight our battle on the Pamirs. We are pledged to China not to encroach on any territory which was not actually ruled by Theebaw.

† I believe that Messrs. Udny and Moore unite the necessary qualifications and there must also be others able to converse more politely with an Eastern potentate, than Sir C. Euan Smith. The Amir's mission of Mr. Pyne to the Viceroy seems to be a step in the right direction, but it should be responded to in the same spirit and manner.

I have never been deceived by an Oriental, who was not Europeanized, but it is no use *finessing* with him, as we, *e.g.*, once did, when we sought to save our prestige and pockets by pretending to acknowledge one Amir as the *de facto* and his rival as the *de jure* Amir. It is high time that every person connected with the Foreign Department of the Government of India should be able to write and read at least one Oriental language without the aid of a Munshi; but even the Persian Department of the Panjab Secretariat has been abolished. Indeed, the convenience of doing everything through the medium of English must alienate us from all real knowledge of native feeling, except such as can only partially be represented by the Babus.

If the desirable consummation of the peace and integrity of our Empire in Asia is to be achieved, then a check should be imposed on those officials who would sacrifice a world to their own decoration or promotion. The papers which are ready to kindle a war in order to increase their circulation by reporting its vicissitudes, would then have to be silent. In the meanwhile, they are precipitating a crisis, as I shall proceed to show from a few instances, which have, I regret to say, been long before this brought to the notice of the Amir.

The following misstatements occur in a Conservative daily paper of the 6th January last, which has evidently been "inspired" by a quasi-official source :

Allegations.

"Both in London and Calcutta the authorities are less perturbed by Russian claims and encroachments than by the present attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan. . . ."

"who but for us would be an impoverished exile, instead of a powerful Chief, has of late been doing his best to thwart and defeat almost every measure undertaken by the British Government for the defence of the Indian frontier."

Of this the following absurd instances are given : (a) That the

Reply.

"Precisely, the object of both the Russian and the English Ministries being, apparently, to come to an agreement at the expense of Afghanistan, our ally."

Abdurrahman left his exile, and became ruler of Kabul by his own enterprise. But for him, we should have abandoned Kabul with disgrace, and Russian influence would now be paramount in Kabul. The "Jingo" Press would induce us to pick a quarrel with the Amir for only too loyally and literally fulfilling his

Kandahar officials "congratulated" some native deserters from Quetta at having left the service of infidels. This is described as a gratuitous and almost "incredible affront."

(b) That he instigated Sher Afzul to invade Chitrál, where he murdered the "loyal" parricide and fratricide, Afzul-ul-Mulk, who has since made way for the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, now in power, but whom we also falsely described as "intriguing with Russia." (c) That he has not met Lord Roberts at a proposed interview at Jelalabad. [This has already been explained.] (d) That he sent his agent to occupy an outpost in the Waziri country [from this he has withdrawn, with an humble apology], on which the writer most offensively remarks that "timidity in dealing with Asiatics is no less a mistake than in dealing with *animals*." If this be the temper for maintaining our supremacy in Asia, the sooner we abandon it the better in the interests of humanity.

(e) (from another paper) that he objected to one of his sons speaking in English to his employé, Mr. Pyne, in his presence. (It is nowhere considered respectful for a son to speak before his father in a language which the latter does not understand, even if he is not afraid of *espionage*.)

bargain with us, as we are afraid of Russia, and we can thus sacrifice the Amir "to appease" alike "an angry God" and yet show our power.

(a) To begin with, it is not the Amir who did this, but some of his officials, whom he promptly checked against the repetition of such conduct in future; but the "congratulation" is a natural one, and need not imply hostility to us any more than a British Protestant clergyman welcoming a Huguenot need imply hatred of Catholic France. Such remarks are, obviously, "intramural" and "privileged."

(b) A reference to dates and distances will at once show that it was *impossible* for Sher Afzul to have left Badakhshan for Chitrál, on hearing of Afzul-ul-Mulk's usurpation, with the previous knowledge and aid of the Amir. As a matter of fact, Sher Afzul left in a great hurry, with eight Afghans, such as anyone can collect for any raid, and with a number of the Chitráli slaves, that are paid as a tribute by Chitrál to Badakhshan, which we have declared to be a part of Afghanistan. Had, however, the Amir interfered, as suggested, he could have done so within his rights, as suzerain of Badakhshan, if not also of Chitrál, by the inoperative document of 1874.

The "*Pudcl's Kern*," however, is in the "authoritative" statement that the British and the Russian Governments are agreed as to the interpretation to be put on "the shadowy agreement of 1873," and that it is "the poor Amir" who has infringed it, to use an expression of the highest authority at the Rawalpindi Assemblage in connection with "the poor Amir" having to swallow his resentment about the Panjdeh affair in consequence of our representations. He is now supposed to have encroached on Shignán, or, at least, "the portion of it lying to the east of the Panja

branch of the Oxus," but it is stated that this should be forgiven in view of Russia's equally unauthorized annexation of Karategin and that portion of "Derwáz which lies south of the Oxus." These matters, however, are to be adjusted by "the Paimir Delimitation Commission"; but as the Russians have annexed nearly the whole of the Pamirs, the designation had better be changed to that of "the Afghan" or "the Northern India Delimitation Commission." "Grateful for small mercies," our wanton encroachment on Hunza-Nagyr is, in the polite irony of a Russian prince, called our "shutting the gate of India in the face of Russia," although it is our folly that has pointed out that gate to Russia, and that is constructing a military road from it to Abbottabad to the very heart of the Panjab. Since 1866 I have had the particulars of that road, which, so far as the nomenclature is concerned, was submitted to the British Association by Mr. Hyde Clarke, in 1875, but I have refrained from publishing them for obvious reasons. Now, official aggressiveness has itself disclosed this sore point.* It would be only fair to the Indian Exchequer, as also to the *entente cordiale* between England and Russia, if half the expenditure of constructing the military roads through the Shináki districts, as also through Chitrál, were shared between them, and if Russian and British engineers worked together in breaking down "the barriers of India." Another

* The recent sad loss of Major Daniell and of 51 men killed and wounded in defending the Chilás Fort against the so-called "rebellious tribesmen," is a result of the alarm caused among the Indus tribes generally by our occupation of Gilgit and the construction of a road to Hunza-Nagyr, countries inhabited by Muláís and Shiahhs respectively, with which the Sunni tribes of the Indus have no friendship or indeed any relations. It is the danger to their common independence that has frightened them all and that has revived the raids on the Astor-Bunji road, which the Maharaja of Kashmir managed to keep safe, since 1846, with half a dozen Sepoys. Our Abbottabad Deputy Commissioners have ever reported the Chilásís as a good, quiet people. Now the inspired Press calls them "inveterate slave-hunters," just as it did the slavery-hating Nagyrís when they took umbrage at our construction of a road onward from Chalt. When Dr. Robertson occupied the Chilás Fort in December last, some papers announced it as a retaliation for the resistance of the Chilásís to the opening of a road from Abbottabad to Tákk, near the Chilás Fort,—ED.

English Daily, this time a "Liberal journal," already points out the peaceful attitude of the Russian press, which, since Russia has obtained all she possibly can for the present, does not *now* clamour for more, but vents its spite on the Amir. It seems as if the same inspiration guided alike the English and the Russian press, and we now only require Sir H. Rawlinson to preside at a meeting of the "Anglo-Russian Delimitation Commission." Reverting to Hunza, since "Jingo" sentiments are, after all, relished by the masses of patriotic Britons, the journal in question points out that Colonel Grombcheffsky had lived there four years, and so it had become necessary "to expel its contumacious Chief." I have shown elsewhere that Colonel Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, for, if he had been there, he would have known of the existence of the opposite district of Nagyr, which his map ignores: but any misstatement seems to be acceptable in party journalism as long as it promotes the error of the moment. To prove, however, that the press is not without its influence on the Amir, I quote his "refutations," published in pamphlet form, of certain allegations made some time ago in an Anglo-Indian journal. [The pamphlet is in Persian]:

"*Newspaper*.—The Amir has imprisoned Turra Baz Khan, Risaldar, because he was suspected of conveying secret information to the British Agent.

"*Refutation*.—The man named Turra Baz Khan was accused of dishonesty and misuse of the public treasury (*Bait-ul-Mal*). There is no reason why a fraudulent person should not be punished. •

"*Newspaper*.—Maulvi Abdul Rahim, inspector (Nazir) of British Agent, was noticed to have visited Turra Baz Khan at his house. When the Amir heard of this, he at once issued an order that none of the subjects of Afghanistan should visit any man of the British Agency, without the permission of the State.

"*Refutation*.—At the time of Cavagnari, information was obtained in this way, and hence this order" (to avoid a second Cavagnari massacre).

"*Newspaper*.—Since the Amir thus treats the British Agent, it appears to be of little use to keep an embassy at Kabul.

"*Refutation*.—Such treatment is at once beneficial to both sides. If the people are not treated in this manner, the result would be disastrous. This is the same Afghanistan where, fifty years before, one hundred thousand men of the British Army perished; and again, only twelve years ago, what a large number of men were killed! The present Amir alone has brought Afghanistan into order.

"*Newspaper*.—It is very probable that forty or fifty men will be banished from Afghanistan on the charge of their being spies of the English.

"*Refutation*.—If it be known that *they spread falsehood and create ill-will between the two countries*, they will not be banished from the country, but put to death at once, and thus be banished from this world altogether.

"*Newspaper*.—Those who believe that the Amir is a friend of the British should explain the following: (1) Why should the Amir be averse to the English? (2) Why did the Amir imprison so many British subjects? (3) Why did the Amir restrict his subjects from conversing with the British Agent? (4) Why did the Amir allow the notorious outlaw Chikai to wage war in Turi and destroy the people? (5) Why are so many persons punished on suspicion of being British spies?

"*Refutation*.—(1) Had not the Amir been friendly to the English, the traders would not have been protected so well from the hands of the Afghans. The sole enmity is because the Amir has kindly treated Mr. Martin and other Indian traders. (2) The subjects of any country who commit crimes in other States are naturally sent to prison in those States. (3) People conversing with the ambassador disturb their minds, and consequently foment other evils. It is not good that the people should have intercourse with ambassadors from other States: it is therefore much better that they should be interdicted. (4) How long should the people of Afghanistan suffer from the hands of the Turis? and consequently the Amir has been obliged to take revenge. The Afghans patiently suffered the aggressions of the Turis for twelve years, but cannot keep patience any longer. (5) It is better that those who distribute the apple of discord should not exist.

"*Newspaper*.—The Amir has several times declared in Durbar that if the English were allowed to construct railways in the country, they would soon overcome the people and take possession of Afghanistan.

"*Refutation*.—Twice before the English have been unsuccessful in keeping possession of Afghanistan. They are not likely to try it again. But it is unfortunate that we, the people of Afghanistan, have neither the ability nor power enough to open railways.

"*Newspaper*.—It is wrong to believe that the people of Afghanistan do not understand the value of railways. There is no reason that a people who are adopting English manners, and using English boots and English coats, should not value the advantages of railways. But it is the Amir alone who thinks that the English would cheat him, and that their intention to construct railways in Afghanistan is founded on such treacherous motives.

"*Refutation*.—As regards the treacherous designs assigned by the correspondent to the British Government, the Government should honour him with a *khillat* (dress of honour or other reward), and treat him very courteously, and should be happy with their own free laws." ["This is sarcasm."] "But as regards Afghanistan, when order is fully restored in the country, and an army of six or seven hundred thousand will be ready, then will be the fit occasion for the construction of railways, but not till then."*

* This is perfectly true, for nothing short of a large army could protect railways through Afghanistan from every kind of depredation.

"Newspaper.—The Amir well knows that in case the railway is constructed as far as Kabul, he would not be able to carry on his intrigues with Russia." (There can be only one reply to such a calumny, and that reply is given in the following "refutation.")

"Refutation.—If the Amir be supposed to have opened a secret correspondence with Russia, or intends to do so in future, who could prevent his doing so? He is independent.

"Newspaper. The answer to those who affirm that the Amir shall never be against the English, since it was through the latter that he got the throne and Amirship of Afghanistan, would be that the Amir knows at the same time that he got the throne through Russia also. When the Amir was driven out of his country, and there was no place of refuge for him, Russia treated him so well that he remained to succeed to the throne of Kabul, and came to the scene at the proper moment. Besides, the British Government has not given over the throne of Afghanistan simply to oblige him. The throne of Kabul was given to the Amir because none could be found to control and govern the country, and the British Government pays a large annuity to the Amir that he may not join Russia.

"Refutation. The Amir knows that the country belongs to God. He alone is the bestower. No man can possibly give over a country to another. 'Thou honourest whomsoever thou willest, and putteth to shame whomsoever thou willest. Thou art all-powerful.' The Amir, through God's favour and his own knowledge, because God has given him knowledge, took the reins of government of the country of his own people from the hands of a foreign empire whose people were always in great danger and disquietude from the hands and tongues of the Afghans. He then quieted his own people at a time when there was none to govern and control the country, and there is none else even now. And the reason which the English put forth, has been asserted over the Amirs of Afghanistan since many years. But this is not a new thing.

"Newspaper. A man named Nur Ahmed Khan took the contract of vegetables and fruits for one hundred thousand rupees. The contract continued for two years. Meanwhile, he eluded the officers, and made away with fifteen thousand rupees. On the Amir being apprised of this, he ordered the man to be prosecuted. Nur Ahmed Khan got due notice of this, and when they came to capture him it was found, after a long and fruitless search, that he had run away with all his money and furniture and his family. The Amir has now ordered that every person of his tribe, wherever he be, should be seized, and the sum of fifteen thousand rupees realized from them.

"Refutation.—The vegetables and the fruits have never been given on contract in Afghanistan. The correspondent has created all these green and yellow gardens from his vivid imagination. There is no such person as Nur Ahmed said to be a contractor. And even supposing that any man absconds with public money, and runs away, or remains at home, his tribe and relations would be required to clear themselves of any complicity in his crimes. And whenever any tribe is informed of such wrong-doing they should watch the wicked persons. If wicked people commit offences

and are not checked by their tribesmen, the tribesmen become abettors, since they were aware of the crime and did not inform the Government, but preferred to remain quiet. This silence proves that they were partners in the crime. The functions of a Government are to punish and suppress crime, and thus have its influence felt. The correspondent is evidently ignorant of this great secret. It is not within the capacities of every weaver and menial.* "Dated 5th Shaban, 1309 A.H."

The Amir's notice of attacks in the Press may not seem to some to be of great importance, but it, at any rate, indicates which way the wind blows and the inconveniences that may be caused by irresponsible and subservient papers. There is no danger to India except from the ambition of certain officials. There is no necessity for warlike preparations, for the construction of military roads or even for a railway to Kandahar.† The question is not how can we best fight Russia, but is there any necessity for fighting her at all? There is none, if we leave the Buffer-States alone and if we strengthen an independent Afghanistan. We have a score of Hindukush-Circassias between ourselves and the Russian outposts in Central Asia, which no command of a Black Sea can circumvent, even after a struggle of 36 years for the possession of each one of them. Behind, but not in front of, these "Circassias," stands British India in an impregnable position, with unlimited supplies from the Indian Continent or Seaboard. Pushed forward, we confront an enemy that then, in his own turn, commands an uninterrupted supply of men and material on his own territory and from nearer bases of operations, not to speak of the military Cantonments and Colonies that have so skilfully been advanced during a generation. In a race for battle we must be lost, for no system of fortifications yet

* This may be an allusion to the class of persons that are often employed as correspondents or spies.

† With Pishin in our hands, we can control Kandahar within a week, in the event of a War, without, in times of peace, rousing Afghan suspicions by the construction of a railway to Kandahar. We also require no British agents at Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, as they may try to justify their appointment by interfering in Afghan affairs. Telegraphic communications of information, that had better "keep," are also not wanted, and the existing restrictions on trade are matters for the Amir and the traders concerned.

devised will protect the Indian frontiers once they become conterminous along thousands of miles with those of Russia. It is only by a race for good government and in the serene strength of a "masterly inactivity" beyond the Indian Frontier, that a foreign invader can be baffled. The enthusiasm of Indian Chiefs is a demonstration of loyalty that should not be lost on an enemy, but the Imperial Service troops were as little required as our own military preparations, unless we persevere in encroachments that have already brought us into conflict with border tribes, that are unfair to the Amir of Afghanistan, and that sooner or later must bring about a great War. Once there is no longer a strong and independent Afghanistan, a consummation so devoutly wished by Russia, there is no further taxation that will be possible in India in order to keep up the military expenditure. As it is, our finances cannot bear the burthen that it has already inflicted on them, though, of course, I presume that as India was perfectly safe from foreign aggression, the consequences of her inclusion within the range of British Imperial politics, will be paid for by the British taxpayer and not by the Indian ryot. I fear, however, that even the most enthusiastic Jingo will not be able to bear long or cheerfully a strain on his pocket which will be far more heavy than any caused by the French Wars. Of course, if Great Britain is prepared to follow whatever may be Russia's lead in Europe, then the peace in India may be preserved, though at a still unbearable cost of money and anxiety and to the great neglect of education and of non-military public works, even if their respective frontiers in Central Asia ran alongside of one another, but, in that case, we must be prepared to abolish our present system of administering India and precipitately introduce a military conscription and complete Home Rule in that continent, after we have destroyed its old indigenous Oriental forms of Self-Government, and have not yet developed the new and alien methods of a disloyal Anglicism.

THE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND MOROCCO.

BY MULEY ALI BEN ABD-ES-SALAM, SHEREEF OF WAZAN.

It is thought that an expression of native opinion, at the present moment, by a member of a Shereefian family that has not infrequently played an important rôle in Moorish affairs, may be of interest, whilst my parentage on the mother's side is a guarantee that I am not likely to be animated by any sentiment of hostility towards England.

I confess that I approach the attempt with some diffidence, not merely because I have hitherto taken but little interest in the political entanglements which characterise all international adjustments in Morocco, and which are too apt to degenerate into mere struggles for personal ascendancy, but because it is extremely difficult to criticise any policy without provoking the ill will of its initiators.

First let me say that the natural desire, both of his Shereefian Majesty Muley El Hassan, and the great majority of his subjects, is to be on good terms with our powerful foreign neighbours and, at the same time, to preserve intact our national independence.

So long as there were but few foreigners settled in the country, and those mostly merchants of good standing, the task was easy, but with the rapid increase of the European element, especially of the poorer class, it has become every day more difficult to avoid conflicts, together with that revival of race antipathies which is always a source of the gravest peril. During the spring and summer of 1892, public order in Tangier, where hitherto the good feeling between the various classes, of all nationalities, had produced a sense of exceptional security, was frequently disturbed; robberies and assaults increased to an alarming extent, and there was a general demand on the part of the European public for some more effective protection both for life and property.

The English minister, Sir Charles Euan Smith, was therefore commissioned by his colleagues, the foreign ministers, to request the Sultan to create a properly paid body of native guards; and the English minister further urged upon his Majesty the advisability of placing this force under the control of a European officer.

The Sultan decided to organize a native police but sent a native official, named Kaid Abet Es-salam ben Moussa, to take command of the men, who were mostly recruited from the Riffians settled in or near Tangier.

The Basha or Military Governor of Tangier, who is noted for his excellent disposition, and who is personally known and generally liked by the Europeans, represented to the foreign ministers the necessity of ordering the closure of the numerous taverns and coffee-houses, both native and European, at some reasonable hour of the night. I may here add, that the rapid increase of such establishments at Tangier, houses of the most disreputable character and not subject to the control of the local or native authority, has frequently called forth unavailing complaints and protests from the more respectable inhabitants, both native and foreign.

The foreign representatives had agreed, in principle, to the orders issued by the Basha, to the effect that these establishments should be closed at half past ten at night. But the notification led to much discussion, both in the Tangier foreign press, and in the coffee-houses and bazaars, the native centres for the distribution of news, where it was understood that the Spaniards of the lower class had declared that they would "knife" any Moor who should dare lay his hand upon a foreigner. It was under these circumstances that the native guard entered upon its task of giving effect to the new regulations for closing the wine shops and coffee houses.

The very first night, as might have been expected, a collision occurred. The guards used their batons, and one of them fired his gun. Several Spaniards were batoned,

and one Gibraltarian, who, it is alleged, was drunk at the time, was shot. An ultimatum, as every one knows, was immediately presented by the British authorities requiring an indemnity of one thousand pounds, the punishment of the guards, and the public reprimand of the Sultan's authorities at Tangier. The thousand pounds were paid ; and three of the guards were arrested, and confined to prison : their names are, Si Hamed el Wardighi, Wuld el Hadj Abd Essalem Heraresh, and a Shereef from Tetuan named Sid Hamed. The police force has thus become a mockery and a delusion ; and the authorities and more respectable inhabitants of Tangier are asking themselves where is their security now, in case of any outbreak of the European criminal class ? Would the Moorish guard dare interfere with Europeans again, after this recent experience ? Of course we quite understand that if such an outbreak should occur, if the lives or property of European residents should suffer, the Sultan would be again called upon to make good the damage incurred ! And, in the face of such events, the Sultan is asked to open still wider the doors of his Empire, to facilitate the establishment of Europeans in the other towns and cities of Morocco.

Doubtless we may be told that such is the price the Sultan must pay for ruling over a turbulent population ; that he must give way as other Mohammedan and Asiatic rulers have been compelled, to the invading march of European trade and commerce ! Were the great Powers united in formulating such a demand, Mulai El Hassan might indeed be compelled to yield,—but, are the interests of the great Powers identical ? Is it not to the interest of France, of Spain, and even of Italy, to maintain the *Status Quo* ? For if the Country should be opened to European enterprise, who would be most likely to avail themselves of the opportunity to establish a commercial or industrial footing ? Would it be the Frenchmen, who, abandoning “la belle France,” would populate the plains of

Morocco? or would the Spaniard or Italian hasten to invest their accumulations of unproductive capital in Moorish farms or mines?

Whilst I make these reflections, our English friends are doubtless exclaiming "Yes! but what about our prestige! Can we sit calmly under affronts from the Sultan of Morocco? or allow British subjects to be done to death, even when the British subject is disturbing public order and resisting the Tangier police in the exercise of their duty?"

I am perhaps over-young to offer advice to those who have, in so many countries, shown such capacity to take care of their own interests; yet I may be pardoned for calling attention to a fact which the English public may not fully realize—which is, that neither our national interests here in Morocco, nor our personal sympathies, allow us to neglect the advice of our French Counsellors. Leaving out of the question the tact and courtesy with which our notables are treated by the French officials,* France, with her continuous frontier and easily mobilized Algerian forces, especially adapted to deal with our own guerilla system, is not a *quantité négligeable* either for the Sultan or for the people of Morocco. It might therefore better accord with the dignity of any nation which does not desire to force the Sultan of Morocco into a conflict when he might be supported by the serried forces of the Algerian army, not to ask for concessions which, as I think I have shown, could scarcely be granted with safety to Moorish integrity, no matter how amiably disposed the Sultan may be personally, as we all are, towards our English friends.

It is unfortunately beside the question to urge that we should be better inspired to open our territory to foreign enterprise; that it would bring us undoubtedly an accession of wealth; and would result, in the end, in less turbulence,

* The elder brother of the writer, Mulay El Arbi el Wazani, has lately received the cross of the Legion of Honour.—EDITOR.

together with a most advantageous modification of the administrative abuses from which we suffer. For in the meantime, between our foes and our allies, we might fare but little better than the unfortunate Tangier guards, who thought they were doing what the European ministers desired (viz., to maintain order) by the only means they were accustomed to employ. True, they did shoot the Gibraltarian; but the Moorish view of the situation was, that the former should have peaceably obeyed the repeated injunctions of the guard to disperse, to go home, to go to bed, not to bawl or shout in the public streets, and smash windows; and that when, instead of thus obeying, the British subject attacked them, his blood should be upon his own head. Alas! they were not educated or accustomed, like the English policeman, to go unarmed about their work; and having fire-arms the Moorish guards thought themselves justly entitled to use their guns when attacked. And now, behold! they are murderers, and are ordered to be beaten and imprisoned; whilst their countrymen groan with indignation, and the Sultan broods in his palace over the event!

On the other hand there has been much animated discussion in the London Press, and also at Paris, Madrid and Rome. England was to send a new minister to retrieve the failure of Sir Charles Euan Smith last summer. For this task an Under-Secretary of State was selected. The *Times* even asserted, in an apparently inspired article, that Colonel West Ridgeway would come supported by such a display of naval force as would compel attention to his demands. Immediately there was question of sending a French squadron from Toulon under Admiral Buge—Italian frigates were announced from La Spezzia and Spanish troops were ordered to be mobilized at Malaga. Then M. Waddington goes to London with very energetic and precise instructions from M. Ribot; and, *presto*, the English music, lately so belligerent, is lowered a couple of octaves; and we now read, in paragraphs equally inspired,

that Sir J. West Ridgeway is to produce the desired effect upon the Sultan's Government, not by the display of ironclads or angry "notes," but by sitting solemnly at the British Legation, until the Sultan, becoming conscious of his own errors, sues for pardon.

The Sultan may indeed hasten to renew more friendly relations with a Power which he has no conceivable interest to offend; but I express an opinion which is that of my fellow-Muhammadans on this situation, an opinion which might also be that of many well-informed Englishmen, couched in a familiar Arabic phrase, which may be rendered: "Proceed as you begin, If by violence then violently to the end, If by moderation then moderately or benignly to the end." Or more literally translated: "Verily he who does an atom's weight, whether of good or evil, shall find it; as the beginning is good or evil, so shall the end be good or evil."

فمن يعمل مثقال ذرة خيرا يره ومن يعمل مثقال ذرة شرا يره إن
كان أوله بالخير يكون آخره بالخير وإن كان أوله بالشر يكون آخره بالشر

Frankly, such unseemly alterations and contradictions of attitude, as some organs of the English press have betrayed of late, are not likely to exalt the prestige of England in native, or foreign, or even in dispassionate English, eyes. Whilst, most unfortunately, infinite harm has resulted from all these alarmist rumours, bitter dissensions have been sown, trade seriously injured, and many much needed local improvements arrested here in Tangier, where English influence, if so beneficial as it is pointed out, might better make itself evident, not in belligerent bluster, but in good works, obviously advantageous even to Moorish eyes.

ALI BEN ABID-ES-SALAM,
Shereef of Wazan.

THE NEUTRALIZATION OF EGYPT.

BY SAFÎR BEY, AR-RASHÎDÎ.

[We have inserted the following article, as also extracts from Egyptian newspapers, in the conviction that the strong and well-meaning need not fear criticism, and that it certainly must be an advantage

"To see ourselves as others see us."

—ED.]

OUR religion lays down that our first duty is to man and our second to God, for man can be injured and God cannot, and as both "good works" or alms and "faith" are included in the same root of "Sadaqa" or "righteousness," "he who does not thank man does not thank God," and, finally, it is said that "men follow the religion of their rulers." I will, therefore, discharge the duty of friendship, and comply with your request to inform you of our feelings as regards the English occupation, though argument is no sword, and what is ordained cannot be avoided, and the pious are cautious of blaming Pharaoh (a tyrant), for God has appointed him because of our sins. This land of Egypt is also called the land of Pharaohs, and "to the wise a hint is sufficient."

We thank, therefore, the British for the good which they have done or wished to do, and we beg them now to withdraw, so as also to enable us to earn the merit of good actions by governing ourselves in the fear of God. It will then be seen whether the pupil has learnt the good lessons of his master, or whether he will rather follow his practice, for, verily, the English occupation has lasted more than ten years, and it has been an experience to whoever can profit by it. For though the imitator is not like the originator, yet has the child become a man, and the man will be saved by his own good works, and not by the works or the words of his teacher. It is also not fitting that the teacher should praise himself, for, as is said in the Fables of Lokman, if the lions were painters, the lion would be

represented as conquering the man, and not the man as conquering the lion.

The people of India, whom I have seen, are gentle as sheep; and the people of Egypt were lambs, before Alexandria was bombarded and Arabi taken into captivity and the Sûdân abandoned, which, owing to the help of our Khalîfa, the Sultan, we had ruled for 20 years in peace, and for wishing to retain which the Egyptian ministers were dismissed by Lord Granville in 1884 in a letter which has been wrongly applied in a recent discussion as touching the undoubted right of our Efendi, the Khedive, to appoint his ministers, which is a totally different thing.

Why should the English remain in Egypt, unless we can get back the Sûdân and re-establish the authority of the Khalîfa against the Mahdi, or "the guided" (who is verily *misguided*); then Muhammadans (Sunnis) all over the world would be pleased, and all believers would bless England, and thereby peace and faith can alone be restored.

Why should such large salaries be paid for the administration of justice to foreigners and they yet boast of being just, as if it were a wonderful thing for them to be just, when they already have their reward? And how can justice be administered when every fugitive from Europe has his own Law and a protector in his Consul? French and Russian and English and Italian and of all races come for gain to Egypt, and make false claims and get large compensations.

It is a strange thing that these nations, in whose homes there is much misery and vice and tyranny, are anxious to deliver the oppressed of one another, and not their own, and to lead them in the path of goodness. The French grieve over the oppressed Irish, the English mourn the oppressed Russians, and the Russians wish to free the oppressed Bulgarians, Armenians, and others. Africa has been divided among various nations of Europe, in order to sell their goods and procure produce by paying the smallest remunerations to the sons of the soil. Verily, slavery has been checked by the Prophet, on whom be Peace, but it

has raised the slave, so that he is of the house of his master, and is cared for when old or ill or weak, and ruling dynasties have descended from the Mamalûks (or "the possessed"). But he, who is employed by Europeans, is taught intoxicating drinks, and that, if he works, he can get money with which to buy them, and is left to die of hunger and the thirst of vanities when no longer able to work.

As for the Fellahin, their burthen has always been great, and they do not compare the sorrow of to-day with the sorrow of yesterday, but think the present more heavy than they can bear. Verily, there is truth in this, for the revenues have increased and the salaries of officials are large and the foreign protectors go away with large savings made in a poor country and from poor people, and spend them in rich countries where everything is expensive, whereas in former times our rulers died in the country and left their property to be divided, and, as long as they lived, having the same religion, could be deterred from injustice or punished for it in many ways through relatives or pious men or the censure of companions and the contempt of the people, for which foreigners do not care, getting their salaries from the Khedive, and obeying Lord Cromer.

As for the French, whose manners are light and whose yoke is heavy, they have asked the Khalifa to protest specially, but he has only renewed his old protest, for, by the arrangement with Wolff in 1887, the English occupation would have ceased in 1891, there being a clause of the help of an English army hereafter in the Sûdân, should H.M. the Sultan be unwilling to send more than a Turkish Commissioner with such army, as a sign of his authority over Egypt. The French, however, objected, and also spoke about occupying Syria, and they have, moreover, ruined Egypt by the construction of the Suez Canal, which has cost the lives of thousands of badly-fed labourers obliged to work for nothing, and, when they were dead, compensation was claimed for bringing foreign labourers, who filled the land with wickedness. The

commerce of Egypt has gone, for now the trade of all nations goes through the Canal without benefit to Egypt, and the silk is brought from Japan and the cotton from India and the railway is half empty, but God has punished the subverter of nature, when he wanted to build another Canal to join other waters that God has separated, and He has benefited the enemies of the Canal, who bought up for 500 francs the share which is now worth 2,000, and who now possess most of the shares and nearly all the trade and all manner of interest on this and on that, which is lawful to Christians and Jews. And the tribute also of about £700,000 a year which is paid by Egypt to the Khalifa, is given to foreign bond-holders, so that as long as the Sultan is our master they will enjoy the fruits of their manoeuvres. And in the same way let all Egyptian creditors be paid, whether their loans were for our good or for our evil, or were given willingly or not, for "the Believer" has never repudiated an acknowledged debt, whether just or unjust. or turned a suppliant from his gate, and the weak Jews who are expelled by Russia, the powerful, find an asylum in the territory of the Khalifa, may God lengthen his life and increase his glory! And as for Russia, which proposes to seek alliance with him, and thus to become the master of the Muhammadans in Central Asia and India, verily her persecutions of the Faithful and of other creatures of God will be on her own head, and though she may say to the French "Do this" and they do it, yet will this not continue, for the French are not enemies of Islām, and are among the greatest of nations, who will not obey anyone, whether it be Russian or German or both. Moreover, they speak politely, and they do not beat the Egyptians or find fault with everything, and they are not always wanting to see this and to see that, and are not ever writing books and reports, both men and women not knowing Arabic, and always saying they are the best of men, and sending news to their newspapers, which, being written in haste, are the causes of precipitation and strife, and, although little practising their

own creed, subverting our religion. If the English have come here for our good and to teach us to govern ourselves, they should leave us to do so after the teaching of ten years, and God will reward them as the miracle of the Age, but if they have come here for their good, let them say so, for an honest enemy is better than a faithless friend, and the lowest hell is prescribed for the hypocrite.

As the English vessels can command the Red Sea, even if an enemy had the Suez Canal, there would be no danger to them, and, at any time, "the mother of waters," the "Um-al-má" can be temporarily closed by the sinking of a large ship; so what is the use of giving Egypt as a prey to *all* nations, when by giving it to *none*, all will enjoy peace and the respect in this world and the next! Let it be declared that Egypt is a "Dár-ul-Imán" = a seat of safety and faith, and that whatever nation disturbs that condition, all other nations will fight against it. Let the religious authority of the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, be restored, and the followers of the misguided (Mahdi) will desert him. Let the large salaries now paid to foreign officials be reduced along with the taxes. The sum annually paid for the English army of occupation - whether the same be large or small - may still continue to be paid, provided it is spent on attempts to reconquer Khartum, though I believe that the moment the English army leaves, we shall be able to regain it by religious means. Our Lord the Khedive has acquired the sciences of Europe and possesses those of Islám. The people love him as no other Khedive has been loved, and if the English desire the respect of the people, they must treat him also with respect. We know our affairs better than any foreigner, and we can manage them more cheaply. We shall, however, ever revere the English, if to their great qualities, they add suavity for the creatures of God and consideration for the rights of others.

And although there are men who wield both the sword and the pen, yet should military officers not be sent on

missions of peace, unless disturbance is secretly intended, as at Morocco, for they will use the pens as swords; but they should be sent to the Sûdân, where even the women and boys fight bravely like the heroes of other countries, and the men are as whirlwinds of destruction. As for the heresy of the Mahdi, it had been revived by English wanderers denying the authority of the Sultan of Turkey, as the Khalifa of the Faithful, because he is not of Koreish descent. Truly, the Great Sherif of Mecca is a Koreishi, but he has no army to enforce his decrees, and is not recognized by the orthodox Community as Khalifa, though we venerate him, whereas the Sultan of Turkey has an army, and is so recognized by Muhammadans of the "Sunnat" all over the world. The holy Prophet, on whom be Peace, has said that "a short time after me there shall be no '*perfect*' Khalifa" (uniting all the qualities of descent, secular power, acceptance by the faithful, etc.), and therefore, nearly all the Khalifas have been "imperfect," but, none the less, are true Khalifas of the believers. Therefore, when Emperor Nicholas commanded that he would take Turkey and England might take Egypt, for the protection of her way to India, he wished to have under his control the Khalifa, and destroy the influence of England eventually in India and in Muhammadan countries. The rulers of England are of two parties, which, one openly, and the other secretly, obey Russia, though the people hate her, so they are like Gog and Magog, and we are approaching the days of darkness, unless it is the will of God that there be a delay, and this delay can only be if Egypt is made a land of peace (neutralized) and the authority of the Sultan is acknowledged in acts, as it is in words.

In conclusion, although newspapers, being, as a rule, the fruits of haste, are from Satan, and books, being the fruits of reflection, are from the Merciful, except those about Egypt written by men and women not knowing Arabic, yet it is lawful to seize the weapon of an enemy if one is on the point of destruction, and so I have written this

letter, which will be pure to those who are sincere of heart, but which will be a vexation to the double-dealing and to the tourists who sing and dance on the ancient monuments of Egypt, leaving empty bottles on them and buying bones and carved beetles from the mean of our people, and carrying away the documents of the past to their own countries. Verily these documents are from "the days of ignorance" (before the advent of the prophet Muhammad), but he has recommended us to "seek science, even if it be in China," which was not, in his time, and is not now, a country of Islâm. And whereas even "an intelligent enemy is better than an ignorant friend," so may also the English seek knowledge in Egypt in the fear of God and the love of men, and forgive any errors in this letter, for "it is the part of the small to err and of the great to forgive."

In connection with the above, we publish a few extracts from letters as also from Arabic and French papers that may be interesting to our readers.

The well-known author, M. Paul de R  gla, writes to us as follows, also suggesting the neutralization of Egypt :

"(Que puis-je vous dire au sujet de vos affaires en Egypte? J'en ai donn   mon opinion dans mes 'Lettres d'Orient' du Journal 'La Presse.' En r  alit  , je crains que l'occupation prolong  e de ce pays par vos troupes ne soit une cause f  cheuse de guerre europ  enne. Que l'Angleterre se pr  occupe du passage qui conduit aux Indes, c'est l   une chose naturelle. Mais ne peut-elle pas arriver au m  me r  sultat en neutralisant l'Egypte? Je le crois. Que l'Angleterre propose donc    l'Europe cette neutralisation. Elle   vitera ainsi de graves complications et n'aura plus besoin d'immobiliser une partie de ses troupes sur cette vieille terre des Pharaons. Or, qui peut dire que ces troupes ne vous seront pas n  cessaires aux Indes un de ces jours?")

An Arabic paper has the following comments on the conduct of English officials in the service of the Khedive in not recognising the ministry of Fakhri Pasha :

"We are not in a position to punish the insubordination of the English functionaries under the Egyptian Government and to show our indignation at their conduct whilst they take enormous salaries from the poor Fellah  n. You would have done much better, if you had waited for a decision of the negotiations (between the Khedive and Lord Cromer as to the Ministry) so as not to expose yourselves to public shame, O ye honourable English officials! We are now aware of your private ends in holding so many offices and warn the Egyptian Departments."

"By your revolt against the Khedive and his Government, you have manifested your evil policy in a telegram despatched to the *Times*,—in the book of Milner and in the publication of Coles (?). You ought to have been at once dismissed for your revolt, so that the *Times* could not have said that by such people is the throne of the Khedive strengthened.

"I conjure you by God to answer this question—if these are the proceedings of the civil functionaries, what can we expect to find from your officers in the Egyptian army, save a thorough submission to Lord Cromer as against His Highness the Khedive and his authority? How shall the Egyptians not defame your reputation and shun you; or shall they put no trust in you and give no credence to your oft-repeated promises? Where is the fulfilment of your solemn oaths, O where and where? . . . Let us, therefore, all unite in single-minded obedience to the beloved Khedive, our Lord Abbas, since we know his patriotism and the encroachments of the English on our honour and rights. . . . The question arising nowadays amongst serious men is whether the former political prestige of the English in Egypt was a result of their own skill or of our weakness—a question which apparently has solved itself: for the late occurrences have proved it to be a result of the latter. We are, however, now in a new era and before new men, who may cause us to forget the measures and men of the past.

"It is certain that all the actions of the Khedive were inspired by prudence and love of Egypt ('Egyptianism' or 'patriotism'). The ability of Abbas to discover in so short a time the selfish ends of the English is a great proof of his intelligence and judgment. The action of France, however, in at once appealing to the Sublime Porte, shows that France has more regard for our rights than the British."

Another writer, Sheikh Abu-Naddara, professes that the halfpenny Journal, which bears his name, is prohibited in Egypt by the British officials to whom it is sent gratis, but is eagerly bought by the natives for sometimes as much as five francs a number! In the Paris *Marine et Colonies* in a long article on "the Sultan, the Khedive. England and Egypt," the Sheikh affirms that since the advent of Abbas, he had laboured to draw closer the bonds between Turkey and Egypt. If so, we do not see in what respect this representative of native opinion differs from the truest British policy on the subject, and we can well afford to let him abuse us when he affirms that he "was ever right in maintaining that neither English intrigues nor their publications, written for an object, would ever succeed in detaching the Khedive from the Sultan. The weal of Egypt must ~~come~~ come from Stamboul:" and we have read his

recent novelette "Zarifa" on the Sûdân with the interest that our brave enemies deserve. We certainly think that a coalition of Russia, France and Turkey would be injurious to British, and fatal to Muhammadan, interests, and we cannot too severely deprecate the unpatriotic conduct of any Administration in England that is anti-Muhammadan in policy. The "beating of niggers," is, of course, unjustifiable, and may, at times, undo in a moment the good of years, whilst the impertinent curiosity of tourists, bent on book-making, has had something to do with the ill-feeling that undoubtedly exists in Egypt.

As regards the effect of the European Press on native culture it may be inferred from the following advertisement in the (English) *Egyptian Gazette*, where an interpreter professing to be well acquainted with English and Arabic calls himself, as he has no doubt *been* called, "*A single Egyptian fellow* of 26 years wishes to get employment with an English family." The advertisers in French show more self-respect and a more graceful command of that language, but the French papers in Egypt seem to devote too much space to *feuilletons* and love-affairs. The *Phare d'Alexandrie*, however, points out in an able article how "Lord Cromer with a little tact could have avoided raising the thorny and delicate question" of the continuance and popularity of the English occupation, for, as another French writer remarks, "whatever may happen, the fiction of the English being liked by any class of the Egyptian people is now at an end." We have not seen what the Italian papers in Egypt have to say on the late crisis; the Greek periodicals seem to confine themselves mainly to commerce, but in one, the Ταχίδρομος, we find the following passage: "The victory of Lord Cromer has been Pyrrhic. The 10 years' British rule is shown to be a house of cards before the breath of European political complications. The main hope of Egypt is in its Khedive, who has shown manliness and tact in the most delicate circumstances."

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES AS A FIELD FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

BY AN ANGLO-INDIAN COLONIAL.

HAVING been frequently asked when in India about the suitability of the Australian Colonies as a field for the settlement of retired Anglo-Indians, I here propose to set forth, very briefly, a few facts for the consideration of those who may have an idea of going there, after the completion of their service in India.

The first great obstacle that would be encountered is the extreme difficulty of getting good servants, or, indeed, any at all. The servants are mostly Irish girls, who are exceedingly rough and uncouth. Their knowledge of cooking is absolutely *nil*, and they spoil the simplest things, while their power of breaking the crockery is unlimited, and is simply ruinous to a family of small means, which in these days of the depreciated rupee, is unfortunately the condition of most Anglo-Indians. They tyrannise over their nominal masters and mistresses, who dare not reprove them, whatever their faults may be and however numerous. If one ventured on a mild remonstrance, he would be immediately overwhelmed by a torrent of shrill abuse, and the servant would probably depart without the formality of giving notice of her intention. They are generally wasteful, careless, and extravagant, while their power of making *dastūri* at the expense of their employers is unequalled by any *bārwarchi*. The Germans make better servants, but they are very scarce, as they generally labour with their husbands, fathers and brothers on the farms, and take their share of the hard work equally with the men ; but even could one succeed in getting a German, she would require to be trained by her mistress, and when she got used to the ways of the house, she would probably go to someone else, who offered her more money ; or she would get married and all the work of training a servant would have to be gone through *de novo*.

In addition to these drawbacks, servants in the Australian Colonies command very high wages ; in some parts from £40 to £50 a year is, I believe, considered moderate.

Up country, the difficulty of getting servants would be greatly enhanced.

There are no suitable schools for the sons of gentlemen. Education in the State schools is free ; but they are exactly the same class of schools as the Board School in England. In Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, and some other large towns there are very good Grammar Schools ; but even these are very mixed, for although sons of squatters, merchants, bankers and others attend them, yet there are always a certain number who have won a Government scholarship at an ordinary State School. It is for every father to consider whether he would care to have his sons attend such schools.

Really good schools for young ladies are very rare indeed. There are Girls' Grammar Schools, as well as private schools ; but I very much doubt whether an Anglo-Indian official would like his daughters to attend such schools, where they would meet girls of all classes. I consider that it is much more important for young ladies to go to schools where they would only mix with those of their own class, than it is for boys ; for girls pick up many habits and manners from those of their schoolmates who are of a lower social class than themselves, which are extremely objectionable. In many of these schools it is impossible to avoid mixing up the young ladies with girls of an inferior class, with the result that they very often lose their refinement and good manners, and pick up all kinds of vulgarity and slang, which is by no means an improvement. The best schools in the Australian Colonies for young ladies are, undoubtedly, the Convent Schools. There they are given a good education, and their manners and deportment are also carefully attended to by the nuns, who are very often ladies by birth. I have never heard of their tampering with the religion of daughters of Protestants committed to their charge ; but I

am well aware that many Protestants object to sending their daughters to these institutions.

The next point for consideration is, whether there be any congenial employment for Anglo-Indians and their capital, which is generally small.

I may begin by saying that Australia is most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital. The competition for employment out there is every bit as fierce as it is in England ; and all the large towns swarm with educated men, who have either no employment at all, or else are employed at a rate of remuneration such as barely suffices for a mere living. The ranks of the professional classes are all overcrowded ; and barristers, doctors, solicitors, surveyors, engineers and others, find it very difficult to make a living, unless they have sufficient capital to enable them to live for some years in comparative idleness, until they become known and trusted. A clever man in any of these professions, with sufficient capital to back him, would undoubtedly do well after a few years ; but so he would in England. It is the long waiting for the chance to distinguish himself that is so terribly trying.

Should, however, an Anglo-Indian with a moderate capital decide on settling in Australia, it would be by far the best thing to let his capital remain in some thoroughly sound security for a year or two, until he had gained a certain amount of colonial experience and made some good colonial friends, who could advise him what to do. If he were to try to invest his capital at once, he would be almost certain to fall into the hands of some plausible sharper, who would swindle him out of the whole. It is quite possible to get eight or ten per cent. on a good mortgage ; but it is a thing which no one should attempt without having at least a year's experience first ; for there are many things to be considered. For example, in the country districts, many of the farmers are in debt to the storekeeper in the local township, and he may have a bill of sale on the farm. Again, the land laws differ in all the colonies, and

it would be easy to lend money on a farm which the occupier held under certain conditions from the Government, to which, in case of his failure, it would revert.

I presume that no Anglo-Indian would think of farming on his own account, for he could never make it pay. The work is very hard, and no Anglo-Indian, even with grown-up sons to help him, could work a farm himself. To hire labour would be ruinous. Even supposing he could do without hired labour, I do not see how he is to make it pay, for he has no previous experience, and to successfully manage a farm one must be thoroughly trained for it.

Living, in the up-country districts, is certainly much cheaper than in England; but it varies considerably in different places, while there are many drawbacks, some of which, viz., want of good servants and schools, I have already touched upon, while others I shall mention later on. In the large towns, living is very little, if anything, cheaper than it is in England for people of the same class; though there are, of course, more amusements than up country. In Sydney and Melbourne there are nearly always some good theatrical companies to be found; but the theatres are only possible at certain times of the year, and in the summer the heat would be unbearable.

The greater part of Australia is liable to prolonged drought, in which the price of all kinds of produce goes up to famine rates, while horses, cattle, and sheep are then almost unsaleable at any price. The unfortunate farmer has sometimes to send his stock many miles for water, or else every drop has to be brought in carts, and his whole time is taken up in fetching water for drinking and domestic purposes. If he is so fortunate as to have permanent water on his land, the cattle become so thin and weak that they are continually getting "bogged," and then he has to spend hours in extricating them. As for buying food for them in time of drought, in many districts he would be unable to get it at any price; and where it was possible to buy any, the price would be prohibitive. Of course, if the

settler is so fortunate as to be near a line of railway he would not feel it quite so much ; but although a great deal has been done by the different Colonial Governments to extend their railways, it must be remembered that Australia is very sparsely populated : although it is nearly as large as Europe, its population is less than that of Ireland. Nearly all the railways have been built by the State, and private enterprise has done very little, so that many districts have no railway within fifty miles or even more, and no land could be purchased near a railway except at a prohibitive price.

Australia has the further disadvantage of having practically no large navigable rivers to make up for the lack of railways, as the mountain ranges are too near the coast.

I remember some years ago, when I was in Queensland, there had not been a drop of rain for over two years, and in all the churches and chapels there were prayers for rain. The drought was very general over the colony, as also over parts of New South Wales and South Australia. This was followed by very destructive floods. These were not quite so bad as the floods which have recently devastated some hundreds of square miles in Southern Queensland ; yet many small farmers and even large squatters, who had been sorely tried by the prolonged drought, were completely ruined by the floods, or had to borrow money from the banks at high rates of interest, while the horses, cattle and sheep which had survived the drought were swept away in hundreds by the floods.

Then as regards the climate. Many people are under the impression that Australia possesses a most delightful climate, not much warmer than England in summer and not so cold in winter, and that it has not the everlasting rain and gloomy weather with which the inhabitants of these islands are unfortunately afflicted. But this is by no means the case. True, Australia is not so damp as this country ; it is, on the contrary, remarkable for the extreme dryness of its climate. Of the three eastern colonies, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, the last is the

most temperate ; but in summer it is subject to hot winds and dust-storms, when the only thing to be done is to shut up the house as closely as possible and not go out at all. But as these storms sometimes last for several days together, it is almost worse to remain in the house for so long than to go out and face it. In New South Wales also, the hot winds are very trying, but the dust-storms are not so bad as those of Victoria. In Queensland the hot winds are not so frequent as in the Southern Colonies, but the climate is much hotter on the average. In fact, the Australian Colonies in summer are quite as hot as many parts of India ; and in Sydney and Melbourne the thermometer is often above 90° in the shade, while in Brisbane it is above 100° ; and further north it is, of course, hotter still. This may not seem very much to those accustomed to the heat of the Indian Plains in summer ; but in India there are various compensations which are totally absent from Australia, such as punkahs, tatties, thermantidotes and plenty of cheap servants to wait on one. There are no such things as punkahs and tatties ; and even if there were, there are no servants to work them. For my part, I consider life in India in the hot weather far more endurable than in Australia. In India, ladies and children can always go to the Hills and escape the worst part of the hot weather ; but in Australia there are no Hill Stations.

The cold weather in Queensland (May, June, and July) is bright and invigorating, and very similar to that of India : cold at night and in the early morning, and agreeably warm in the middle of the day.

In New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, it is, of course, much colder ; while in Sydney and Melbourne the hot winds which were so prevalent in the summer, become the piercing cold winds of the winter ; for it is a curious fact that in Australia the hottest and coldest winds in the year blow from the same quarter, the West. No overcoat can protect one from the bitter cold blast and I have never yet felt an East wind in London that

could compare with the West wind in Sydney and Melbourne in July.

In Australia, every man thinks himself the equal of every other man ; and this, though no doubt very charming in theory, is rather embarrassing in practice. An Anglo-Indian settling down there, who expected anything like the deference and respect which he is accustomed to in India, would be greatly disappointed. His own servants, if he employed any, would talk to him in a free and easy style which would rather shock his sensibilities.

Another drawback for an Anglo-Indian is, that there is no cultured class in Australia. The country is too young yet for any considerable class to devote its attention to culture and refinement. Everyone is too busy making money to have any time to spare for that sort of thing ; and this would no doubt be very trying for an Anglo-Indian. There are many very wealthy men in Australia ; but they are nearly all self-made men, and are very proud of their own handiwork ; but whether Anglo-Indians would join them in their self-admiration, or find them pleasant companions, may be doubted.

Most of their public men—legislators, magistrates and others—are men who emigrated many years ago, when fortunes were rapidly made and as rapidly lost. It is even said (but this is an exceedingly delicate point), that some of them were either convicts who had been released on a ticket-of-leave, or the descendants of such ; and though they are now justly respected for their many excellent qualities, yet they are not quite the sort with whom Anglo-Indians would care to be intimately associated.

The Australian Colonists are, as a rule, the kindest-hearted and most generous and hospitable people in the world. They extend a warm welcome to visitors from the "Old Country" as they affectionately call England, and entertain them royally. I do not know of any more delightful place to go for a visit than either Sydney or Melbourne ; but Australia is not a place where I should recommend Anglo-Indians to settle down.

These remarks apply to the island-continent of Australia only, and do not include either New Zealand or Tasmania, where I have not been. But while in Australia I naturally met many people from both places ; and I will in a few brief lines say what I think of them. New Zealand and Tasmania have each a very delightful climate, though on the whole, I believe Tasmania to be superior to New Zealand in this respect, and I believe that there are many Anglo-Indians already settled down there. Regarding suitable schools, I can, of course, say nothing of my own knowledge ; but I understand that in this respect they are very similar to Australia. As to servants I cannot, for the same reason, speak positively, but I never heard that they were more plentiful or more suitable, than in Australia. From all I could gather, I think that New Zealand and Tasmania and more especially the latter, are far more suitable for the settlement of Anglo-Indians than the mainland of Australia ; but it would be advisable for anyone who thought of settling there, to go out and see for himself beforehand---say during a furlough---and not take anything simply on trust from agents and interested parties.

To sum up, I am of opinion that Australia is a most unsuitable place for the settlement of retired Anglo-Indian officials, who have a family to educate and bring up to some profession. Tasmania and New Zealand I consider far more suitable in some respects though they too have drawbacks similar, in others, to those in Australia. To all, I say, before finally deciding to settle in our Australian Colonies go there for six or twelve months and see for yourselves. For those whose pensions are paid in silver, there is the additional disadvantage of the heavy loss by exchange, the coinage in Australia being the same as in England. A Hill Station or valley in India appears far more suitable in every way, than any part of Australia, for the Anglo-Indian.

“VIKRAMÂDITYA'S ERA.”

TWO PAPERS READ AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
ORIENTALISTS (LONDON, 1891).

- I. The Samvat Era by Pandit Jwâlâ Sahâya of Ludhiana (Panjab).
- II. Bhârata Nâtya Shâstra or the “Indian Dramatics by Bhârata Munshi” by Pandit H. H. Dhruva of Baroda.

These two papers, from the pens of well-known native scholars, mark another stage in the history of Indian Chronology, and furnish a fresh illustration of Prof. Whitney's dictum, that all dates in Indian Literary History, based upon the conjectures of European scholars “are pins set up to be bowled down again.”

The history of the controversy as to Vikramâditya's date is briefly as follows: universal tradition in India places Vikramâditya and the “nine Jewels” of his Court—of whom Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Shakuntala*, was the most famous—in the first century before Christ, and makes this first year of his era almost coincide with Julius Cæsar's invasion of Britain.

Some years ago, a school of European Orientalists, setting aside the universal tradition, attempted to show, by a series of ingenious conjectures and assumptions, that Vikramâditya's date was really six or seven centuries later. The reasoning which led to this conclusion was never very convincing, and was based on the very dangerous doctrine that it is possible to fix the date of a work by arguing deductively from the assumed antiquity or modernness of the ideas it contains. When writing of the date of the Upanishads, Prof. F. Max Müller himself pointed out how dangerous this doctrine is: “Till we know something more,” he wrote, “about the date of the first and the last composition or compilation of the Upanishads, how are we to tell what subjects and what ideas the first author or the last collector was familiar with? To attempt the impossible may seem courageous, but it is hardly scholarlike.”*

The reasoning which led to Vikramâditya's date being placed in the sixth century after Christ, may be illustrated as follows: “Kâlidâsa was contemporary with Vikramâditya. Kâlidâsa's style is artificial, and therefore comparatively recent; the seventh century of our era is a comparatively recent date; therefore Kâlidâsa, and with him Vikramâditya, must belong to about the seventh century of our era.”

It is hardly necessary to point out the fallacy of this argument, as the conjectures on which it was based have practically been given up, and scholars are coming round to the view, first put forward by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Peterson, that the universal Indian tradition as to the Vikramâditya era, is almost certainly right.

One word more; the view has been put forward, and Prof. Weber has endorsed it, that the Samvat era is a parallel to the Julian and Gregorian computations; and that it may be as wrong to put Vikramâditya in the first year of his era as to put Julius Cæsar or Pope Gregory in the first year of the Julian or Gregorian Calendars.

* *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xv., p. xxiv.

But this is quite misleading. The case of the Samvat era is completely different from the cases of the Julian and Gregorian *Calendars*. No one speaks of the Gregorian *Era* or of the Vikramâditya *Calendar*, so that this parallel was fallacious from the very beginning, and all reasoning based on it was necessarily erroneous.

Prof. Weber has pointed out that we do not know what event formed the starting point of the Samvat era, and has used this as an argument to discredit the traditions of India ; but exactly the same may be said of our own era ; since the birth of Christ is fixed by the authority of the Church in the *fourth* year B.C. But no one has sought to base on this fact a theory that Julius Cæsar was contemporary with Egbert or Charlemagne ; and the transfer of Vikramâditya from the first century before Christ to the sixth century of our era is really something like this.

The movement set on foot by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Peterson is remarkable, not so much because it throws back a date in Indian history several centuries ; but far more so because it is a vindication of Indian Chronology, as against European conjecture ; let us hope that it marks a new era in the study of Sanskrit Chronology and its illustration by the living traditions of the East.

We trust to be able to publish the second, or Pandit Dhruva's, paper in our next issue, when we also hope to have an opportunity of bringing this important inquiry up to date by the light of the most recent researches.---ED.

THE SAMVAT ERA.

BY PANDIT JWÂLÂ SAHÂYA.

DURING the last few years, much has been written, by various Oriental scholars, on the era of the well-known Hindu king, Vikramâditya the Great, so much eulogized by native poets for the encouragement he gave to learning, and whose court was adorned by "the nine illustrious jewels ;" he is held by some to have reigned 57 B.C., while others deny this statement, and urge that the style of Kâlidâsa's poetry cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than the sixth century A.D., a period which has been termed the "Renaissance of Sanskrit literature." According to the conjecture of the latter party, Vikramâditya, who had under his protection such poets as Kâlidâsa and Shanku, flourished in the 6th century A.D. Dr. Fergusson is at the head of those scholars who advance this theory. He maintains that the Vikrama era began in 544 A.D., whereas

according to Hindu chronology it began in 57 B.C. Prof. Max Müller, enforcing the former view, states that "the whole theory would collapse if one single stone or coin could be produced dated contemporaneously 543 of the Samvat of Vikrama." Dr. Weber endorses the view of Holtzmann, which is as follows:—"To assign him (Vikrama) to the first year of his era might be quite as great a mistake as we should commit in placing Pope Gregory XIII. in the first year of the Gregorian Calendar, or even Julius Cæsar in the first year of the Julian period to which his name has been given, *i.e.*, in the year 4713 B.C." Prof. Peterson argues that this theory is no longer tenable, and shows (in a paper read before a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay) that poetry of the kind exemplified in the books of Kâlidâsa was already an old art in India in the first century of the Christian era. It reached back at least to the poem on the life of Buddha by Ashva-ghosha, a Brahman converted to Buddhism, who wrote in the time of Kanishka (78 A.D.). Prof. Peterson thought that the great triad of grammarians—Pânini, Kâtyâyana and Patanjali—were all poets as well; and holds that it is no longer desirable to regard with distrust the traditions which assign Vikramâditya and his court to 57 B.C., and represent him as surrounded by famous poets. Dr. Bühler has come to the conclusion that the era was in use before 544 A.D., and Prof. Kielhorn agrees with him.

I have not the slightest hesitation in agreeing with the last-mentioned three scholars; and the following notes are written to support their view.

The well-known native tradition found in the *Jyotirvidâbharana* makes Kâlidâsa the most illustrious poet of Vikrama's court; and his poems and dramas show that he was well-versed in almost every branch of Sanskrit Literature. In his works we find references made to Vedic theology, Hindu philosophy, Pauranic stories, and astrology, so that his writing the *Shrutabodha* on Prosody and the *Jyotirvidâbharana* on Astrology is not surprising. He mentions himself in the *Jyotirvidâbharana* :—

Shankv-âdi panditavarâh kavayas tv aneke,
 Jyotirvidah samabhavanshcha Varâha-purvâh ;
 Shri Vikramasya budhasansadi prâjyabaddhes,
 Tair apy aham nayasakhah kila Kâlidâsa h ;

Kâvyatrayam sumatikrd Raghuvansha pûrvam,
 Jâtam yato nanu vishrutikaryavâdah ;
 Jyotirvidâbharana Kâlavidhânashâstram,
 Shri Kâlidâsa kavito hi tato babhûva ;

and

Varshe sindhuradarshanâambaragunair yâte kalâu sanmite,
 Mâse mâghava sankshite'tra vihito granthakriyopakramah ;

It is evident from the last of these verses that the *Jyotirvidâbharana* was written in 3068 of the Kali Yuga. According to the Kali era the present year is 4993. Hence the book was written 1925 years ago. Various works on Astrology assign the date 3044 of the Yuddhisthra or Kali era to the accession of Vikramâditya, who began to reign 24 years before Kâlidâsa composed the *Jyotirvidâbharana*. It can now be mathematically concluded that the Samvat era was counted from the accession of Vikramâditya.

Moreover I recently secured a Sanskrit MS. named *Gurjaradeshabhûpâvali*, which helps much to dissipate doubts on the subject. The book, consisting of about 100 stanzas, was written by Rangavijaya, a Jaina, in Samvat 1865. So little historical literature in Sanskrit has come down to us that even a small historical record is a great boon to modern investigators. The author gives a very detailed account of the kings of Gujarat from the death of Mahâvîra, the teacher of Jainism, to the decline and fall of the Mughal power in India. I give a brief synopsis of what he says of the Hindu Râjâs.

The very night when Mahâvîra, the Tîrthankâra, breathed his last, Pâlaka ascended the throne and reigned sixty years. He was succeeded by the nine Nandas, whose rule lasted for 155 years. Then followed the Mauryan dynasty of Chandragupta, which held the throne of Gujarat for 108 years. After this we find the names of Pu. pamitra, Balamitra, and Naravâhana ; these reigns

occupy 130 years. Gardabhilla, who ruled for 13 years only, is described as having lost the throne through the intrigues of Shyâmâchârya Saraswati. The Sâkas (Scythians) then occupied the land for 4 years, and were subsequently driven out by Vikramâditya, the King of Ujjayinî, who ascended the throne 470 years after the death of Mahâvîra. He has been greatly eulogized for his liberality and benevolence. He instituted a new era of *samvatsaras* (years), and reigned 86 years. His son succeeded him, but another king, Shâlivâhana, rose into power after 135 samvatsaras (years) had passed, and created the Shâka era. I think it better to quote what the author says about Vikramâditya and Shâlivâhana :—

Vîramokshachcha saptatyâyute varshachaturshate,
 Vyatîte Vikramâditya Ujjayinyâm abûd itah ;
 Satvasiddhâgnivetâlah pramukhânekadevatah,
 Vidyâsiddho mantrasiddhah siddhah sâuvarnapurushah ;
 Dhairyâdigunavikhyâtah sthâne sthâne narâparâih,
 Parîkshakashapâshâna nighashasatvakâñchanah ;
 Sa sanmânâih shriyâm dânaîr narânâmakhlâmilâm,
 Krtvâ samvatsarânâm sa bhâsitkartâmahitale ;
 Shadashâtimitam râjyam varshânâm tasya bhûpatch,
 Vikramâdityaputrasya tato râjyam pravartitam ;
 Pañchatrinshadyute bhûyâdvatsarânâm shate gate,
 Shâlivâhana bhûpo'bhûd vatsare shakakâarakah ;

After 50 years' reign of Shâlivâhana, Balamitra the Pious became king, and reigned for 100 years. From Samvat 285 years the author names Kings Harimitra, Priyamitra and Bhânumitra, whose reigns lasted up to Samvat 557. Then followed Âma, Bhoja, and 5 others, who ruled for 245 years. Banarâja, the first of the Chaura dynasty, was King of Gujarat for 60 years, during which time he built the city of Pattana. Other Chaura kings are as follows :—Yogarâja, 35 years ; Kshemarâja, 26 years ; Bâhadurâja, 29 years ; Badhar Singh, 25 years ; Ratnâditya, 15 years ; and Sâmantha Singh, 7 years. Altogether the Chauras reigned 196 years.

We now come to Samvat 998 when Mûlarâja took the sovereignty of Gujarat and held it for 55 years. He was .

undoubtedly the first of the Châlukya dynasty. Then followed kings of this family, and reigned about 245 years. The most famous among them is Kumârapâla (Sam. 1199-1230). His clever minister Vâhada built the temple of Jinapati in Bhrgupura, the capital of the Lât Country. In Samvat 1298 Viradhavala ascended the throne, and dying ten years after was followed by four Râjâs who ruled Gujarat for 63 years; the last of these, Karana Deva (Sam. 1361-68), was succeeded by Khizr Khan Khilji.* Thenceforward Gujarat became the possession of Moham-madan Kings, and the author comes down to the time of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam.

This author seems to have compiled his epitome from some larger books of history before him. Though so little historical literature is preserved in the Brahmanical books, yet recent researches have shown that Jaina libraries can throw much light on the ancient history of India. Recent investigations have also shown that Jainism came into existence about the same time as Buddhism, and that both these systems branched off quite independently of each other, from a common form of asceticism which had existed long before the 6th century before Christ. According to the *Gurjarudeshabhûpâvali*, Mahâ-vîra, the 24th Tirthankâra of the Jainas, died 527 B.C. I am told by a learned teacher of Jainism that the death of Mahavîra occurred 16 years after that of the founder of Buddhism. The latter happened 2434 years ago, if we give some weight to the Buddhistic chronology† prevalent even now among the Buddhists.

The Pâlaka mentioned in this book is very likely the Râjâ named in Shûdraka's drama named *Toy-cart*. Pâlaka died in 467 B.C.; and nine Nandas reigned till 312 B.C. The Mauryas had possession of Gujarat from 312 to 204 B.C.

* From this period, we have Mussulman synchronisms for the history of India.

† The Buddhistic era now is 2434. Notice that $16 + 470 + 1948$, the current Samvat = 2434.

Then followed Pushpamitra, most probably the one mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali.* A little later we find Gardabhilla, the well-known father of Vikrama. The Scythians took possession of the country for four years, and were driven out in 57 B.C. by Vikrama, then known by the name of Sâkâri (the enemy of Sâkas), and he ascended the throne of Malawa and its dependencies (including Gujarat, etc.). It was most probably in commemoration of his great success that he began to reckon an era from his accession. Further on, we find that, 135 years after Vikrama's accession, Shâlivâhana became paramount ruler and instituted the Shâka era. It is a noteworthy fact that the commencement of both the Samvat and Shâka eras was originally connected with the defeats of the Scythians at the hands of Vikrama and Shâlivâhana, respectively.

Rangavijaya, the author of *Gurjaradeshabhûpâvali*, gives such a detailed consecutive description of the Hindu kings that preceded and followed Vikramâditya, that it will be admitted by the reader to bear the stamp of trustworthiness. If in accordance with Dr. Fergusson's suggestion Vikrama be supposed to have reigned in the 6th century A.D., what kings must we invent to fill up the gap of 86 years after 57 B.C., and to win a great victory over the Scythians? Some scholars would like to suppose more than one Vikrama to have held paramount power in India. But so far as this important MS. is concerned, we find no other Vikrama mentioned except the Sâkâri.

It has now, besides, been ascertained that Shâlivâhana's era began in 78 A.D.; and Rangavijaya states that it happened 135 years after the commencement of the Samvat. This fact is proved not only by the MS. in question, but is also evident from the following traditionary lines which are found in almost all astrological books and commonly given in the beginning of Sanskrit almanacs :—

* Sabhârâjâ 'manushyapûrva: II. 4, 23 Pânini; Patanjali explains this sûtra thus: Tadvisheshanânâncha na bhavati; pushpamitrasabhâ Chandraguptasabhâ.

Yudhishtiro Vikrama-Shâlivâhanâu,
Tatas tu râjâ Vijayâbhinandanah ;
Tatastu Nâgârjunah Kalkibhûpatih,
Kalâu shad ete shakakârakâsîrtâh.

Prathama Indraprashthe Yudhishtirah ; tasya Shakah 3044. Dvitiya Ujjayinyâm Vikramas ; Tasya shakah 135.

I see no reason for discarding this astrological tradition, which seems to be supported by Jaina literature, so far as the Samvat and Sâka eras are concerned.

To suppose the Samvat *era* to have originated like the Gregorian and Julian *calendars*, is quite an unwarranted assumption, for which no evidence is found in the ancient history of India.

Further on Rangavijaya mentions Âma, Bhoja, and five other kings who reigned, Sam. 557-802. If we allow 15 years for Âma, Bhoja can fairly be imagined to have ascended the throne about Sam. 542. This date of Bhoja's accession accords exactly with that given by a later Hindustani chronicler,* who says that Bhoja lived 542 years after Vikramâditya. The Hindustani chronicler mentioned above had undoubtedly in his mind the Bhoja who reigned about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and counted his date 542 years after 57 B.C.

In conclusion I venture to think that in the light of my brief remarks in support of the Vikrama era we do not really stand in need of any stone or coin to prove its antiquity. I may mention incidentally, however, that Dr. Cunningham, in his "Archæological Survey of India." iii. 31-39, directly assigns an inscription, dated Samvat 5, to the year 52 B.C.

* Probably Sher Ali Afsos. *Vide* Weber's "History of Indian Literature," page 201, note marked ||.

NOTE ON THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN NUMISMATICS,

DURING THE YEAR 1891—1892.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S.,

Indian Civil Service, N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

CIRCUMSTANCES have prevented me from preparing a formal supplement to the Report on the Progress of Indian Numismatics which was submitted to the Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891;* but even an informal note calling attention to the most remarkable works on the subject published during the last twelve months may be of use to some persons, and I therefore venture to submit such a note, though it is avowedly rough and incomplete.

The Government of the Panjâb has issued in quarto, published at Lahore, a Catalogue of the Coins in the Lahore Museum, prepared by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India. A long review of this book written by the author of this note appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for June, 1892 (vol. xxi., p. 194). Mr. Rodgers' Catalogue is in many respects open to criticism, but gives full details of the coins in the collection. I understand that, since its publication, the whole of Mr. Rodgers' cabinet, including his fine series of Mughal coins, has been bought by the Panjâb Government.

Mr. Rodgers is engaged in preparing a Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which has recently acquired the splendid series of gold coins of the Gupta period, collected by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E. This set includes about 100 pieces.

In a paper entitled "Observations on the Gupta Coinage," read at the Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1892, I noted all the new facts gleaned from personal examination of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's and other coins,

* The introduction to that Report was printed in the "Academy," and has been reprinted in Mr. Crooke's periodical, "North-Indian Notes and Queries" (Allahabad, 1892).

and brought up to date my monograph on the Gupta Coinage published in 1889. Dr. Bühler's opinion that the Gupta Era was founded by Chandra Gupta I. at his accession, the year 1 being 319-320, seems correct. A revised chronology of the Gupta dynasty is given in the paper referred to.*

Many numismatic notes will be found scattered through the pages of Dr. Führer's "Monumental Antiquities of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," a handsome quarto, lately issued from the Government Press at Allahabad. This work was reviewed at length by me in the "Indian Antiquary" for October, 1892.

Dr. Hoernle at Calcutta continues to examine and describe all noteworthy coins which pass through his hands. A catalogue of the coins in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is badly wanted.

The publication by Sir A. Cunningham of his little book "Coins of Ancient India," (8vo, London, Quaritch, 1891), has thrown a flood of light on the ancient coinage of India from the earliest times down to the seventh century A.D. An elaborate review of the book by me appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for November, 1892. Equally important is Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's Catalogue of the Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the British Museum, just published.† The historical portion of Mr. Lane Poole's book is issued separately at a low price, and entitled "The History of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan, illustrated by their Coins."‡ These two works supply for the first time much-needed systematic guides to the coins of the pre-Muhammadan period, and to those of the long line of Mughal emperors.

An account by Dr. Hultzsch of the coins of the southern

* This paper is printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, January, 1893; with 3 plates. Plate II. gives facsimiles of selected coin-legends, prepared by Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum.

† Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, vol. iii. Coins of the Mughal Emperors, by Stanley Lane Poole, with a map and thirty-three autotype plates. (8vo. Printed by order of the Trustees, London, 1892.)

‡ 8vo. Archibald Constable and Company, Publishers to the India Office; Westminster, 1892. This edition consists of one hundred copies, numbered 1 to 100, and was exhausted in November, 1892.

kingdom of Vijayanagar appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for September, 1891. The same periodical, for November, 1892, contains another valuable article by the same scholar, entitled "South-Indian Copper Coins." Most of the coins described form part of those selected by him from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras. The coins treated of are classed as (1) Vijayanagara, (2) Chola, (3) Madura, (4) British East India Company, (5) French coin of Karikal. He quotes the following recent numismatic works:—

(1) "The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire," by James Atkins. London, 1889.

(2) "History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum," by Edgar Thurston. Madras, 1890.

(3) "Pandyan Coins," by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M.A. In the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1887-88.

(4) "Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India," by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M.S.C. Madras, 1889.

An article by Mr. T. J. Symonds, on "The Coins of the Nawâbs of the Karnatik," appeared in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, vol. ii., No. 5.

A learned and valuable paper on the "Coins of the Hûna Kings" was submitted by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the London Congress of 1892, but is not yet in print. The Hûnas, presumably the same as the Huns who devastated Europe, are now beginning to take a very clearly defined position in the history of India during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. A still more important publication by the Nestor of Indian archæology and numismatics is Sir A. Cunningham's treatise on the "Coins of the Kushâns, or Great Yue-ti," illustrated by eleven autotype plates, which has appeared in the "Numismatic Chronicle" for 1892. This work, combined with the author's earlier papers, will

probably be considered for a long time to come the leading authority on its subject.*

M. Edmund Drouin has published, in the "Babylonian and Oriental Record" for November, 1892, a short paper entitled "A Symbol on Turko-Chinese Coins," in which he notes that a certain symbol found on these coins is also found on the coinage commonly attributed to the Sunga kings, and on other ancient Indian issues. He suggests that this symbol may be derived from the Egyptian scarabæus.

Mr. Rea, in the Progress Reports of the Archæological Survey of Madras, submitted by him from time to time to the Local Government, frequently notes facts of numismatic interest. These valuable reports are distributed to a considerable number of learned societies and individuals, and I have no doubt that the Madras Government would gladly supply them to any scholar likely to make use of them. The Government of the North-western Provinces and Oudh has recently, for the first time, issued a similar Progress Report for the year 1891-92. In this document Dr. Führer shows that the original name of the site now known as Rāmnaḡar, and called Ahikshetra, Ahikshatra, or Ahichchhatra in the Mahābhārata, Harivansa, and Pāṇini respectively, was Adhichhatrā. When excavating a Saiva temple at this site he found (among other discoveries of high importance) 16 copper coins of the Kings Dhruvamitra, Sūryamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Phalgunimitra, Agnimitra, Brihaspatimitra, Indramitra, Vishnumitra, and Jayamitra.

I have not been able to search systematically for the year's publications, and the above rough notes are all that I am in a position to give. I submit them, such as they are, at Dr. Leitner's request, and hope that they may be of some use.

February 22, 1893.

* Cunningham (Sir Alexander), "Coins of the Indo-Skythians: Sakas and Kushans," 5 parts in 1 vol., 8vo., *map*, 27 *plates of Coins, alphabets, etc.*; cloth, 30s. (Quaritch, 1893). This is a collection of six papers printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but here reduced to a whole in order to facilitate the attentive study which they demand.—*Publisher's Note.*

ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH TEXTS.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

Many disasters can be traced to our linguistic shortcomings. Millions of money and multitudes of men have been sacrificed in order to save the prestige of a mistake in translation committed "by authority." As a Chief Interpreter during the Russian War in 1855-56 I first felt and pointed out the grave inconvenience of leaving to Levantine subordinates a monopoly in the command of languages which should be acquired by Englishmen to be trained in England for careers in the East.

In London I founded the Oriental Section at King's College, which had such pupils as the present Dr. Wells and others who have distinguished themselves as Oriental scholars. Before I left it for my Indian appointment in 1864, it grew to 22 students, taking up four Oriental subjects each; after all, not a satisfactory result in the Metropolis of the greatest Oriental Empire, but still more so than its present condition of barely numbering half-a-dozen students, amalgamated though it is with the Oriental Classes of University College, and enjoying, as it does, the inestimable patronage of the Imperial Institute.

Considering, however, that its President, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as early as 1866, encouraged the establishment of an Oriental Society and University in the Panjab, and that the Imperial Institute will be formally opened on the 23rd May next by the Queen-Empress, who is herself a student of Urdu, we may be at the beginning of a new Era of living Oriental studies in this country, which are indispensable to its culture and material welfare.

Hitherto these studies have been the mere stalking-horse of so-called Orientalists unable to speak a single Oriental language. The reason of their real neglect is not far to seek. When a Clergyman need not *master* Hebrew, the language of the Old, and the true interpreter of the New, Testament, why should Indian Governors learn Urdu? When there are natives of various parts of the East who know, or mutilate, English, why trouble ourselves to obtain full and faithful information and the confidence of the Oriental *masses*, by acquiring their languages and by a sympathetic attitude towards their religions, customs, arts, and aspirations?

The East is now often misrepresented by europeanized specimens, as England is flooded with the writings of popularity-seekers, whose knowledge of English and of English audiences constitutes the real secret of their reputation as Orientalists. These publications have often diverted intending students from Oriental research in its original languages, which is the only road to Oriental learning. The public is satisfied with diluted and distorted information obtained at second-hand from those whose aim, in this age of hurry, is "to get on," not "to know" or to impart a linguistic knowledge that would destroy the rule of the one-eyed among the blind.

I. THE URDU NATIONAL ANTHEM.

As I consider it to be most important, if not indispensable, that every person, from the Secretary of State for India downwards, who is connected with the administration of that country, should be, at least, a master of Urdu, its *lingua franca*, I wish to point out, as I have since 1859, the inconveniences that arise from our continued neglect of Oriental Linguistics. I will begin with the Urdu translation of the "National Anthem," a task to which, it might have been supposed, that even our Chamber-Orientalists would have addressed the fulness of their attention and knowledge, but which was, practically, left to a Persian who was only imperfectly acquainted with that language. A movement, which cost or spent much money, time and labour, for rendering the Anthem into various Oriental languages, took place ten years ago, but beyond the Bengali and, perhaps also, the Gujerati versions (which I am not competent to criticize) a more lamentable exhibition of want of linguistic insight and scholarship, especially in the Urdu translation, could not be conceived. As I see that this production is actually republished with praise, in a recent "up-country" paper in England, I must again expose its defects and the carelessness of those who recommended it for adoption, but *none* of whom really knew Urdu.* I will

* I make an exception in favour of the late Professor W. P., who is *alleged* to have approved it, and of Sir W. M., who is, however, not so much an Urdu as an *Arabic* scholar, and who, therefore, advocated the official adoption of the title "Kaisar-i-Hind," which I had invented and carried into popular acceptance, on grounds that make it *inapplicable* to India. I may here mention, as an instance of unconscious superciliousness, due to want of sympathy with linguistic research, that when Her Majesty was to be proclaimed "Kaisar-i-Hind," at the Delhi Imperial Assemblage to the Chiefs and the peoples of India, the proclamation was actually going to be read out in English only, had I not, being accidentally on the Committee for the reception of addresses, heard of this intention, and interposed at the last moment to get it translated into Urdu for the benefit of those whom the new title directly concerned, and in aid of whose identification with Great Britain I had started a polyglot journal called "Qaum-i-Qaisari," = "The Imperial or Cæsarian Nation." I do not recollect any instance in History of even an Asiatic conqueror ever proclaiming his intentions to the conquered in his own, and not *their*, language, especially when he proposed to confer a favour or an honour on them.

then proceed to analyze the translations of certain missionary publications, which can only 'pervert' the Oriental Pagan or Muhammadan, and I will also refer to the impression created by the public utterances of some special Envoys, Viceroys, Philanthropists and others, who endeavour to rule or to influence natives of the East without knowing their language or studying their history, religions, and customs. The Treaties or Letters translated into pigeon-Urdu, kitchen-Persian, and porter-Turkish or Arabic by irresponsible "native" subordinates of careless English superiors, also deserve attention, because of the mischief which they have wrought to British interests. The interviews of European Envoys with Eastern potentates should be described in the *ipsissima verba* of their interpreters, so that they may be compared with the official account rendered by our last hero or saint to the Foreign Office or to the Press. Nor are the vagaries of our Indian Census and other Reports unconnected with incorrect or too literal translations of an English model. It is high time that the present system of self-stultification should cease, and that the British public should know precisely how Eastern affairs are managed. There is, *e.g.*, now an unnecessary, or rather suicidal, project for a Delimitation Commission of the unknown Pamirs and adjoining countries. I have not yet heard of any person in connection with it, who could, if he would, understand the merits of a case that should be decided, not by either English or Russian preconceptions, but by a sole regard to truth and to the facts, that can only be elicited by a knowledge of the languages, history, and vested rights of the *peoples concerned*. However, to return to the "National Anthem." For the small sum of fifty rupees I obtained a dozen versions, including the one to which Sir W. Andrew awarded a prize of five hundred rupees, and which I criticized in the last issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. They are all far better than the subjoined translation of the "London National Anthem Society," which, amidst much blowing of trumpets, demanded thousands of pounds for what it called a "gift to

India," whereas the sole *raison d'être* of a truly "*National Anthem*" in India would have been its spontaneity *in* that country, as, *inter alia*, shown by, practically, entailing *no cost whatever*. At the same time, there is no reason why, as an "*Imperial Anthem*," "the British National Anthem" should not be properly translated into the various languages of Her Majesty's subjects. This cannot, however, be done by Chamber-Orientalists or by uneducated Oriental natives in this country, whose translations or quotations are sometimes intentionally derogatory to the European objects of their praise. [Of this, a notable instance has occurred lately.] I cannot conceive how anyone at the India Office could have commended a translation, the very heading of which for "National Anthem" is scarcely appropriate. It is "Haqq Kaisar-Ka Yár ho." Again, the heading is followed by an explanatory note which, if not utterly meaningless, confines the invoked blessing to the present and the past and the Anthem itself to *churches* (if we read the hybrid "Kilisiáôn" rightly). The note literally is: "This pamphlet (!) for churches composed (water? to take?) its conclusion thanks to God upon past and present protection" = "*Yc nuskha Kilisiáôn ke liye tartíb páni khatima uska tashakkur K'hudá ko mázi aur hál ki himáyat-par.*" Spelling, grammar, construction, sense, and intention, all are wrong, and in two lines the loyalty, religion, and good taste of our fellow-subjects are alike insulted. Instead of all this "explanation," some heading like "Naghma-i-Kaisari" or "Sarôd-i-Kaisari" for "Imperial Anthem" or "the Anthem of the Kaisar"-[i-Ind] would have told its tale without offence to anyone.

THE LONDON NATIONAL ANTHEM SOCIETY AND ITS
URDU TRANSLATION OF "THE NATIONAL ANTHEM,"
WITH SUPPLEMENTARY STANZAS FOR INDIA.

First Verse—

Line 1.—Khuda bachawe Kaisar ko.

2.—Be hadd barhawe Kaisar
ko.

3.—Haqq Kaisar ká yar ho.

I.

1. GOD save our EMPRESS-QUEEN ;

2. Long live our Gracious QUEEN ;

3. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The fact that the above is not a correct rendering of the original, will, I submit, appear from the following retranslation :

May God protect the Cæsar (Kaisar).

May He increase Kaisar infinitely.

May God be Kaisar's companion (friend or lover), or "May He be the friend of Kaisar's right."

1. The word "save" is mistranslated ; its sense is not covered by the word "bachawe," which really means "save from trouble or danger," or "rescue from danger." The phrase "salâmat rakhé" would have been better, and is the "save" of the Persian Anthem in "Salâmat Shah." "Kaisar" is used too vaguely. It does not show *what* "Cæsar" is meant. There is nothing to indicate that the translator means "Kaisar-i-Hind." It might be a reference to "Kaisar-i Rûm," which would render it *inapplicable* to India. "Kaisar" or "Cæsar" for Her Imperial Majesty of India is quite correct, but it would be well to state the whole title of "Kaisar-i-Hind"; otherwise "Kaisar" might stand in Muhammadan eyes for the Sultan, one of whose designations is "Kaisar-i-Rûm" = Kaisar of (Eastern) Rome or Constantinople, if not for "Kaisar-i-Rûs" = the "Czar of Russia" or the Kaisar of Central Asia.

2. The whole of the 2nd line is devoid of sense ; if it means anything at all, it means what I have sought to convey, *i.e.*, "May He increase Kaisar infinitely." It should have been translated "hamari mehrban Malka ki u'mar ziada ho"* or, in the metre of the translator, "barî úmar de Kaisar ko."

3. The word "yâr" is vulgar ; "yâwar" would have been better. The whole line is not a proper rendering of the original. "Haqq" = "the Right," is certainly one of the 99 epithets of the Deity, and is specially used by the mystic Sûfis for "God." The word "Khudâ" is less distinctively Muhammadan than "Haqq."

First verse—

Line 4.—Bhej deve us ko ba zafar.

5.—Saida kar hamida far.

6.—Farmandeh ham par hayat
bhar.

7.—Haqq Kaisar ká yar ho.

4. Send Her victorious,

5. Happy and glorious,

6. Long to reign over us ;

7. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The above Urdu version may be re-translated as follows :—

May He send her with victory.

(She being of auspicious and laudable splendour.)

On us as a ruler for life.

May God be companion or (friend) of Kaisar.

4. "Bhej deve" is unidiomatic ; "Bhej dé," would have been more correct. The second object of the verb "Bhej de" is too distant from its verb. Besides, *where* is the Kaisar to be sent? The meaning obviously is that "God may send Her Victory."

* "May the Life of our Gracious Queen be long," or "great Life give to the Kaisar."

5. "Saida kar hamida far" is very incorrect. The translation should have been "Khush aur Zî-shán." The words "kar" and "far" are never used in Urdu separately. They are used as one word "kar-o-far" meaning "splendour."

6. "Hayat bhar" is an altogether unidiomatic as well as incorrect rendering of "long," which is "buhut muddat tak" and, if it be intended to express this more emphatically, the word "sadá" or "abad ul-abád" would have been appropriate.

Second Verse—

- I.—Yá rabb, hamara Kirdgár.
- 2.—Kar Dushman uske taro-mar.
- 3.—Gir parnedé unko.

II.

1. O LORD, Our GOD I arise ;
2. Scatter Her enemies,
3. And make them fall.

1. "Yá" is wrong ; it should have been "Ai" in this case, when the word "rabb" has the next phrase in apposition to it. Had it been only "yá rabh," it would have been more correct than "ai rabb." "Hamara" is grammatically wrong ; it should be "Hamáre Kirdgár." The word "arise" has been left out in the translation.

2. "Taromar" is a strange word to Urdu and is never used in that language. It appears that the translator meant "Tittar bittar" or "pará-ganda."

3. "Gir parnedé unko" may be translated : "Allow them to fall" which is quite different from the original "make them fall" which should be translated "unko girá."

The remaining four lines of that verse, whether those of the original Anthem or of the London Society, have not been translated at all, but the four last lines of the "*special second verse*" "for Her Majesty's Armies in time of War" have been substituted for them. The original 4 lines of the 2nd verse and those of the London Society are as follows :

Original.

Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks.
On Thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all.

For these verses the London Society
substitute :

Bid strife and discord cease—
Wisdom and arts increase—
Filling our homes with peace,
Blessing us all.

III. (*original*).

Thy choicest gifts in store,
On her be pleased to pour,—
Long may she reign,
May she defend our laws,
And ever give us cause,
To sing with heart and voice
God save the Queen.

The following is the verse adopted, instead of the above, by the London National Anthem Society. I venture to think that Indian loyalty would be more stimulated by the translation of the original verse.

Thy choicest gifts in store
 Still on Victoria pour,—
 Health, Might, and Fame.
 While peasant, Prince and peer
 Proudly Her sway reverse,—
 Nations, afar and near,
 Honour Her Name.

Special second verse—(four last lines).

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 4.—Mubarak hon jo larte hain. | Bless Thou the brave that fight |
| 5.—Upar amr us ke parte hain. | Sworn to defend Her right, |
| 6.—Izz teri se ham darte hain. | Bending before Thy might, |
| 7.—Bacha ham sabhon ko. | RULER of all. |

These lines are really the 2nd part of the marginal verse (No. 2) "for Her Majesty's armies in time of War," where they are more appropriate. In addition to this transposition, the above rendering is wholly incorrect and unidiomatic; the second line especially "upar amr us ke parte hain" is wholly devoid of sense, besides being against Urdu grammar and syntax. It may be retranslated as "fall on her command" whilst the original means "unhonne uske haqûq ki hifâzât karne kâ half uthâya hai" "Upar amr us ke" is ungrammatical. It should be "uske amar par."

6. "Izz teri se ham darte hain" may be retranslated as "we are afraid of Thy Might" whilst the original "bending before Thy might," means "tere Jalâl ke samne sar-ba-sujûd hain." The word "Might," is rendered by "izz," but there is no such word as "izz" in Urdu. In classical Arabic "izzat," not "izz," means "Might" but in Urdu the word is used only in one sense, *i.e.*, "honor." "Izz teri se" is a wrong construction; it should be "tere izz se."

7. "Bacha ham sabhonko" means "protect us all" while the original is "Ruler of all" which should be translated "Ai, sabki Hâkim Tu" or "Ai 'âlam ke Shahan-Shah." There ought to be no "h" after "sab."

Another rendering of the second "special verse" is as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1.—Khuda hamara rab tu kar. | II. |
| 2.—Dushman us ke tittar bittar. | O Lord, our God! arise, |
| 3.—Girparne de unko. | Scatter our enemies, |
| | And make them fall! |

"Hamara" is wrong; it should be "hamare"; as to line 2, see remarks on line 2 verse II.

The following four lines are nowhere to be found, either in the original Anthem or in the suggested verses of the London Society:

Urdu rendering and its literal retranslation into English.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 4.—Tor janam se tughian ka
bal, | Tear from its birth the wing or hair of
mutiny. |
| 5.—Jab ghadr uthe mar use dâl. | When revolt rises kill its fling; |
| 6.—Shahanshah hai tu zuljalal. | King of Kings art Thou, possessor of
splendour, |
| 7.—Apne kar sabhon ko. | Make us all Thine. |

Line No. 4 means nothing ; it may be translated in English as “break the wing of mutiny from its birth.” The London Society’s “ordinary” second verse had “bid strife and discord cease,” which, translated, should be : “Jhagre fasád band kar-dé.”

The word “bál” is used by the translator in the sense of “wing” but it is never used in Urdu in that sense. The Urdu word “bál” means “hair.” “Tughíán” has the meaning of mutiny or rebellion in Arabic or Persian only.

Line 5 “Jab ghadr uthe mar use dal” may be translated “when rebellion breaks out kill it forthwith.”

“Ghadr uthe” is unidiomatic ; it should be “ghadr ho.”

The lines—

“Wisdom and Arts increase.

Filling our homes with peace.

Blessing us all,” have been entirely left out.

Line 7 “apná kar sabhonko” is wrong ; it should be “apná kar sabko” which means “make all of us yours” whilst the original is “blessing us all.”

The omitted lines should be rendered as follows into Urdu :

Akl our fanún ko barhá.

Hamare gharon ko aman se
bhar.

Ham sab-ko barkat de.

Wisdom and Arts increase—
Filling our homes with peace,
Blessing us all.

Special Second Verse.

(In time of Famine or Pestilence.)

O LORD, our GOD ! arise

Help, while Destruction flies,

Swift o’er us all !

Stay now THY chastening hand ;

Heal THOU our stricken Land,

FATHER ! in grief we stand

On THEE we call.

Urdu translation of the London
Anthem Society.

Special Second verse—

1. —Khuda hamara rab tu kar.

2.—Madad jab ur uqab-i-shar.

3.—Uchhale sabhon ko.

4.—Báz rakh yad apne azab ká.

5.—Dekh rahmat se hal turáb ká.

6.—Bap chhor yeh saif atáb ká.

7.—Jud se sun hamon ko.

The above lines may thus be retranslated into English :

“O God our Lord !

Help us when mischief’s eagle flies and causes all to jump (or tosses all in the air).

Withdraw hand of thy punishment.

Look at dust with compassion (or pity).

Father ! sheath this sword of wrath,

Listen to us with generosity.”

1. “Hamara” should be “hamare.”

2. “Ur” is cut short ; it should be “uré.”

"Uqab i shar" may be rendered in English as "mischief's Eagle." The original is Destruction (personified) or, translated, "Barbádi ká Farishta."

4. "Yadd" means "hand" in Arabic but it is never so used in Urdu; the word "hath" is more common and correct.

5. The same remark applies to the word "turáb" for "land," which really means "dust" in Arabic. "Land" should be rendered by "zamín" or "mulk."

6. "Yeh" is redundant—

"Saif atáb ka" should be "saif atab ki." "Saif" is always used with the feminine gender.

7. "Hamon ko" is incorrect; it should be "ham ko" "hami" (we) is the plural itself—"hamon" is a double plural and quite unidiomatic.

The *correct* translation of the last 4 lines should be as follows :

Ab apne 'aqubat ke hath ko tham.

Hamari musibat-zada zamin ko taskin a'ta kar.

Ai Bap ! ham maghmum khare hain.

Aur tujh-se dua' karte hain.

Third verse—

1.—Khazane se zubde nawál.

2.—Victoria-par phir bhi dál.

3.—Sihat salamat sit.

4.—Chhoti wajhen sal pe masrur.

5.—Uth dil us ka karen masrur.

6.—Wajd ki awaz nazdiko dúr.

7.—Nam us ka howe git.

III.

THY choicest gifts in store

Still on VICTORIA pour,—

Health, Might and Fame.

While peasant, Prince and peer,

Proudly Her sway revere,—

Nations, afar and near,

Honour Her Name.

The whole verse as it stands above, especially the last 4 lines, are meaningless and ungrammatical. An idea of the nonsense of the above may be obtained from the following retranslation :

"From the treasure choicest gifts.

Pour on Victoria once more again.

Health, Peace and Voice.

Small reasons on year transit.

May rise and gladden her heart.

Ecstasy's Voice, far and near.

May her name be a song."

1. "Zubde nawál" is unidiomatic—"Zubdá" in Arabic means choicest, cream, &c. ; "Nawál," means gift; but both of them are never used in Urdu in any sense. "Zubde" is a wrong plural of "Zubda;" this word should never be in the plural. "Choicest gift" means in Urdu "umda-si-umda nia'mat." The word "khazana" is used vaguely; it does not show whose treasure is meant.

2. "Phir bhi" is an incorrect rendering of "still" which means here "sada."

"dál" is vulgar—indeed, the whole sentence may so be called.

3. "Sit" literally means voice—figuratively in Arabic and Persian it is used in the sense of fame, reputation; but certainly not in Urdu.

The remaining 4 lines are entirely devoid of any sense, as appears from the re-translation which we have given above.

Fourth verse—

1. Bache hath se har ghaddár ke.
2. Usé, ya rab ! dafai azrar ke.
3. Tū phir junna-dár ho !
4. Farishte pas uske hifz par.
5. Rahen yonhin rát din bashar.
6. Dua karen ba sozbarr.
7. Haqq Kaisar-ka yár ho !

IV.

Guard HER beneath THY Wings,
Almighty KING of KINGS,
SOV'REIGN unseen !
Long may our prayer be blest,
Rising from East and West
As from one loyal breast :
"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."

This will, if re-translated in English, stand thus :

"May She be protected from the hands of every traitor.

Be, O God ! again the shield-possessor for putting away mischiefs from Her.

May the angels be near Her for her protection day and night.

In the same way may the people.

Pray for Her (on the tongue breasts).

O Righteous (God) ! be Thou the companion of the Kaisar !"

2. "Usé" is wrong ; the translator perhaps means "usko."

In "dafai azrar ke," "wáste" is left out ; without this word the lines become nonsense.

"Azrar" means "losses" in Arabic ; it is never used in Urdu without prejudice to idiomatic accuracy.

3. *Phir* is redundant.

"Junna-dár" is an incorrect phrase.

"Junna" in Arabic means "shield" ; it is never so used in Urdu, the Urdu equivalent for "shield" being "dhál" or "sipar."

6. "Soz-i-barr" means "fervour of chest," "bar" is never used even figuratively in the sense of "heart."

The whole of this verse does not correspond either in sense or words to the original.

Before concluding, it may be well to mention that the greatest defects in the above translation are due to the fact that the translator is under the wrong impression that every Arabic or Persian word can be used in Urdu in its original sense. It is evident from the above criticism that the translator has not even a fair acquaintance with the Urdu language. As to the metre, it is enough to say that it is not any of the metres used in Urdu Prosody.

CORRECT RENDERINGS OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

I now give various renderings, which are all infinitely superior to the "official" version, and which practically cost nothing. They possess both rhyme and reason, which the official version does not. The first correct translation is by Maulvi Fázil Ghulám Qádir :

FIRST *Metrical* TRANSLATIONS INTO URDU OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

(*With a rough retranslation into English by Maulvi Inám Ali, B.A.*)

- I. Malka salamat ho sadá,
Zinda use rakhe Khudá,
Háfiz haq ho Qaisar ka !

Ho wuh muzaffar aur mansur,
 Ba shaukat-o-hashmat masrur,
 Ham pe rahe hukm uska zurur,
 Hafiz Haq ho Qaisar ka !

(1). May the Queen be ever safe, may God keep her alive, may The True One be the guardian of the Qaisar ; may she be victorious, delighted in the possession of majesty and grandeur ! may her rule continue over us ! (may The True One be the guardian of the Qaisar.)

II. A'rz sun ab hamare Khudā,
 Kar muntashir uske a'dā,
 Aur unko markar girā.
 Jang-o-jadal sabhi mithē,
 Hikmat-o-fan barhā karē,
 Hon amān-o-sulh se ghar bharē,
 Barkat hamen tu kar 'atā !

(2). O our God, hear now (our) prayer, scatter her enemies, and beat them down, may discord and strife be entirely effaced, may wisdom and art continue to grow, may houses be full of peace and comfort, bless us all.

(In time of war).

A'rz tu sun ai Parwardigār,
 Uske husud hon beqarār,
 Aur unko tu mār kar gira.
 Barkat unpar iarte hain jo
 Qaisar ka haq bachāne ko,
 Ate hain ran men half utha.
 Robaru tere jalal ke,
 Sijde men unke Sar jhuke,
 Ai sab ke Farmanrawā.

(2) Hear (our) prayer, O Lord ! May Her enemies be harassed, and beat them down ; bless those who fight in the cause of Qaisar, (and) come in the field, sworn (to fight in her cause) : before thy glory their heads bow in thy worship, O Ruler of all.

(In famine and pestilence)

Arz sun ab hamare Khuda,
 Hamko madad se tu bachā,
 Qahr ka jab Farishta ure,
 Dast-i-uqubat ko rok le,
 Afat Zada hai yih mulk sab,
 Is ko bahal kar de tu ab,
 Gam men khare hain ai Pidar,
 Karte dua hain sar basar.

(2) O God, hear now our prayer, protect us with thy help ; when the angel of wrath flies, stay thy chastening hand ; afflicted is this whole land, restore it now (to its former condition) ; in grief we stand, O Father, and pray all along.

III. Umda se' umda nī'maten,
 Qaisar-i-Hind ko sab milen,
 Sihhat, Quwat, namwari.

Dihqan-o-amir-o-badshá,
Fakhr se hukm ko laen bajá,
Dur aur qarib ke log sadá,
Izzat karen is nam ki.

(3). May, all the choicest gifts be granted to the Qaisar of India—health, strength and fame, may peasants, peers and princes, proudly obey her command, may the people living afar and near, always honor her name.

IV. Ranj-o khushi men, ai Khudá,
Us ka rahe tu rahnumá,
Raushan Kurah-j-charkh ko,
Hukm tera nafiz ho,
Us ka jahan qadam paré,
Raushan us ko wuhin karé,
Fazl ki teri kiran sadá,
Chamke bas uspe ai Khudá.

(4). In grief and pleasure, O God, Thou wast her guide, to the bright sphere of the sky may thy order be issued, (requiring it) to brighten every spot where her foot may fall, may the ray of thy grace ever shine over her, O God.

V. Apne bazuon ke tale,
Rakh apne hifzmen tu use.
Qadir Mutlaq Badsha.
Sada du'á men barkat de,
Jo sharq aur magrib se uthe,
Khas dil se namak halal ke,
Hafiz Haq ho Qaisar ka.

(5) Beneath thy wings keep her under thy protection, O Almighty King : ever bless (our) prayer, when from East and West rises out of every loyal breast the voice, may the True One be the guardian of the Qaisar.

SECOND VERSION.

I. Qaisar salamat ho.
Haq zinda rakh usko,
Malka ki khair.
Kar us ko zafarmand,
Khushhal aur iqbalmand,
Hukm uska sar buland.
Qaisar ki Khair.

(1). May Qaisar be safe ; God, keep her alive, Prosperity to the Queen ! make her victorious, happy and glorious ! Exalt her command, Prosperity to the Qaisar !

II. Uth, ai Khudawand, ab,
Mar uske dushman sab,
Khwar kar unko,
Jang aur nifaq ho dur,
Hikmat aur fann wafur,
Hon chain se ghar ma'mur,
Fazl tera ho.

(2). Rise now, O Lord, kill all her enemies—make them contemptible, may war and dissension be far, may wisdom and arts abound, may houses be full of comfort, may Thine be the grace!

III. Teri khub ni'maten,
Qaisar-i-Hind ko milen,
Zar, sihhat, nam,
Dihqan, Amir, Badshah,
Fakhr se hukm laen baja,
Dur aur pas ke log sada,
Qadr karen tam.

(3). May Thy choice gifts, be granted to the Qaisar of India—wealth, health and fame; may the peasants, the Noble, the king, proudly obey her command. May the people living afar and near, ever respect her implicitly.

IV. Khushi ranj men Khuda,
Us ka rahbar raha,
Raushan kureh-i-charkh ko,
Hukm tera nafiz ho,
Us ka jab qadam pare,
Raushan us ko wuh kare,
Fazl ki kiran sada,
Chamke uspe, Khuda.

(4). In grief and pleasure, O God, Thou wast her guide; to the bright sphere of the sky may thy order be issued (requiring it) to brighten every spot where her foot may fall, may the ray of grace ever shine over her, O God.

V. Khas bazu ke tale,
Rakh tu hifz men use,
Haq la sani.
Is dua men barket de,
Jo sharq-garb se uthe,
Dil se wafadar ke.
Khair Qaisar ki.

(5). Beneath thy wings keep her safe, O Matchless God! Bless this prayer, which from East and West rises out of every loyal breast, God save the Qaisar. (Weal to the Qaisar!)

THIRD VERSION.

I. Malka Muazzima ko salamat Khuda rakhe,
Zinda hamare mihrban Malka sada rahe,
Hifz-i-Khuda men Hind ki (Qaisar rahe sada,
(Afat musibton se bachawe use Khudā),
Fateh-o-zafar ho Hind ki Qaisar ke ham qadam,
Jis ja rahe wuh khush rahe ba jāh-o-bā hasham,
Sar par hamare uski hukumat rahe sada,
Malka Muazma ko salamat rakhe Khuda.

(1). May God save the Great Queen, may our gracious Queen be ever alive. May the Qaisar of India ever remain under the protection of God, may God protect her from unhappiness and misfortunes; may victory and

triumph accompany the Qaisar of India, wherever She live, may She live happy, majestic, glorious. May her rule ever remain over us, may God save the Great Queen !

II. Ham sab ki Arz sun tu Khudawand ai Khudá,
Kar dushmanon ko uske paraganda aur girá,
Jhagre miten, nifaq mite aur hasad mite,
Ilm-o-hunar firasat-o-hikmat barha kare,
Ham sab ke ghar bhi sulh-o-aman se bhare rahen,
Barkat tere karam se Ilahi mile hamen.

(2). O Lord God hear our prayer, scatter her enemies ; and make them fall ; may strife, hatred and envy cease ; may wisdom, art and learning increase ; may the houses of all of us remain full of peace and comfort ; may we get blessings through Thy divine grace !

(In war)

Ham sab ki Arz sun tu Khudawand, ai Khuda,
Kar uske dushmanon ko paraganda aur gira,
Barkat tere ho un pe jo larte hain, ai Khuda,
Qaisar ke haq bachane ko ate hain half utha,
Age tere jalal ke rakhte hain sar jhuka,
Ai hakimon ke Hakimo, ai Shah-i-do sara.

(2). O Thou Lord, O God, hear our prayer, scatter her enemies and make them fall, O God, bless those who fight, having sworn to defend Qaisar's right. Who bow their heads before thy glory, O Ruler of rulers and king of both worlds.

(In time of famine and pestilence)

Ham sab ki a'rz sun tu Khudawand, ai Khuda,
Kar apni tu madad hamen is qahar se bacha,
Jab urta hai farishta tabahi ka tez par,
Ham par se— apne dast i-u'qûbat ko band kar,
Afat-zada hai mulk, tu us ko bahal kar.
(Ujra hai mulk logon ko uske nihâl kar,)
Gam men khare hain rubaru tere ham ai Pidar,
Karte hain a'jzi se du'a ham pukar kar.

(2). O Lord, God, hear our prayer, help and save us from this wrath ; when the swift-winged angel of Destruction flies over us, stay thy chastening hand from us ; afflicted is this land, restore it thou (to its former state) ; desolate is the country—make its people happy ; in grief we stand before thee, O Father, and loudly, but humbly, we pray to Thee.

III. Tere khazîne men se pasandida ni'maten,
Victoria ko fazl-o-karam se sada milen,
Tere karam se uske yih sab hamrahi karen,
Sihhat, khushi-o-quwwat-o nam aur shuhraten,
Dihqan bhi, amir bhi aur badshah bhi,
Izzat karen wuh fakhr se sab uske hukm ki,
Nazdik-o-dur mulk men qaumen jahan ki,
Izzat karen ba jan-o-dil us *khas nam* ki.

(3). May the choicest gifts of thy store be ever liberally granted to Victoria ; may health, happiness, strength and fame attend her ; may peasant, peer and king proudly respect her command, may the nations of the world living in far and near countries, heartily honour this particular name (Victoria).

IV. Ranj-o-khushi ke mukhtalif auqat men sada,
 Ai Rab hamare hami tu uska bana raha,
 Raushan kurah ko hukm kar is asman ke,
 Raushan jagah wuh ho jahan uska qadam pare,
 Fazl-o-karam ka nur Khudawand ai Khuda,
 Malka Mu'azma ko i'nyat se kar a'ta.

(4) In times of grief and pleasure, O our Lord, Thou hast been always her helper. Order the bright sphere of this sky to brighten every spot where her footstep may fall, graciously grant the light of Thy grace, O Lord God, to the Great Queen.

V. Tu apne bazuon ke tale rakh use Khuda,
 Malik-ul-mulúk Qadir-i-mutlaq use bacha,
 Ai *Badsha'* jo logon ki nazron se hai chhipa,
 Amn-o-aman-o-hifz men rakh usko daima,
 Barkat tu de hamari dua'on men, ai Khuda,
 Mashraq se leke Garb tak uthti hai jo sada,
 Misl us ke jo uthe hai wafadar qalb se,
 Ba i'jz-o-inkisar hai maqbul kar use,
 Malka Muazzima ko salámat rakhe Khudá,
 Mashhúr nam uska *mubarak* rahe sadá.

(5). Keep her ever beneath Thy wings, O God ; save her, O king of kings, Almighty Being, O king who art invisible to men, keep her ever in peace, comfort and safety ; Bless our prayers, O God, as a voice rises from East to West, like that rising out of a loyal breast, it is offered with humility, accept it : God save the Great Queen, may her renowned name ever be blessed.

There are many lines of exquisite beauty in the above versions, which are also of value as a study of idiomatic Urdu. I have several other versions, which I have not yet carefully examined ; but none of them, from a cursory perusal, seem to be open to any objection on the ground of style, sentiment or sense. The great fact, however, that in a comparatively short time and at, practically, no expense, so many poetical renderings of " the National Anthem " could have been elicited in the frontier province of India, is a remarkable proof of the loyal spontaneity of the people of the Panjab. I circulated a large number of these versions in Urdu, Persian and other languages at the Rawalpindi Assemblage, where they were exceedingly well received by the assembled Chiefs and Visitors.

THE TWO STAGES IN BUDDHA'S TEACHING.

THE following is an epitome of the teachings of Gôtama—"The Buddha." I have culled these treasures from the sacred Buddhist books and the conversations of pious monks, especially during a seven years' residence in various parts of Upper and Lower Burma.

Every line can be traced to the early writings of the Faith, or the direct teachings of the great Mūni, or the detached discourses and writings of his immediate followers.

The textual teaching is strictly adhered to, though a line may often give the substance of a long passage.

Like most religious men Sākya Mūni passed through divers emotional stages, awakening from "a worldly" life to a pious sense of sin, but also to a pessimistic belief in the vanity of all things. His were also stirring times, not only in India but everywhere—one of those cyclic periods so prominent in my Chart of "Rivers of Life." The sixth century B.C. had at Buddha's birth opened with the Agnostic "*Six Darsanas*" or philosophies of the schools of the great metaphysician and Rishi *Kapila*, the neighbour and probable tutor of the rising Buddhist Avatāra.

Rishi Kapila had then been long writing and teaching—inspired it was believed by Vishnu—in the revered groves on the Banks of the sacred *Rohini*, our Kohānā, by the waters of which, in a lovely garden, *Māyā* had given birth to a greater than even the aged philosopher of Kapila-Vastu.

As Gôtama grew up, his thoughtful nature became greatly touched by life's miseries, and by the *atheistic* heresies of the philosophers. In vain did his anxious Father *Sud-dhodana* try to overcome the fears and resolves of his *Sid-dhārtha*, or the "one in whom all the aims" of his kingdom were centred.

Gôtama refrained from all independent action until he was of age, had married, and had a son ; when, like many pious Brâhmans, he became a *Vāna-prastha*, or "Forest recluse." It was then he forsook the Court of Oudh, and retired to the Forest of Rāja-griha, in the kingdom of Behār, by paths still everywhere marked in the memories of half Asia. He settled at Bôdha Gayā, some 120 miles easterly from Banāres and 200 from his home.

Here he strove for several years to follow in the faith of his Fathers and to suppress the ever disturbing truths which the *Vedānta* and *Nyāyā*, or logical schools, but especially the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy of Kapila, had brought home to him. Believing that the flesh was the destroying element of our higher nature, he would have perished in his ascetic life but for Hindus going about feeding such hermits.

So Buddha lived for about five or seven years as did his Western counterpart Pythagoras (another "Pūtha-gūrū") Apollonius of Tyana and others.

Under the sacred Bo-tree at Gayā, Gôtama studied and taught all comers, until "he obtained enlightenment" and became famous in his small circle as "The Buddha" or "Wise One"; and this is what we call his FIRST STAGE, the 2nd being that of an active learned man, ever going about doing good. Then it was that he thrust aside all egoistic thoughts, and leaving his Forest retreat, started for the great world of Banāres, determined to do his best to regenerate mankind. Then, as now, there was endless speculation regarding the existence and nature of a soul, but on such dark points Buddha ever refused to deliver judgment where proof was, he said, impossible.

His decision to forsake the Forest life horrified his still orthodox disciples, who forsook him, probably fearing a cruel martyrdom at Banāres. Buddha however hesitated not, but wended his lone way, and encamped by the sacred *Kund* or well of Sār-nāth two or three miles N.E. of the city.

Here it was he opened the campaign—one brave man against the surrounding millions, who clung to their ancient superstitions.

What had he to offer in opposition to the wishes of all these nations? Nought, than simple *Common-sense*, or as he named it, "Right Doing and Right Thinking"; that which Buddhists called *Dharma* or "The Wheel of the Law"—the Evolution of *Bhāvana* or Existence.

Within half a life time—the Hindu Rome—Banāres itself, and great kings and peoples owned his reasonable, kindly sway; and before he had passed away (or as they said "attained *Nirvāna*"), many millions worshipped the very ground wherever his weary steps had trodden, and hailed him as the only one who had ever brought home to them enlightenment and peace such as they had never before experienced.

BUDDHA'S EARLY STAGE.

Come unto me all ye who are bowed down
With the sorrows and evils of a weary life
And I will show unto thee the way of Peace.*
Remember that the flesh ever tries to rule the Spirit,
Set therefore before thee good laws and precepts.
Begin by controlling the body by a strict regimen
Abstaining from rich foods, and eating only at stated periods.
Art thou young? shun dances, songs and gaieties,
For they corrupt the heart, and make thee frivolous.
Avoid ornaments, perfumes and soft couches
And touch not money—the root of most evils.

The good man obeys the following primary laws
I. He covets nought which is another's, nor touches it.
II. He drinks not, nor associates with a drunkard.
III. He speaks no falsehood, be it to save his life.
IV. He neither destroys nor injures the life of animal or insect.
V. And looks not on another woman than his wife.

Wouldst thou excel in righteousness?
Then part with all thou hast and wear
The rags which others have cast away.
Live but on alms, and take one meal daily;

* The sage's words were "draw nigh unto me ye wounded ones, afflicted and distressed, and I will fold you in my arms. My religion is a path wide as the heavens, where the highest and lowest caste, rich and poor, young and old, can walk and dwell together."

Reside in solitary places apart from men,
 And seek only their haunts for thy morning alms.
 Let the trunk of the tree be thy pillow
 And only its foliage, thy garment of sleep.
 Take no thought for the morrow
 But amid the Tombstones of Men
 Do thou nightly meditate
 On the transitoriness of all human things.

BUDDHA'S 2ND STAGE ON LEAVING GAYĀ.

Be up and doing, work for the good of all mankind,
 Regarding not thine own comfort, or salvation.
 Put away covetousness, self-seeking and sloth ;
 Be energetic in mind as well as in body, tho' meek in heart and word,
 Seek contemplation, so that thou mayest be full of wisdom,
 And seek learning in order to know and practise every virtue.
 Entertain no evil desires, nor think wrong of any one,
 Modestly regard thyself, and be fearful of sinning.
 Persevere in goodness however thou mayest be opposed,
 And forgive injuries however oft persisted in.

Be willing to receive, and profit by reproof ;
 Have contentment and gratitude with sympathy for all ;
 Moderation in prosperity, submission in affliction
 And cheerfulness at all times.
 He who can act thus, will enjoy the perfection of happiness
 And perhaps hereafter supreme reward.
 Yet, having done all, count not thyself good,
 Nor seek a return, even in personal happiness,
 Virtue indeed has its own reward here and hereafter ;
 But beware lest thou seek this in rites and ceremonies ;
 For that is no true virtue which seeketh reward,
 Which crieth "Give and it shall be given unto thee"
 But that which *un*influenced by any creed or Faith
 Or hopes, or fears ; giveth, expecting no return.

He truly is Divine who is pure in heart and life,
 Fearing only that he does not sufficiently show this
 By unselfish actions, sympathy, and kind words
 And full faith in the regeneration of his race.

Not by birth art thou lowered, nor by birth does the
 Wise Man esteem thee, but by thy words and deeds
 Dost thou fall and rise in his just estimation.
 Folly and ignorance is common among all ranks,
 Yea the Ascetic's garb oft covers the irreligious mind
 As does a humble as well as lordly guise, a Celestial heart.

Encourage learning everywhere and at all times, for
 Ignorance is the chief cause of Evils and Superstitions.

Knowledge is the only wealth which thieves cannot steal
And by zeal and diligence it can be gathered in everywhere,
But as Music cometh only by playing on instruments,
So seek the company of, and ponder the words of the Wise.
Indolence soon defiles young and old. Hold high the Torch
And busy thyself in works of usefulness and mercy.

Nought is so precious as the first steps to holiness
Nor so attractive and useful to all mankind,
Therefore specially cherish, youthful efforts to goodness,
They oft recur in later years when evil temptations wax strong.

It is Nature's rule, that as we sow, we shall reap,
She recognizes no good intentions, and pardons no errors ;
Therefore no deeds, virtuous or sinful are to us of
Small importance. All must bear some fruit
And must follow us like shadows for good or ill,
Mayhap to rankle secretly and for ever to poison our lives.

Begin by restraining and conquering thyself ;
Practise the Art of "Giving up"—of doing unto all
As thou wouldst have them do unto thee.
Weary not in well doing, but be active and earnest,
Sympathetic and benevolent even in thy thoughts
Concerning others, and courteous in words and manner.

Observe "the old rule" that soft words and looks dissipate anger.
Return good for evil, justice for injustice ;
Remembering that hatred is only overcome by love ;
That as Evil develops Evil, so does good, Goodness,
And that Righteousness yields happiness unto the doer.
Seek not thus however any personal boon or advantage
But only the highest good of all sentient creatures.

Virtuous conduct comes naturally to him who practises virtue,
And his heart and life will be full with kindly activities,
With the spirit of Charity, gentleness, purity and truth,
Let these be precious to thee as the breath of life.

"To cease from sin, attain virtue and a pure heart
Is the Religion of Buddhas," not rites and ceremonies ;
Not reading of Vedas, shaving the head or going naked
In dirt or rough garments, nor any penances
Prayers or sacrifices availeth or cleanseth thee :
But anger, evil words, envy, hatred and malice
Defileth more even than the eating of forbidden flesh.
Sin can only be atoned by ceasing to sin ;
No priest can gain for thee or grant thee salvation,
And sacrifices but injure the innocent, are cruel and selfish.
Thou mayst not seek good by doing an evil deed,
And to inflict injury on any sentient creature is a
Breach of all the laws of just and moral conduct

If thou wouldst have mercy, be just and merciful ;
 Sympathize with sorrow, and rejoice with the joyful
 Ever striving to fill the world with lovingkindness.
 Till well thine own field and help others to do likewise
 And accept no exaltation to the prejudice of another.

Cultivate equanimity and patience under all conditions.
 Life is full of sorrows. They are part of Nature's Order
 Which the wise man accepts as the inevitable
 But does his best to alleviate and utilize.
 With this view he may seek for long life, power and wealth
 And this even for those who desire to follow in his steps,
 So that wrongs and miseries may be thus mitigated.

Love and venerate thy parents and respect the aged,
 Help the young, the bereaved, the sick and helpless.
 Take thought for thy friend, and fear to offend him.
 Let husbands love their wives and wives revere their husbands,
 Judge none hastily, harshly or by outward appearances
 But calmly and sympathetically, remembering that thou
 Too art far from having attained to "the Perfect Way."

Be ever more ready to praise than to blame any,
 For the fault-finder has need to be himself faultless .
 Yet withstand the wrong-doer and the evil speaker,
 Instructing with judgment if they will hearken.
 Perchance ignorance, error or a wrong, have misled,
 And by enlightening thou mayst guide aright.

Thou must work to live, but choose a peaceful calling,
 And give of thy earnings to the virtuous needy.
 Live righteously, doing as thou wouldest be done by ;
 Nor let ingratitude weary thee in well doing.
 Subdue thyself, if thou desirest to subdue others,
 And the former is a yet harder task than the latter.

Be long suffering, meek, pious and tranquil ;
 Practise and accept what is good in all teachings ;
 Fine words without good actions are fruitless
 And beguile alike the teacher and the taught ;
 Reason out thy faith earnestly and with simplicity ;
 Submitting all to Reason, thy surest guide
 Amidst the fallacies and sophisms of creeds and philosophies.

Go forth and *alone*, into all lands and preach holiness ;
 Trusting in its serene power and in no arm of flesh.
 Instruct rich and poor, males and females, priests and peoples,
 Driving away ignorance and befriending the wronged.
 Let thy words be as lotuses rich in scent as in colour,
 Springing from the depths of a pure heart and mind.
 Decry not other sects, faiths or individuals,

But accept truth under whatever garb it may appear,
Rendering due honour unto whom honour is due.

Doubts and difficulties must exist whilst minds endure,
They are agents and progressive forces of Man's Nature,
And must not hinder us in the pursuits of Virtue
However rugged and difficult they make the path.

Busy not yourselves anxiously and unprofitably
About other worlds, gods, spirits or demons ;
Nought is proven ; all is unknowable and incomprehensible,
Whilst the duties of life are substantial and urgent.

"Trouble not yourselves because I pass away ;"
It is of the nature of things that all must separate,
For whatsoever exists is without endurance,
And death may be only a beginning of new life :
By it we shall live in the assemblies which follow—
Mayhap "in the foundation of a Kingdom of Righteousness."
Ye my disciples, have run well ; continue to be
Earnest in the duties of life, vigilant unto the end ;
So wilt thou reach unto supreme Wisdom
"An unconditioned state—the fruition of Enlightenment."
Askest thou of Brāhmā—the Spirit of the Universe ?
Such is incomprehensible, infinite, emotionless ;
Therefore weary not thyself, seeking after the hidden :
Work : for the paths of duty lie close before thee,
Behold thy brethren call unto thee from the ground,
From miseries, perplexing and unspeakable
Which if thou wouldst, thou couldst alleviate.

J. G. R. FORLONG.

SANSKRIT PÆAN.

BY RAJA SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E., ETC.

RAJA SIR SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E., the well-known scholar who has revived in India the teaching of Sanskrit music, to which he has set some of the most charming Sanskrit poems of his own composition, has sent to the Lisbon Oriental Congress "a Brief History of Music in India," as also a number of musical instruments including the curious "Nyastaranga," a wind-instrument which is played by the mechanical pressure of the muscles of the throat from the outside.

He has accompanied his paper by a musical and poetical address in Sanskrit to the highly-gifted King of Portugal himself an Orientalist—celebrating the history of Portuguese enterprise in India [see specially verses 18 to 26], which we quote in its English translation. The Congress is celebrated in verses 28 to 40. Persons desirous of understanding Sanskrit music, that wonderful art and science which seeks to render not only every variety of human feeling and thought but also of the seasons and the hours in their mystic dance, should study the dramatic, epic, lyrical, idyllic and mythological compositions of the Raja as also the collection of Eastern, ancient and modern, musical instruments (especially Indian) at the Museum of the Oriental University Institute, which will be open to visitors on Saturday afternoons, by special permission of the Principal.

Translation.

1. May He, whose illusion-producing powers cause the deities and men to move incessantly about like so many blind beings, the ignorance of whose real nature makes men look upon the earth and other mundane objects as separate entities, whose kindness instils parental affection into the hearts of our mothers and fills their breasts with milk—May He, that supreme Being, preserve thee, Dom Carlos, King of Portugal!

2. May Indra and other guardians of the ten regions of the universe protect thee and thy friends! May Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning, charmed with thy attainments, make thy throat her happy home! May Victory and Prosperity attend on thee on earth, and may the Moon, the repository of cooling herbs, shed nectar on thy kingdom and for ever cause an increase of crops!

3. May Lakshmi, the Goddess of Fortune,—whose look of anger makes even Indra and the other deities forsake

their divine character and behave like senseless mortals—
May Lakshmi abandon her favorite home in Vaikuntha
and live in happiness at thy Royal abode !

4. The six evil passions, Desire, Anger, Covetousness, Ignorance, Pride, and Envy, are known as the greatest curses of human life ; but, under circumstances, they are productive of good. May, therefore, thy Desire shun all females of mortal make and cherish as its long-lived Consort, the cultivation of Letters and Art ! May Anger alone be the victim of thy Anger ! May thy Covetousness draw its attention away from wealth, empire, and other ephemeral objects, and confine itself to virtue alone which follows man to eternity ! May thy Ignorance be only that of evil ways ! May thy Pride challenge such persons only as are noted for their control over their passions ; and may thy Envy claim for its object only those who may be the most powerful among thy enemies !

5. May thy superior prowess scatter thy enemies even as the dazzling light of day drives owls to seek shelter in dark sequestered spots !

6. The sight of the lunar Circle causes the ocean to swell, but the ocean is unable to overflow its shores. The sight, however, of thy bright, spotless, and moon-like face makes the ocean of pleasure in all good men's hearts swell and overflow.

7. Only once a month, at new moon time, does the ocean expand. But the sea of thy kindness is at all times expanding at the sight of the poor man's woe. The ocean, undoubtedly, yields the palm to the sea of thy kindness.

8. The submarine fire is, to my thinking, nothing else but the visible manifestation of the unbearable anguish which the ocean feels at finding that the gravity, majesty and other attributes of which it thought it had the monopoly, have been surpassed by thine.

9. King Bali made over to the dwarf-god his dominions in the three regions of the universe, and subsequently his own self. The sage Dadhichi gave away the bones of his

body to Indra to be made into thunderbolts. Both donors have risen to eminence by their uncommon deeds of charity, and the aroma of the lotus of their fame has delighted the three worlds. But in the present day, the white swan of thy reputation for charities is attempting to destroy that lotus by eating into the soft fibre attached to its stalk.

10. In describing the fame of an illustrious personage, poets compare it with the moon, the pearl, or camphor. But the moon is full of spots, and thy fame is perfectly pure ; the pearl has a hole drilled into it, whereas thy fame is all intact ; and the camphor evaporates, while thy fame endures all time. These objects, therefore, cannot form suitable similes for thy fame.

11. Sarasvati lives in the lotus of thy mouth. Lakshmi came to pay her a visit in thy palatial residence, but thou, being aware of her ever-veering proclivities, didst bind her with the cord of thy virtues. Hence her inability to leave thy palace and visit her lord, Narayana, in the celestial regions of Vaikuntha.

12. The Earth, in her division representing Portugal, holds thee in her bosom as a glorious gem excelling in value the combined treasures of the mines, and prides herself on the significance of her name *Vasundhara*—the receptacle of wealth.

13. Thou bearest a matchless name and enjoyest all happiness on earth, because the bee of thy soul ever covets the honey of the lotus of virtue.

14. O mighty King! who can now rival thee in the anxiousness that thou evincest for the company of the good and for achieving glory by the performance of kingly duties alone ?

15. Mayst thou prosper with thy friends and ministers! Mayst thou meet with no obstacles in the run of thy career! May thy enemies be destroyed ; and may Peace dwell for ever in thy dominions!

16. By dint of thy virtues, thou hast given thy subjects health and wealth, and made them attached to thy royal

self, by instilling goodsense into them, with the help of thy wholesome advice. Hence it is that thou art honoured by the world at large.

17. The sun of thy prowess acts on the faces of thy friends as on the blooming lotus, and on the faces of thy enemies as on the drooping white lily.

18. The Portuguese were the first of the inhabitants of the West who, for commercial purposes, crossed the vasty deep—so full of marine monsters—to discover a way to India. By rounding the Cape of Good Hope, they fulfilled the hope that was long cherished in their hearts by the European nations. No commercial country will ever be able to repay its debt to Portugal.

19. The river Sarasvati rolled through Bengal with a rushing current when the Portuguese people started commercial enterprises in this province. It is a matter of utter regret that with the close of those enterprises, little has been left of the river save its name.

20. In the town of Bally, near Hugli, in the province of Bengal, stands a church which was established there by the Portuguese, and which serves to keep alive in us the memory of that great nation.

21. It is the Portuguese who are said to have introduced into India the musical instrument called the violin—an instrument which by its use in vocal, instrumental, and dance performances, contributes so much to the delight of the heart, and which is equally in favour with the rich and the poor.

22. All parts of India enjoy the benefits of Western civilization, brought into this country, for the first time, by the Portuguese of the days of old.

23. It is the Portuguese who first brought into India the variety of European apparel, so delightful to the senses, which contributes so much to health of body, and is held in such favour by the people of this country.

24. All articles of European make, introduced here for useful or ornamental purposes and tending so much to our

comforts, were first brought into India by the Portuguese nation.

25, 26. It is the Portuguese who introduced into this country the Flute, the Clarionet, and other wind instruments, and several varieties of percussive instruments made of metals or covered with skin, together with the musical system and orchestral performances of Europe.

27. People feel as much delight at a concourse of learned men, as one left in darkness does at the sight of a brilliant lamp, or as one cast into the sea does at the unexpected arrival of a large ship, or as one oppressed with thirst when ice-cool water greets his vision.

28. The Tenth International Congress of Orientalists which sits in thy Capital spreads thy fame far and wide.

29. This Congress, adorned by scholars, meek in spirit and wise as the sage Vrihaspati, looks like the celestial Court of Indra transported to earth.

30. People at large may think that noble scholars from all parts of the globe where light and air prevail, have met together in this Congress to promote friendly feelings among themselves. It strikes me, however, that they are come to thy capital, under colour of the Congress, to satisfy themselves with their eyes, as to what was communicated to their ears about thy matchless glories.

31. How shall I describe thy luck, O King! For firstly, the fickle Goddess of Fortune, has become steady (since thy coronation), and has ever since resided at thy abode; and secondly, the foremost scholars of the world have of their own free will accorded thee the first place in the Congress.

32. Thou hast been chosen President as there are but few to equal thee in thy taste for literature and music.

33. Thou art respected by the learned, honored by the great, and possessed of matchless luck and inestimable virtues. Hence the *savants* of the world have elected thee to the Chair of the Congress—an honour accorded but to a few.

34. Thou devotest thyself to the performance of thy

royal duties, and thereby promotest the welfare of thy subjects. Thou art meek, pleasant-spoken, and a champion of truth. Hence thou hast come to be so highly esteemed in civilized society.

35. The family of the Tagores have for ever been bound to thy nation by the ties of gratitude ; for the ancestors of this family amassed great wealth and fame by faithfully working at the commercial concerns of thy nation in Bengal.

36. The renowned Scholars of the world will meet in thy Kingdom in order to bind themselves in stronger cords of sympathy. Thou hast remembered on this occasion and invited an humble individual like myself, who has little pretensions to learning and intellect. For this high honour I feel exceedingly gratified and proud.

37. In my early years, I studied poetry under erudite professors and subsequently cultivated music—an art that charms infants, the lower animals, and even vicious serpents. By the grace of Sarasvati, the presiding goddess of these two arts, I have composed these unpretending stanzas, and set them to Aryan music—In honour of the Congress, I have taken the liberty of submitting these my humble compositions at the foot of thy Royal Throne.

38. This little poem does not boast of any brilliant sentiments. Still, I humbly hope it may not prove unacceptable to thee, as it has been set to music—an art adored by all the Aryan races.

39. May the Lord of the universe shower blessings on thee and the members of the Congress !

40. Ye members of the Congress—young, adult, or old ! May Sarasvati, whose favourite arts are Poetry and music, be pleased with the enthusiasm shown by yourselves, and pour the honey of righteousness into the lotus of your hearts ; and may you live long, and, with your families and children, enjoy its blessed Sweets !

THE FIRST OF THE GHAZALS OF HAFIZ OF SHIRAZ.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

هو الله

ا

ALIF.

Alá yá! send the Cup round! Oh, Saki, brim and send!
Love, which at first was easy, grows harder at the end.

For ache of what the Breeze brought from that sweet-scented brow
Those musky, tangled tresses—heart's blood is dropping now.

Well! soak thy prayer-mat purple with wine, then -- as 'tis bid—
Such solace of Love's stages from Magians is not hid.

But this World's stage, Belovéd! 'tis too long! when the Bell
Calls to unpack our Camels, by God! it will be well.

The black Night, and the fearful Wave: and Whirlpool wild of Fate,
Ah, lightly-burdened Ones ashore! what know ye of our State?

Wending mine own way, unto woe and ill-fame am I brought,
How, in the loud Assemblies, could such high lore be taught?

If thou wilt have the Presence, Hafiz! why, seek it so?
This World and the Belovéd—choose one, and let one go.

SIX PERSIAN CHRONOGRAMS.*

By G. W. L.

[The numerical value of the letters of each line give the date marked at its side.]

- (۱۸۹۳) بیا شیخ کبیر عصر یگانه مردان * در عقلت پیر در عمل هستی جوان
 (۱۸۹۱) اسم ترا مسمی با خوش سنگ * دري یتیمی تابان هزار رنگ برنگ
 (۱۸۹۲) خوشسنگ میلادت مبارک باد آمین * برت برآل یرعلم مبارک بادا آمین

Transliteration.

- Biá! Sheikh Kabîr-i-A'sr, Yagána-i-Merdán!† (1893.)
 Dar A'qlat Pîr, dar A'ml hastî jiwán (1893.)
 Ism turá musamma bá "Khúsh-Sang" (1891.)
 Durri Yatîmî tabán hazár rang birang. (1893.)
 Khúsh-Sang! Miládat mubárek bad! Amîn! (1892.)
 Bar-at, Bar-ál, bar-i'lm, bar-A'lam mubárek bádá! Amîn!
 (1892.)

Literal Translation.

- Come! Grand Old Man of the Age, The One among men!† (ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν)
 In [as far] Thy Mind an ancient sage, in action Thou art young.
 The *name* to Thee is an *epithet* (explaining itself) for it is "Glad-stone"
 [Since it is] the *unique* precious stone and star ["the orphan pearl" or star of the age] shining a thousand colours in colour.
Glad-stone! May Thy birthday be blessed! Amen!
 On Thee, on *Thine*, on Learning, on the World may it indeed be blessed! Amen!

Remarks.

The combined letters of the 1st, 2nd and 4th lines being descriptive of a fact or appellation on the day of their com-

* This is, probably, the only instance in an Oriental Language, in which a Chronogram extends to more than one line or is found in each of the six lines of a composition.—ED.

† This suggests that the words "ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν" are etymologically and philologically connected with the "One" or "*unique*" of men, and not with either an Egyptian tribal appellation or the "Anakim."—ED.

position—the 1st January, 1893—form the date 1893 [each line]. The third line refers to the date 1891, when Mr. Gladstone was out of office, and, therefore, alone with his name and intrinsic merit without external adjuncts. The two last lines have each the numerical value of 1892, that being the date of Mr. Gladstone's last Birthday in connection with which a blessing is invoked. The versatility as also uniqueness of Mr. Gladstone's disposition and attainments are indicated by the variety of the colours thrown out by "the orphan pearl of the age"—an Arabic simile of rare endowments—as also by the apparent inconsistency in the name which combines the "*suaviter*" of "Glad" with the "*fortiter*" of "stone" [in its Persian Translation, or as the name would be popularly understood in English without reference to its forgotten etymology].

P.S.—This view may be further carried out in the following additional lines — *not* Chronograms — that may be inserted between the 4th and 5th lines of the first page. They rhyme with "Khûsh-Sang," thus :

Khûsh-Sang¹

اگر دنیا صلح خواهد نمی کنی جنگ
اگر دین جنگ خواهد نمی درنگ

Agr dunyâ sulha khâhâd, na-mi-kuni jang

Agr dîn jang khâhâd, na-mi-kunî dirang.*

Literal Translation.

If the World (or secular matters) wants Peace, Thou dost not make War.

If Faith (or religious matters) wants War, Thou dost not make Peace (put a delay or obstacle to War).

The following lines in *Urdu* are intended to express the sorrow of departure after a short acquaintance.

آپکا شان سنکر ازاد ایا میں
آپکا شان دیکھکر پاؤند رہا میں
کاشکہ ازاد رہتا نہیں اتا
کاشکہ پاؤند رہتا نہیں جاتا

* These lines may indicate alike the peaceful policy and the controversial gifts of the great statesman.—ED.

Transliteration.

Āpka shán sunker azád áya main
Apka shán dekhker paband rehá main
Káshke azád rehta nahin átá
Kashke páband rehta nahin játá !

Translation.

Hearing your story, a free man came I ;
Seeing your glory, your captive stayed I ;
O had I kept free and never had come,
Or, staying your captive, never had gone !

Turkish (Death and Love).

biledjeksın nè dir ölmek.
göredjeksın nè dir getshmek.
a'f' et beni !
sevdim seni !
biledjeim, göredjeim.
unutma beni !
severim seni !

Translation.

Thou wilt know what it is to die.
Thou will see what it is to pass.
Forgive Thou me !
I *did* love Thee !
I will know, I will see.
Forget not me !
I *do* love Thee !

An Oriental Echo.

What though all swimmers in a shoreless sea
Should mingle with the elemental Whole ?
While waves and tides, and years and ages, roll,
God rules, and is eternal ; HIS are We.
Light shall not fail, though mortal eyes grow dim.
Am I eternal ? shall I vie with HIM ?
How long I live—HIS Wisdom and His Will !
Swimming or sinking, may I TRUST Him still !

THE REVOLUTION IN HAWAII.

BY HIS EXC. A. HOFFNUNG,
Hawaiian Chargé d'Affaires in London.

To trace the causes and the probable results of the revolution which has recently taken place in the Hawaiian Islands, it is necessary first to examine, as briefly as possible, some of the salient points connected with the development of the country in its political and material aspect. These have been sufficiently remarkable and interesting to deserve attention.

It is but little more than one hundred years, since that adventurous Englishman, Captain Cook, discovered and made known to the world the existence of the Sandwich Islands. These were thickly peopled by natives of the Polynesian race, primitive if not savage in their habits, and quite unconscious of the forms of civilization known to their discoverers.

Some thirty years later, that is in October, 1819, the first company of missionaries to these islands sailed from Boston---two schoolmasters and their wives, two ministers of religion, a farmer and a planter. They landed at Kailua, on the Island of Hawaii, and there inaugurated the missionary work which they had undertaken: that they were successful is beyond all question.

King Kamehameha II., who reigned over his native subjects at that time, was reading the English Testament in three months. His instructor was the Rev. Asa Thurston, one of the missionaries above mentioned. The object of these good people was to rescue the natives from the darkness of superstition, and to teach them the Gospel of Christianity and the arts of peace, civilization, and self-government.

It stands to the undoubted credit of this devoted little band, and of the brave men and women who subsequently joined them in their noble work, that they were successful almost beyond the dream of hope. For in less than 75 years (which is but an atom of time in the life of a nation) a

miniature kingdom has arisen, so perfect in all its details that it has been the admiration of all who have come in contact with it, and have had the opportunity to examine its workings.

A Queen and Court, whose distinguishing characteristics have been gracious and lavish hospitality, a government able and intelligent, with its diplomatic and consular representatives in every important part of the world, an incorruptible bench and an honest judiciary, a native race, happy and contented, wholly converted to the great truths of consistent religion, a school system as perfect as any that exists, so that illiteracy, even amongst the natives, is practically unknown, laws wisely framed and justly administered, and a legislature composed both of natives and white settlers not more susceptible to unwise influences than similar institutions in much older communities—all these have been the results of valuable work by the heroic people above mentioned.

It is impossible not to honour the memory of the brave persons who first undertook, and who carried out with rare patience, self-denial and credit, the transformation of the untutored natives of the Hawaiian Islands into a civilized nation, developing in an incredibly short space of time all the attributes of a people capable of the highest forms of self-government and civilization. If the American missionaries had nothing else to be proud of—and they have much—the splendid work they have accomplished in the Hawaiian Islands reflects upon them imperishable glory. Turning now from this moral and political retrospect, let us examine for a moment the material advance of these highly-favoured islands. In 1850, the total imports were \$1,035,000; in 1890, they were \$6,962,000; in 1850, the exports were \$783,000; in 1890, they were \$13,282,729, giving a total export per capita greater than that of any other country, and exceeding even that of the Australian colonies during the flower of the gold discoveries. In 1856, the revenue of the kingdom was \$419,228; in 1890, it was \$3,632,190.

It is not intended to burden this article with statistics : enough has been cited to demonstrate the remarkable progress which the Hawaiian Islands have made in civilization and material prosperity, a progress so substantial and promising, that it may well stimulate the sanguine expectations of those who have faith in the destiny of the human family, and who confidently look for similar results amongst the native races in Africa and other parts of the world, which are at present backward in civilization.

But for the moment a cloud has overshadowed this fair prospect. What Americans have so well done, Americans are now apparently seeking to undo. Asa Thurston was one of the original missionaries who covered himself with glory in the cause of human progress. Lorrin A. Thurston (a descendant of this great progenitor) is now in Washington, with four other delegates, seeking the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, and this mainly on two grounds :—"the monarchy is effete and corrupt, and the people are incapable of self-government." The work accomplished with so much heroic and patient self-sacrifice during the past 75 years is alleged to have been in vain. The native Queen and her subjects, who were taught the lessons of peace and good-will on earth, and the golden precept of doing as they would be done by, have been, suddenly and without notice, confronted and overawed by the armed forces of a powerful foreign State, with which the Queen has always been in friendly treaty relations. The sovereign is summarily deposed, and the independence of the kingdom is threatened with extinction.

The spectacle would be a sad one, and the ardent friends of human progress might well despair, if the grounds upon which these acts have been based, were capable of substantial verification.

The Queen, since her accession to the throne two years ago, has won golden opinions from all classes of people : some of those who have just assisted in her deposition had

spoken and written, but very recently, in glowing terms, of her wisdom, sagacity and popularity. The graceful pen of Sir Edwin Arnold, who has but just returned from a visit to the Islands, thus describes her whilst referring to the situation in which she is now placed. "When ill-informed people write of Queen Liliuokalani as if she were some barbarian princess, and venture upon what is meant for pleasantry, over the particulars of her dignified protest against the rebellion and her last efforts to check it, dressed in her robes of State with a coronet on her head, it is well to remark that a more refined graceful Christian lady does not live than the Hawaiian sovereign. . . . Queen Liliuokalani is as real and true a royal lady, in spirit and education, as the courts of Europe could furnish. She is as much and as solemnly the rightful sovereign of the Sandwich Islands as any monarch in Europe of his dominions. This armed coercion of herself and her people and the act of retirement forcibly wrung from her must find very different and very much better pleas to justify them than any which have yet been made public."

It is alleged that the Queen desired to encroach upon the rights of her people and to deprive them of their political privileges by the attempt to promulgate a new constitution. But this charge has not yet received any satisfactory definition. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that a sovereign possessed of no armed force beyond a handful of men as a body-guard, and dependent entirely upon the good-will of her subjects, should make so insane an attempt, or that, if made, it should not have been resented and put down by a truly popular rising. What really happened seems to point to an opposite conclusion. A section of the community, numerically small but powerful in position and influence, were dissatisfied with certain closing acts of the legislature; and thereupon they appear suddenly to have determined on seeking annexation by the United States, as a means of carrying out a favourite project, which had long been in the air. A United States

man-of-war at that time in port, conveniently furnished an armed force, which assisted or at least protected the movement. The Queen was deposed, the population overawed, and a provisional government established. Martial law was proclaimed, and the writ of Habeas Corpus suspended. A steamer was chartered and five gentlemen were promptly despatched to Washington, with the object of tendering the Islands to the United States. It is remarkable that no popular expression of opinion was sought upon this momentous policy so pregnant of consequences, either from the representatives of the people then assembled in Honolulu, or from the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, which form a part of the Hawaiian Archipelago, and which in area and population exceed the island of Oahu, on which the capital is situated. From some of these adjacent islands significant protests are already coming in, which even under the suspension of the customary safe-guards for criticism and freedom of speech, seem likely to gather strength.

It is our duty to examine if there do not exist causes, other than those that have been alleged, which underly and go to the root of this startling movement; and in doing this it is not necessary to attribute to its promoters sinister motives:—indeed, the high character of those who are at the head of the annexation party forbids such an assumption.

The prosperity which, up to 1891, was enjoyed in so remarkable a degree by the Hawaiian Islands was due mainly to the operation of a Reciprocity treaty with the United States first entered into in 1876 and since renewed with conditions varying, but always favourable to Hawaii.

For fourteen years the sugar produced in the Hawaiian Islands was allowed to pass into the United States free of duty, whilst similar sugars from other countries paid a duty of from \$40 to \$50 per ton. . This was practically a bonus to that extent to the Hawaiian planters, given to them, no doubt, because American capital, enterprise and ownership largely predominated in the production of this staple of

Hawaii. So far as it was in the power of its people, Hawaii gave to the United States reciprocal advantages, even to the granting of a harbour situated close to Honolulu, to be used by the United States as a coaling and naval station for its war-ships. The advantages which accrued to the Hawaiian Islands were exceedingly valuable:—the production of sugar was stimulated to a phenomenal degree. In 1876 the Hawaiian export of this staple amounted to 13,000 tons, which rapidly increased until, in 1890, it amounted to the enormous total of 130,000 tons, all of which found a ready and profitable market in the United States. It may be remarked that the benefits which this treaty conferred were not exclusively on one side. The United States reaped some substantial advantages also; the products and manufactures of America, with few exceptions, were equally admitted into the Hawaiian Islands free of duty. The trade and shipping of the port of San Francisco were greatly stimulated in consequence of this large interchange of products between the two countries. A considerable portion of the wealth gained in Hawaii found its way to the United States, both in dividends on plantation stock held there, in the purchase of machinery and supplies for plantation purposes, and in payment of many other articles of consumption. In the end, about 92 per cent. of the entire import and export trade of the Hawaiian Islands passed to the United States.

But the McKinley tariff came to blight the prospect. One of its provisions abolished the duties on all sugars entering the United States; and this at once deprived Hawaii of its exclusive advantage. As the price of sugar in America naturally declined to the extent of the duty which had previously been paid, the Hawaiian planters found themselves obliged to accept \$50 per ton for sugar which they had previously sold at \$100 per ton more or less. So sudden and serious a shrinkage of value, estimated in a single year at £1,300,000 or about one-half the value of the entire crop, could not be borne without considerable

suffering and pecuniary difficulty. Many plantations were compelled to cease operations, and others struggled on unprofitably. The injury done to this predominant industry more or less affected every other. Trade of all kinds suffered. Merchants, bankers, artisans, and agricultural labourers all seriously felt the general depression.

The abolition of the duty on sugar in the United States called for compensation to the domestic producer of this article. The sugar planters in Louisiana and the cultivators of beet sugar in the western states demanded protection against the free import of foreign sugar raised under more economical conditions. This was granted in the form of a bounty of two cents per lb. (equal to \$40 per ton) to all American producers of sugar. It was reasonably expected for a time that some compensation would also be granted to the Hawaiian Islands for the serious loss they suffered, through no fault of theirs and in violation of the beneficial provisions of the treaty. It would doubtless have been just, if this point had received fair consideration. But in working out its own economic policy the government of the United States seemed to have become oblivious of the existence of Hawaii; and during the two years from the passing of the McKinley bill, the gloom deepened in the Hawaiian Islands, without any apparent prospect of relief.

In these circumstances what more natural for the Hawaiian planters than to look to annexation by the United States as a panacea for the evils which had come upon them? Once annexed to the United States, the bounty granted to the domestic producers of sugar would be equally theirs. Many other advantages too, might be expected to follow. The Hawaiian public debt, which, small as it is, had in adverse times become burdensome, would be transferred to the broad shoulders of "Uncle Sam." American capital would flow to the islands; property in which they were largely interested would presumably rise in value; and a form of government with which Americans were in sympathy would prevail.

To this tempting prospect there were but two drawbacks, the monarchy and the native sentiment. The former was disposed of, by pronouncing it at once aggressive and effete, whilst conscience was satisfied, with regard to the natives, by the presumption that annexation to the United States, whether liked or not, was for their ultimate good.

It must, of course, be granted that the material interests of a state are of momentous importance ; and if, in their pursuit, men seek to change the existing order of things, they are entitled to plead justification. But surely, in such circumstances, existing institutions deserve tender consideration. Momentous changes should be accomplished by peaceful and constitutional means. If it be better for the Hawaiian Islands to be annexed to the United States, this should be clearly shown, and the consent of the people should be obtained.

The question of the hour is, "Will the people of the United States consent to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands?" The probabilities do not seem favourable.

Mr. Harrison's Cabinet certainly appears to have entertained the proposal ; but a moribund government is hardly competent to deal with a question which goes to the very root of American policy. The practical American will ask himself what advantages the United States would derive from so distinct a departure from its traditional policy. It has been shown that America already enjoys 92 per cent. of the Hawaiian trade, and has acquired a naval and coaling station near Honolulu : what more can be obtained but responsibility ? In time of war with any great naval power, the possession of the Islands would be a serious weakness to America, and would render her vulnerable more than two thousand miles from her base of operations. Thinking Americans may well doubt the wisdom of annexing a country, without some distinct expression of opinion on the part of the great bulk of the people, who, if coerced, would naturally assume a hostile attitude and resent all attempts to deprive them of their independence. The sovereign rights

of the people is the foundation of American institutions ; and it seems eminently consistent that the people of Hawaii should have a voice in their own disposal. It must be remembered also that the sugar producers of America are likely to object to the admission of so formidable a rival within the boundaries of the Union. This hostility has indeed already made itself manifest. It has been suggested that unless the United States take possession of the Hawaiian Islands they may be occupied by some European power coveting the strength of their geographical position. This is both improbable and unreasonable. Not only have France and England bound themselves to respect the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but they have entered into a treaty of self-denial, by which each has solemnly undertaken not to interfere with its autonomy. The United States were requested to join in this treaty, but declined, on the ground that the government of that country did not find it incumbent upon them to undertake not to do that which they had no intention of doing. No European power would venture to incur the resentment of the United States by attempting to take possession of a group of islands well understood to be so peculiarly within the sphere of American influence, by reason of their proximity to her shores. After the United States, Great Britain has doubtless the largest interests in Hawaii ; but this is comparatively so small as to carry but little weight in considering the important question of her independence. There are about 1,500 Englishmen in the entire group ; and whilst British interests in the sugar industry of the islands is represented by a capital of less than \$6,000,000, American interests stand for about \$25,000,000. Throughout the present difficulty, Great Britain does not appear to have raised a finger of protest, recognising no doubt that the question is one which mainly concerns the United States and Hawaii, and is too distant from the sphere of British interests and influences to call for any action on her part. British interests in Hawaii would without doubt be

equally safe under American as under Hawaiian rule. It has been shown that whilst Great Britain has recognised the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, she has not bound herself to defend it. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Englishmen are indifferent to the fate of this miniature kingdom, and the promising and successful advance made by the native race in the arts of peace, civilization and self-government. The unanimous expression of sympathy with the Queen, and the condemnation of the methods employed to dethrone her, which appeared in the London press on the day the news was received, sufficiently indicate the drift of public sentiment in England on the subject. It is difficult to forecast the probable issue of the present situation in Hawaii. It is clear that President Harrison, whatever may have been his inclination, has not had time to carry out the project of annexation. The question therefore remains in abeyance for the administration of President Cleveland. But will the United States depart from its traditional policy of non-interference in countries beyond its own ample borders? Under ordinary circumstances, it might be safe to answer this question in the negative; but the United States stand compromised by the act of its representative at Honolulu, who practically assisted in the dethronement of the Queen; and if annexation is not deemed expedient, must either withdraw or assist in establishing some form of government acceptable to the majority of its inhabitants. Of these nearly half are natives and half-castes; or, to be precise, the Census of 1890 discloses the following particulars. At that date, the total population was 89,990: of these 34,436 were natives, 6,186 half-castes, 7,495 Hawaiian-born foreigners, 1,928 Americans, 1,344 British, 1,034 Germans, 70 French, 8,602 Portuguese, 227 Norwegian, 15,301 Chinese, 12,360 Japanese, and 1,007 of various other nationalities. The native population is very far advanced in education. They possess a complete educational system. The total number

of schools in the kingdom is 178 (besides a noble college situated in Honolulu), at which the average attendance of scholars is 10,006, mostly taught in English. The number of teachers employed is 368. The public schools are all, with one exception, maintained at the expense of the government, at an annual cost of about \$200,000. Illiteracy is practically unknown. Newspapers, printed both in English and Hawaiian, circulate extensively. The natives, in common with the rest of the population, enjoy a liberal franchise, take an active interest in politics, and send a considerable number of their own representatives to the national legislature. In these circumstances native sentiment must ultimately be reckoned with in determining the form of government and the political destiny of the Hawaiian Islands. The readiest solution of the present difficulty would appear to be the restoration of the Queen, with the proper constitutional safe-guards already existing. The lesson of the revolution will not have been lost. The Queen would prove herself a truly constitutional sovereign, acceptable alike to the natives and the inhabitants of every nationality.

It is by no means improbable that the democratic government of President Cleveland will abolish the bounty system, to which it is opposed in principle, and in consideration of this, will restore the duty on sugar, which in times past has yielded a revenue of from 50 to 60 millions of dollars. In this event the benefits of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty will at once become operative, and prosperity will again smile on the Hawaiian people. But whatever happens, all well-wishers of this beautiful and interesting little Kingdom will earnestly hope for its peace, happiness, prosperity and independence.

The above article was written on the 28th February 1893. Since then, some of its anticipations have actually taken place—notably the reluctance of the United States to annex the Islands, which, notwithstanding President Harrison's seemingly favourable declaration, is now unlikely to be carried out by his successor. Mr. Cleveland has, in fact, withdrawn the annexation proposal from the consideration of the Senate at Washington.—Ed.

A SECRET RELIGION IN THE HINDUKUSH [THE PAMIR REGION] AND IN THE LEBANON.

I.—THE MULÁIS OF THE HINDUKUSH.

A NUMBER of conjectures as to the origin of the word "Mulái," all of which are incorrect, have been made by eminent writers unacquainted with Arabic or the meaning of its theological history and terms. A few of these conjectures, however, go very near some fact or view connected with the "Muláis." The word may not mean "terrestrial gods," but there are no other, for practical purposes, in the creed of the "Muláis." It is certainly not a corruption of "Muláhid" or "heretic," if not "atheist," although this term has been specially applied to them by their enemies. It can have nothing whatever to do etymologically with "Muwáhidin" or worshippers of "One" [God], though they, no doubt, call themselves so, *i.e.*, "Unitarians." There is this additional difficulty, moreover, introduced into the question, that no name can be conclusive as to the esoteric appellation of a sect that has been obliged to practise "Conformity" or "Pious fraud" or "concealment" of its religion, in order to escape persecution or wholesale massacre. The Shiahs,* whose belief, in the hereditary succession, through the descendants of A'li, of the *spiritual* "Imámat" or leadership or apostleship of the prophet Muhammad, rendered them overt or covert enemies of those Sunni rulers who held the *temporal* power or "the Khiláfat" (misspelt as "the Caliphate"), were, and are, allowed to practise "Taqqia" (which I have rendered as "Conformity") outwardly and the more exaggerated or exclusive a particular A'liite or Shiite sect, the more careful had it to be. The Sunni and Shiah may both publicly confess "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet"; but

* It is superfluous to inform readers of this Review that the Persians are Shiah, and the Turks Sunni, Muhammadans. Most of the Indian Muhammadans are Sunnis.

the Shiah adds under his breath, "A'li is the Deputy (Governor) of God and the heir of the prophet of God." Now this word for "Deputy" is "*vali*," "to be close to," whether it be to God, a king, a priest, a master, or other position of eminence in Arabian belief, society, history, or intellectual creations.* "Maulá" or "Mulá" comes from the same root and is generally applied to a spiritual master, but, among the Shiahs, specially to their "LORD" A'li. Therefore, "Muláís" are the special followers of the "Lord A'li," just as the Jesuits claim to be a fraternity of special followers of "the Lord Jesus" When, then, the term "Mauláná" or our "Master or Lord" is specially used in the Druse Covenant of Initiation [see further on], there is not far to seek for the meaning of the appellation "Mulái," though it was left for me to find it out from the A'liite songs of the Muláís of the Hindukush. Whatever the innermost coterie of the "initiated" may practise or believe, a connecting link of the sect with some existing creed is necessary for their safety or respectability. Thus, the *Ismailians* might call themselves "*Sadigis*" or "the righteous," in order to spread the belief of their being special adherents of the 6th Imám, (in the order of descent from A'li), the Imám Ja'far *Sádiq* (the righteous), without entering into the vexed question as to whether his son "*Ismá'il*" was the real "seventh" Imám or his other son, Músa (through whom the bulk of Shiahs look for their Mahdi or Messiah, the 12th Imám). Nor would any such special fervour in revering a particular phase or man be necessarily deemed to be heretical, even among Sunnis. I have often heard a Sunni, especially if he was a Persian scholar and the strange magic of that language had subdued him, admit the impeachment of having "a particular love

* Many words denoting proximity, become honorifics, such as "Sherif" (Shereef), "Haz'at," "Jenáb," etc. "Khalífah" is one who succeeds, or follows, or is a deputy. Strictly speaking, this title refers to the Sultan of Turkey as the successor of the Prophet Muhammad in the temporal headship of the Sunnis, but even the successor of the heretical Mahdi in the Sudán calls himself "Khalifa."

for the house of A'li," and the numerous class of Sayads, who claim to be descendants of the Prophet, is respected, if not venerated, among Sunnis, who, in theory, oppose the "hereditary" claims of Shiah.* The Máulais, therefore, of the Hindukush, being, consciously or not, a sub-sect of Shiah, can make friends with the main body of Shiah, and yet pretend to the Sunnis as being, in many respects, with them. Normally, the Mauláis would profess to be good Muhammadans of the Shiah persuasion, leaning, however, to the 7th Imám; if surrounded by, or in danger of, Sunnis, they would *outwardly* "conform" (which is all that the Sunnis require), and, at home, practise their own rites. The Khojas of Bombay, who had been converted from Hinduism, but whose very name is Ismailian, used to read the "Das-awtar" or "ten incarnations," in which "A'li" is made out to be the "Tenth Incarnation," thus rendering their step from Wishnu Hinduism to Shiah Muhammadanism an easy one. "All things to all men" is the dictum of the Muláis, without, thereby, sacrificing their own convictions. The more a Mulái knows, the more he acts on Disraeli's sneer that all sensible men are of *one* religion, but do not tell what that religion is. The less a Mulái knows, the more fanatically is he an A'liite, centring however his faith on the living descendant of the 7th Imám. "Nothing is a crime that is not found out" may, or may not be, the theory among the Druses, or the practice all over the world; the fact remains that neither the Druses nor the Muláis, whatever their belief, are worse than their neighbours. Even the odious signification that attaches to the term "Assassin" has been a calumny against those misguided Ismailians who sought to rid the world of tyrants

* The "Sherifs" or "Shereefs," in a special, princely or official sense, are lineal descendants of Muhammad through his daughter Fatima who was married to A'li, and have, perhaps, even a higher claim to the respect of the Faithful, than ordinary descendants or "Sayads." The Grand Shereef of Mecca, the Shereefian dynasty of Morocco, the Shereef of Wazan, who also bears the title, like the Emperor of Morocco, of "Muláy," or "Maulái," show the great extent of the "House of A'li."

who had ordered the general massacre of the sect or who sacrificed one man in order to save a whole people.

In 1866 I discovered the languages and races of "Dardistan" and gave that name to the countries between Kashmir and Kabul, including Hunza in them. In 1886 I was again on a special mission regarding the language of Hunza-Nagyr and a part of Yasin. I had already pointed out in 1867 the importance which our good friend, His Highness Agha Khan of Bombay, the Head of the Khojas in that city, enjoyed in those, then nearly inaccessible, regions, as also in Wakhan, Zebak, Shignán, Raushan, Koláb and Derwáz, where the Muláís predominate and are governed by hereditary Pirs or ancient sages of their own choice,* to whom they yield implicit obedience, as do also the covenanters with "Al-Hákim" among the "initiated" of the Druses. Of these Pirs, Agha Khan is Chief, and any command by him would be obeyed in some of the most dangerous parts of the Hindukush. Advantage was only taken in 1886 of this hint, when Colonel Lockhart's mission was supplied with letters of recommendation by His Highness to the Muláís. My identification of their mysterious rites with those of the Druses connects the Lebanon with the Hindukush through the Ismailia sect, which under the name of the "Assassins" enjoyed such an unenviable notoriety during the Crusades and establishes a link among the nations of Richard Cœur de Lion,† of Palestine and of the Pamirs. The connection of Hunza with the Huns or Hunas and the relations between the "Old Man of the Mountain" and our own Richard may be the subject of a future article. At present, I will confine myself to translating from the Persian original a Pythian utterance out of the "Kelám-i-Pir" or "the Word of the ancient Sage," which takes the place of the Korán among Mauláís,

* Among these Pirs each Muláí chooses his own, of course, *under* the supreme headship of Agha Khan.

† Who has been accused of instigating the "Old Man of the Mountain" to send his emissaries to murder Conrad of Montferrat, titular King of Jerusalem. The Ismailian "Assassins" are also accused of an attempt to murder Prince Edward of England at Acre.

and of which the following is the first extract ever given from that hidden book. It was partly dictated to me and partly written out on the occasion of His Highness, the present Agha Khan, paying me a visit, by the leader of some Muláís, who had fled, first from Russian tyranny, and then from the still heavier Afghan oppression in the border-countries of Central Asia, my own Hunza man also being present on the occasion.* The extract was called the Mulái "Mukti" or "Salvation" Cry of the Muláís. It may be incidentally mentioned that Shah Abdurrahim in Zeibak was (and perhaps still is) the greatest Pír in Central Asia. He controls Hunza, so far as that God-forsaken country can be controlled. In Wakhan, Khwaja Ibrahim Husain was the Mulái leader, and in Sarikul, Shahzada Makin. Sayad Jafar Khan ruled what there is of the sect in Bokhara, Balkh, Kabul and Kunduz. "*The* Pír" or "ancient sage," however, was the historical Shah Nasir Khosrô, who is styled "a missionary of H. H. Aga Khan's ancestor." He is said to have had the complete "Kelám-i-Pír," a book of which I have for so many years in vain tried to get a copy, although assisted by my friend, the Mihtar Nizám-ul-Mulk of Yasin and Chitrál. The following extract from it, in one and the same breath, affirms and denies the special doctrine of metempsychosis and other notions opposed to the professed Muhammadanism of the Muláís :

The MUKTI or "SALVATION."

The Mulái "Á'qíl" or "intelligent" = "initiated" [the singular of the Druse "U'qalá" or "initiated"] first asks, in inelegant and enigmatical Persian :

"ALA! In what I say, can I remain *knowingly* an Á'qíl?" or "initiated" or "I remain knowingly an Á'qíl, although what I say

1. "Come, solve for me a difficult story [or conjecture]

* Whom I took to England and whose name, curiously enough, was "*Matavali*," which is also a derivative of "*vali*."

Come, tell me the Light which the spirit from the world-shape [this world of Phenomena]

When it becomes [gets] beyond [of] this shape, where [is] its abode and station? [place of descent = "manzil"]

Is its place [of existence] in plants or in the Higher Universe [the world above?]

Or in the Lower Universe between water, dust and clay" [or stone]? [the strata between the centre and the surface of the earth]

2. "If, *knowingly*, that secret, come and tell me: 'Light'

And, if not, away! not *knowing*, without head-wandering, careless [care not]

Dear ones! The spirit of the *knowing* when it departs from these chains.

Does it become [wend] towards the skies [heavens]? Is that its Station obtaining?*

Or why in the shape of man [anthropomorphic shape] is the Adamite created?†

Nay (?) the perfect man [ko-burd] cultured perfect,‡ or 'the ruling man [if] perfect, develops perfect culture'

But they who are not wanted [the useless] are ignorant doubters"

3. "Let me tell its Commentary; every one, Come! in the ear make it acceptable.

The present is one stride [or state of a man]

When they put him outside the body

They bind him in chains; he becomes with cow or ass entering

Another time his place [of staying] is the [world of] plants. They hold him [there]

* Also, "Does it rise in the direction of heavens, or is its descent in vegetation?" [taking "Hásil" = obtaining for "Mehásil" = vegetation], reproduction (?)

† Also, "Or in the form of Man how does it again rotate into being born an Adamite?" or, "Why is man created in the form of a human being?"

‡ Also, "Nay, but the perfect man, the seemly, the all-perfect wins the prize."

He will remain inside these chains for three years [many a year] [under] that vain curse" [this is a vain word]

4. AL LÁY! Helper of Chosroes!* Such secrets to men why recklessly impart? [it only makes them impudent] Not will say ever this the *A'qil* [or "the initiated one."]

[The wise do not mention their religion; if they do, they only make the unwise impudent.]

So, after all, we have not been told the process or secret of after-life, whether ascending into air, descending into earth, renewing human life or migrating into animal, plant or stone. In fact, we are made to understand that our inquiry is folly and that its answer, whether true or not, is also folly. Yet are we allowed to conjecture the belief of "the initiated" in transmigration.

As for the *Muláís* "being all things to all men" in matters of religion—Sunnis with Sunnis and Shiahs with Shiahs—this is, as already stated, a mere amplification of the Shiah doctrine of *Taqiyyah* or concealment in times of danger, to which I have specially referred in my "Dardistan."

The leaning of the *Muláís* is, of course, rather to poetical Shiism, with the chivalrous martyr A'li as its demigod or "next to God" in the A'lewia sect, than to prosaic and monotonous Sunniism, so that to strangers they seem to be Shiahs, as will be seen in an extract from a native Indian Diary† written some 20 years ago, and which, it may be

* These words are so badly written that they may also be read as, "O, thou that waitest not for wisdom."

† Degol is the first village of Zebák . . . which is ruled by Shah Abdur-Rahim, a Sayad of the Shiah sect, worshipped by all the Shiahs of Kashkar, (Chitrál), Yarkand, and Khokand. They also worship Shah Bombáy, Shah Madkasan, who is learned, good-natured, and friendly to travellers. . . . The people give a tenth of their income to their preceptors; if one has ten children, he consecrates one to Shah Abdur-Rahim. . . . The inhabitants are strong and hardy; the women do not cover their faces from strangers. Although Shiahs, they have no mosques and repeat no prayers. Abdur-Rahim has one in his village, where *he* prays. Every

incidentally stated, still throws much light on the present conflicts in Dir, Bajaur and other petty States bordering on our frontier. No stranger is allowed to see the Kelám-i-Pir, which takes the place of the Korán with Muláís, but in the most popular poem that is recited by them, the Imám-ul Zemán or Sahib-al-Zemán = the Imám or Lord of the Age (H. H. Aga Khan) is worshipped as the Monarch of this World, the visible incarnation of the Deity, offerings or a pilgrimage to whom dispenses a Mulái from prayer, fasting or a visit to the sacred shrines of Mecca or Madina, or rather the Shiah Kerbelá, the place of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, which Shiahs annually celebrate by what are inappropriately called "miracle plays," but which really are "elegies," and commemorative funeral recitations and processions. A person who has seen "the Lord of the Age" or who possesses some of the water in which he has washed his feet is an honoured guest in Mulái countries. The poem above alluded to is a parallel to the Druse "Contract" which will be considered further on, and begins with an invocation for "Help, oh Ali."

"Nobody will worship God, without worshipping Thee, Lord of the Age!
Jesus will descend from the fourth heaven to follow Thee, Lord of the Age!

Thy will alone will end the strife with Antichrist, Lord of the Age!

Thy beauty gives light to heaven, the sun and the moon, Lord of the Age!

May I be blessed by being under the dust of Thy feet, Lord of the Age!"

A Maulái is, if sincere, already dead to sin, and can, therefore, not commit any. He needs, therefore, no resur-

— morning at *Chasht* (the middle hour between sunrise and noon) he sits in the assembly and distributes breads of wheat among the members, followed by the servants handing round tea in porcelain cups in which each one soaks his bread, and, after eating it, lifts his hand to bless the giver, a custom also followed by the nobles on entering the assembly. If Shah Abdur-Rahim addresses any of them, he rises from his seat and answers as if he were reciting a *ruka't* at the time of praying, and then returns to his place, and sits on his knees, for to sit otherwise is reckoned a sin amongst these men." In other words, the only worship of the prayerless Muláís is to their Pir, to whom they address the *ruka't* given by real Muhammadans in prayers to God [bowing, whilst standing, with hands resting on the knees].

rection or last Judgment day. Obedience to the Pir is his sole article of faith, and he holds his property, family and life at this Chief's disposal.

I must now conclude this introduction to a comparison of the creeds of the Druses and of the Muláís by quoting a few words from a rhapsody of A'li, repeated by the ordinary Mauláís till the pious frenzy is at white heat :

“ Oh A'li, to God, to God, oh A'li, my sole aim, the only one, our Mula A'li ; My desire, the only our Mula A'li ; My passion only the beauty of A'li : My longing day and night for union with A'li ; Higher and Higher A'li, oh A'li ; A'li is the Killer of difficulties, oh A'li ; He is the Commander of the Faithful, namely A'li ; *That* one is the Imám of the steadfast in faith, namely A'li,” and so on *ad infinitum* till we come to the natural connection between normal Shiism, its exaggeration into A'li worship, its mysterious interpretation of the self sacrifice of Husain to save the world, and, finally, to all other aberrations of which Maulaism is one. The poem then goes into wild Turkish and Arabic measures, which exhausted my informant, Ghulam Haidar, who adds on behalf of himself, also in verse : “ It is not proper that I should not answer the question which you ask me, but what am I to say ? The answer from me is easy, but I see a difficulty in *your* way. Oh Ghulam Haidar ” (thrice repeated). Then in prose. “ In the night of Friday, the Mulái men (in Hunza), instead of worship and prayer, taking Guitars and Drums (Rabábs and Daffs) in their hands, play the above “ Ghazals ” on them. Then six old men, Akhunds (priests), having assembled, read (sing) them in the Mosque, when the men of the mass of the people gather and give ear to them :

“ Yá A'li, Yá A'li, Yá Imám-i-Zemán ” —

“ Oh Ali, Oh Ali, Oh Imám (and Lord) of the Age ” —

is the mention (Chorus) which they take on their tongues. From the beginning of the evening till the morning they thus show their zeal ; the Raja then as a reward of thanks for that worship bestows (gold dust to the value of) four

tilas on the priests and gives them a quantity of butter of the weight of four measures and one sheep or big calf and one maund of wheat in order to hold a feast."

II.—THE COVENANT OF "THE INITIATED" DRUSES.

The following is a rendering of the Covenant or Contract which the U'qalá or "the initiated" amongst the Druses are reciting in mysterious seclusion. It was overheard by my informant, an "uninitiated" Druse.* It formed, as it were, the evening prayer of his uncle and aunt. Although an educated and highly intelligent person, he was not aware of even its local interest, much less of its general historical and religious importance.

The Covenant = Al Mitháq :

"O Governor [Vali] of the Age,† may Allah's blessing and peace be upon him" (this phrase seems intended to delude

* The Druses are divided into "Juhelá" = "uninitiated," or the Laity, and "U'qalá" = the "initiated."

† It should be noticed that this apotheosis of "Al-Hákim," the mad Fatimite Khalifa of Cairo (A.D. 996-1020), who was the head and originator of the special Ismailian sect, which became subsequently known to the Crusaders under the name of the "Assassins"—a corruption of "Hashishin," or drinkers of Hashish (*Canabis Indica*)—commences with titles of governorship or Age which would seem (to the uninitiated) to be compatible with his subordination to the Deity, although, for practical purposes, Al-Hákim is the "ruler of this world," whether for good or for evil. He is, therefore, the Prince of this world, if not Apollyon, and the fact that the words "Vali" = a deputed governor or "Hákim" = a governor, may cause him to be confounded with either an ordinary ruler, or be merely ringing the changes on his own name of "Al-Hakim," it is clear, at any rate to the initiated, that the only Deity worth caring for is thereby meant, and that he began with the Khalifa Al-Hákim, who lives for ever. In the titles "Maula" and "Vali" there is also an allusion to A'li, who is "next to God," and from whom Al-Hákim was descended. The Mauláis or Muláis of the Hindukush use similar titles for their spiritual head, whether dead, or continuing in his lineal descendant, Agha Khan of Bombay. The "Kelám-i-Pir," or "the Logos, or word of the Pir or ancient sage," mainly refers to the sayings attributed to the "Sheikh-ul-Jabl," or "Old Man of the Mountain." In Hunza itself, the Muláis equally address their practical Deity as "The Ancient of the Age," or "Pir-uz-Zamán."

Muhammadans into the belief that the Druses have the same Allah or God, but it has an esoteric sense which will become apparent further on). "I put my confidence into 'our spiritual head the Lord' (literally 'OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM') (here is one of the esoteric formulæ)—'the One, the Single, the Everlasting (Lord), the (serenely) Distinct from Duality and Number.' (This is a protest not only against the female form of the Deity, but also against the notion of a distinct good and evil principle, an Ahriman or Ormuz, whilst its Muhammadan form would seem to outsiders to be merely a protest against giving any 'companion to God.') 'The initiator and the to be 'initiated' then go on repeating together the following, the former using the 3rd, and the latter the 1st, person. 'I so and so' (here comes name of the initiated), 'son of such a one, CONFESS firmly the confession to which he (or I) respond from his [or my] soul, and bears testimony to it upon his spirit, whilst in a condition of soundness of his spirit and of his body, and with the (acceptance of the passing of the) lawfulness of the order, obeying without reluctance and under no violence : THAT he verily absolves (himself) from all Religions and Dogmas and Faiths and Convictions, all of them, in the various species of their contradictions, and that he does not acknowledge anything except the OBEDIENCE TO OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM, may his mention be glorious ! and this obedience it is the worship, and that he will not associate in his worship any (other) that is past or is present, or is to come, and that he has verily entrusted his spirit and his body, and whatever is to him and the whole of what he may possess to OUR MAULA AL-HÁKIM, and that he is satisfied to fulfil all His orders unto himself and against himself without any contradiction, and not refusing anything and not denying (refusing) anything of His actions, whether this injures him or rejoices him, and that he, should he ever revert (apostatize) from the religion of our Maula Al-Hákim which he has written upon his soul, and to which he has born testimony unto his spirit, that HE SHALL BE BEREFT (free) of the Creator,

who is worshipped and deprived of the benefits of all the sanctions (rules, laws), and that he shall be considered as deserving the punishment of God, the High, may His mention be glorious! And that he, if he acknowledges that there is not to him in Heaven and not in the Earth an Imám in existence *except our Maula Al-Hákim*" (this confession distinguishes the Druses of the Lebanon and the Muláís of the Hindukush from the orthodox Shiahs, who believe in the coming of the ever-present Mahdí, or the twelfth Imám, a view that had been fostered by us in the Sudán to our endless confusion by our inexcusable opposition to the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa of the Sunnis), "then will the mention of him (who only believes in Al-Hákim) become glorious, and he will be of the *Muwáhidín* (who profess the unity of God), who will (eventually) conquer." (This appellation is common to the Druses and to the Muláís, but is not admitted as being applicable to them by orthodox Shiahs or Sunnis. In retaliation they call the Sunni a dog, and the Shiah an ass.) "And (the above) has been written* in the month so and so of the year (chronology) of the I'd (festival) of our Maula Al-Hákim, whose nation be glorious, whose Empire be strengthened to Him alone." (The Maulái Chronology is said to begin with the *special* revelation of the Imám on the 17th Ramadán in the 559th year of the Hejira, at the castle of Alamút.)

The Special Recitation.

The following is repeated by Druses at the conclusion of their prayers: "May God's blessing be upon him who speaks (confesses) the Lord of goodness and benefits. May God bless the Ruler of the Guidances (Hidāyā); to him be profit and sufficiency. May God's blessing be on our Lord the Hādi" (the Guide or "Mehdí" means one who is guided aright by God = the coming Messiah of the Shiah world,) "the Imám, the greatest of the perfect light" (this is an allusion to the 7th Imám, Ismail, descendant of *the* light†

* The contract is thus repeated from a written document.

† Many Shiahs call A'li "the light" of God.

(Mohammed), "who is waiting for the refuge (salvation) of all living beings. On Him may be (our) trust, and from him (may be) the peace. May God bless him and them whatever passes of nights and of days and of months and of years, whenever flashes the dawn of morning or night remains in darkness may abundant peace and trust be for ever! *O Allah-humma!*" (the mystic Muhammadan remnant of Elohim = Lords, Gods) "provide us with *Thy* contentment" (this is a play of words implying that our best "daily bread" is God's contentment with us) "and with *Their* contentment" (this is either a Trinitarian or Polytheistic invocation to "Elohim") "and with *their* intercession and with *Thy* mercy and with *their* mercy in this world and in the next! O our Maula! and Lord of the Imám" (this is indeed significant as to the pretensions of Al-Hákim to the godhead, or to some dignity very near it).

Now comes an ancient curse with a modern application and an appeal to arms (whispered along the line of assembled Druses):

"Pray for the ornament of sons,

In the East the five* residing (compare also the Shiah 'Panjtan'† and the five main Shiah sects)‡

* There are *five* books of the *Sheikh-ul-A'ql*, "or old man of the intelligence," or of the "initiated," and also apparently a book of investigation and of the unity of the Godhead for the "initiated of the retirement" = "U'qala al Khalwat." There are *five* "Maulas" or Mulas of "the initiated," which I take to be the names of five books, namely: (1) the Mula of the A'ql, or Mind, or of the body-corporate of the "U'qalá" or "the initiated"; (2) the Mula of the Nafs, or Breath; (3) the Mula of the Zeman, or the Age; (4) the Mula of the Kalima, or the Word; (5) the Mula of Al-Hákim, or the founder of the sect. Numbers 3 and 4 are probably the Kelám-i-Pir and other dicta of the Mulais of the Hindukush, to which I have already referred.

† This holy roll among extreme Shíahs has *five* names, namely, God, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husain, which positively excludes the prophet Muhammad, but includes his son-in-law (Ali), his daughter, Fatima, and the martyred grandsons of Ali, namely Hasan and Husain. As a rule, however, the ordinary orthodox "Panjtan" among Shíahs (and even in some Sunni Mosque inscriptions) are: "Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain." "Panjtan" means "the five (holy) bodies."

‡ There are *five* main sects among the Shíahs, or, rather, "Adelias,"

They say : Father Abraham has appeared, and they announce the good tidings to the worshippers of *One* (the Druses).

They say : With the sword has Father Abraham appeared ;

A violence to his enemies

O brethren ! Prepare earnestly for the campaign,

Visiting the House of Mecca.

The House of Mecca and the sacred places,

On them has destruction been ordained.

Oh people of the Berbers ! Extermination is lawful.

With the sword shall ye be sacrificed.

The French are coming with stealth.

The 'A'ql' [or 'the body of the initiated'] will protect us with its sword.

Rejoice, people of China, in the hour of Thy arrival.

Welcome to thee, city of Arin (?), oh my Lady !"
[Fatima ?].

A Druse wedding-song may also be quoted here :
(" Allah, billáli, billáli.") *The Chorus* : " O God, with the pearls, with the pearls," " Sway on to me, oh my Gazelle !"

Song : " Thou maid who combest her (the bride's) tresses, comb them gently, and give her no pain ; for she is the daughter of nobles, accustomed to being a pet " [*delláli*].

Chorus : Allah, billáli, billáli ; wa tanagqalí, yá Ghazáli !

Another Song : " Sing the praises of the shore, oh daughters ; sing the praises of the daughters of the shore ; for we have passed by the pomegranate-tree bearing full fruit, and we have compared it with the cheeks of the daughters of the shore."

or advocates of "the rightful" and hereditary succession to the Apostleship of Muhammad, in opposition to the elective principle by the *consensus fidelium* of the Sunnis. The two sects that now concern us are the African Ismailians, and the Ismailians of the Lebanon and of the Hindukush. The number of Shiah sects is estimated variously from 3 to 72.

A NOTE ON CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS TO THE DARDS AND
TO GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIA.

THE DARDS.

Herodotus (III. 102-105) is the first author who refers to the country of the Dards, placing it on the frontier of Kashmir and in the vicinity of Afghanistan. "Other Indians are those who reside on the frontiers of the town 'Kaspatyros' and the Paktyan country; they dwell to the north of the other Indians and live like the Baktrians; they are also the most warlike of the Indians and are sent for the gold," etc. Then follows the legend of the gold digging ants (which has been shown to have been the name of a tribe of Tibetans by Schiern), and on which, as an important side-issue, consult Strabo, Arrian, Dio Chrysostomus, Flavius Philostratus the elder, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ælian, Harpokration, Themistius Euphrades, Heliodorus of Emesa, Joannes Tzetzes, the Pseudo-Kallisthenes and the scholast to the Antigone of Sophocles*—and among Romans, the poems of Propertius, the geography of Pomponius Mela, the natural history of the elder Pliny and the collections of Julius Solinus.† The Mahabharata also mentions the tribute of the ant-gold "paipilika" brought by the nations of the north to one of the Pandu sons, king Yudhisthira.

In another place Herodotus [IV. 13-27] again mentions the town of Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country. This is where he refers to the anxiety of Darius to ascertain the flow of the Indus into the sea. He accordingly sent Skylax with vessels. "They started from the town of *Κασπάτιρος* and the *Πακτυκὴ χώρα* towards the east to the sea." I take this to be the point where the Indus river makes a sudden bend, and for the first time actually does lie between Kashmir and Pakhtu-land (for this, although long unknown, must be the country alluded to),‡ in other words, below the Makpon i-Shang-Rong, and at Bunji, where the Indus becomes navigable.§ The Paktyes are also mentioned as one of the races that followed Xerxes in his invasion of Hellas (Herod. VII. 67-85). Like our own geographers till 1866, Herodotus thought that the Indus from that point flowed duly from north to south, and India being, according to his system of geography, the most easterly country, the flow of the Indus was accordingly described as being easterly. I, in 1866, and Hayward in 1870, described its flow from that point to be due west for a considerable distance (about one hundred miles). (The PAKTYES are, of course, the Afghans, called Patans, or more properly PAKHTUS, the very same Greek word). "Kaspatyros" is evidently a mis-spelling for "Kaspapyros," the form in which the name occurs in one of the most accurate codes of

* Strabo II. I., XV. I.—Arrian de Exped. Alex. V. 4 Indica c. 5.—Dio-Chrysos. Orat. XXXV.—Philostrat. de vitâ Apollon. Tyan. V. I—Clem. Alex. Paed. II. 12.—Ælian de Nat. An. XV. 14.—Harpokrat. s. v. *χρυσόχοιν*, Themist. Orat. XXVII.—Heliodor. X. 26.—Tzetz. Chil. XII. 330-340.—Pseudo Kallisth. II. 29.—Schol. ad Sophocl. Antig., v. 1,025.

† Propert. Eleg. III. 13.—Pomp. Mel. III. 7.—Plin. H. N. XI. 36, XXXIII. 21.—Solin, c. 30.

‡ Indeed, there is no other country between Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country excepting Dardistan.

§ This is the Bunji of recent Chilas fights (1893).

Herodotus which belonged to Archbishop Sancroft (the Codex Sancroftianus) and which is now preserved at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Stephanus Byzantianus (A. V.) also ascribes this spelling to Hekateus of Miletus.*

Now Kasapyyros or Kasapuros is evidently *Kashmir* or "*Kasyapapura*," the town of *Kasyapa*, the founder of Kashmir, and to the present day one may talk indifferently of the town of Kashmir, or of the country of *Kashmir*, when mentioning that name, so that there is no necessity to seek for the town of Srinagar when discussing the term Kaspatyrus, or, if corrected, Kasapuros, of Herodotus.

Herodotus, although he thus mentions the people (of the Dards) as one neighbouring (πλησιοχώροι) on Kashmir and residing between Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also refers to the invasions which (from time immemorial it may be supposed, and certainly within our own times) this people have made against Tibet for the purpose of devastating the gold-fields of the so-called ants, does not use the name of "Dard" in the above quotations, but Strabo and the elder Pliny, who repeat the legend, mention the very name of that people as *Derdæ* or *Dardæ*, Vide Strabo XV., ἐν Δέρδαις ἔθνεϊ μεγάλῳ τῶν προσείων καὶ ὁρείων Ἰνδῶν. Pliny, in his Natural History, XI. 36, refers to "*in regione Septentrionalium Indorum, qui Dardæ vocantur.*" Both Pliny and Strabo refer to Megasthenes as their authority in Chapter VI., 22. Pliny again speaks of "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ.*" The Dards have still settlements in Tibet where they are called Brokhpä (*vide* Dardistan, Part III., page 46, etc.). The Dards are the "Darada" of the Sanscrit writers. The "Darada" and the "Himavanta" were the regions to which Buddha sent his missionaries, and the Dards are finally the "Dards, an independent people which plundered Dras in the last year, has its home in the mountains three or four days' journey distant, and talks the *Pakhtu* or *DARADI* language. Those, whom they take prisoners in these raids, they sell as slaves" (as they do still). (Voyage par Mir Izzetulla in 1812 in Klaproth's Magasin Asiatique, II., 3-5.) (The above arrangement of quotations is due to Schiern.)†

INFLUENCE OF GREEK ON ASIA IN GENERAL AND INDIA IN PARTICULAR.

The most important contribution to this question, however, is Plutarch's *Speech* on Alexander's fortune and virtue (περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης καὶ ἀρετῆς), the keynote to which may be found in the passage which contains the assertion that he Κατέσπειρε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλληνικοῖς τέλεσι, but the whole speech refers to that marvellous influence.

That this influence was at any rate believed in, may be also gathered from a passage in Aelian, in which he speaks of the Indians and Persian kings singing Homer in their own tongues. I owe the communication of this passage to Sir Edward Fry, Q.C., which runs as follows: "Ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τῇ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιχωρίᾳ φωνῇ τὰ Ὀμήρου μεταγράψαντες ᾄδουσιν οὐ μόνον,

* General A. Cunningham very kindly sent me the quotation last year. It runs as follows: *Κασπάυρος πόλις Ἰνδοβαρική, Σκυθῶν ἀκτὴ.*

† Who refers to my "Results of a Tour in Dardistan, Kashmir, Little Tibet, Ladak, etc., in 1867-70," and other papers in his pamphlet on the origin of that legend.

ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰ τι χρὴ πιστεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι.
—Aeliani Variæ Historiæ, Lib. XII., Cap. 48. [I find from a note in my edition that Dion Chrysostom tells the same story of the Indians in his 53rd Oration.—E. F.]

I trust to be able to show, if permitted to do so, in a future note (1) that the Arian dialects of Dardistan are, at least, contemporaneous with Sanskrit, (2) that the Khajunâ is a remnant of a prehistoric language, (3) that certain sculptors followed on Alexander's invasion and taught the natives of India to execute what I first termed "Græco-Buddhistic" sculptures, a term which specifies a distinct period in history and in the history of Art.

G. W. LEITNER."

P.S. in 1893.—The above, which appeared in "the Calcutta Review" of January 1878, is reprinted with reference to Mr. J. W. McCrindle's recent work on "Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great," in which he omits to draw attention to the importance of Plutarch's *Speech* on the civilizing results of Alexander's invasion, and makes no mention whatever of the traces which Greek art has left on the Buddhistic sculptures of the Panjab.

He only just mentions Plutarch's speech on page 13 of his otherwise excellent work, published by Messrs. Constable of 14 Parliament Street, London.* As that speech, which is divided into two parts, is, however, of the utmost importance in showing what were believed to be in Plutarch's days the results of Alexander's mission, I think it necessary to quote some of the most prominent passages from it relating to the subject under inquiry. I also propose to show in a monogram, to be published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, on the græco-buddhistic sculptures, now at the Woking Museum, which I brought from beyond the Panjab frontier, that Alexander introduced not only Greek Art but also Greek mythology into India. I will specially refer to the "Pallas Athene," "the rape of Ganymede," and "the Centaur" in my collection, leaving such sculptures as "Olympian games," "Greek soldiers accompanying Buddhist processions," "the Buddhist Parthenon," [if not also Silanion's "Sappho with the lyre,"]—all executed by Indian artists—to tell their own tale as to the corroborations in sculpture of passages in ancient Greek and Roman writers relating to the genial assimilation of Eastern with Western culture which the Great Conqueror of the Two Continents, the "Zu'l-Qarnein" of the Arabs, endeavoured to bring about.

The following passages from Plutarch's speech may, I hope, be read with interest. The author endeavours to answer his question as to whether Alexander owed his success "to his fortune or to his virtue" by showing that he was almost solely indebted to his good qualities :

"The discipline of Alexander . . . oh marvellous philosophy, through which the Indians worship the Greek gods."

"When Alexander had recivilized Asia, they read Homer and the children of the Persians . . . sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles." "Socrates was condemned in Athens because he introduced foreign Gods . . . but, through Alexander, Bactria and the Caucasus wor-

* We propose to review this book in our next issue.—Ed.

shipped the Greek Gods." "Few among us, as yet, read the laws of Plato, but myriads of men use, and have used, those of Alexander, the vanquished deeming themselves more fortunate than those who had escaped his arms, for the latter had no one who saved them from the miseries of life, whilst the conqueror had forced the conquered to live happily."

"Plato only wrote one form of Government and not a single man followed it because it was too severe, whereas Alexander founded more than 70 cities among barbarous nations and permeating Asia with Hellenic Institutions. . ." Plutarch makes the conquered say that if they had not been subdued "Egypt would not have had Alexandria nor India Bucephalia," that "Alexander made no distinction between Greek and Barbarian, but considered the virtuous only among either as Greek and the vicious as Barbarian" and that he by "intermarriages and the adaptation of customs and dresses sought to found that union which he considered himself as sent from heaven to bring about as the arbitrator and the reformer of the universe." "Thus do the wise unite Asia and Europe." "By the adoption of (Asiatic) dress, the minds were conciliated." Alexander desired that "One common justice should administer the Republic of the Universe."

"He disseminated Greece and diffused throughout the world justice and peace." Alexander himself announces to the Greeks, "Through me you will know them (the Indians) and they will know you, but I must yet strike coins and stamp the bronze of the barbarians with Greek impressions." The fulfilment of this statement is attested by the Bactrian coins. I submit that he who left his mark on metal did so also on sculpture, as I have endeavoured to show since 1870 when I first called my finds "græco-buddhistic," a term which has, at last, been adopted after much opposition, as descriptive of a period in History and in the history of Art and Religion.

[The above quotations are all from the 1st Part of Plutarch's oration; the second is reserved for the proposed monogram.]

G. W. LEFNER.

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASIIA.)

(*Continued from Vol. IV., page 478.*)

THE TROJAN WAR, THE MINE AND THEME OF THE TRAGEDIANS.

THE Trojan war and its sequels were the great, if not the only, source whence the Attic tragedians drew their inspirations: yet it is neither supposed, much less said, that they invented the incidents of which they treat. Where then did they find them? The pictures are those of events occurring after the Trojan siege,—the *pars et sequela* of that event; and the different principal parties engaged are disposed of, and even their descendants. The deaths of Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon and Klytæmnestra, the Iphigenia in Aulis and Tauris, Electra, the Troades, Andromache, Orestes, and others are all connected with the great historical event. Even where such have not been used, still older and purely mythical incidents are taken, whereof a record, in some shape or other, must have survived, and it is difficult to suppose in any other than a rhythmic form. All these were dramatized myths, or more or less mythic histories, the outline of which was well known to the people at large; and hence the excitement of curiosity and interest, when they were restored to life, in a dramatic form, by poets of acknowledged merit and reputation.

In collecting these stray poems, there are several tales of the revival of the Homeric poems. One is that Lycurgus brought them from Asia to Sparta, 884 B.C.; another that Solon (who died in 558 B.C.) caused the minstrels to recite them in due order; the last that they were collected by Pisistratus, who died 527 B.C. The two former may be safely rejected as most improbable;—the third remains.

Pisistratus appears to have assembled a commission of competent men, to collect as many of these heroic poems as could be found in any state of completeness, and to reduce them to writing, from the mouths of the reciters.

Those which alluded to the siege of Troy they collected, set apart, and subsequently pieced together, in such a manner as to form something in the shape of an epic. But it is necessary to go somewhat further back, and to trace the derivation of the several members of the great epic. It is elsewhere alleged that Antimachus, who died B.C. 348, reduced them to their present state.

THE ACHILLEID AND OTHER BARDIC POEMS.

Paley suggests, no doubt with truth, that there existed an Achilleid, a Diomedeid—an Ajaxeid, etc.,—the works of the appointed bards of these sceptre-bearing chiefs, and that these were pieced together by Pisistratus' commission, and finally revised by Antimachus. This theory is thoroughly borne out by the internal evidence of the Iliad itself. Judged by the strict rules of art, the Iliad is, in its structure, but an imperfect poem. It has no object to which the poem tends as a whole, and in which it ultimately culminates. It has, in fact, no culmination (*dénouement*) worthy of the name; for it ends in no great event. Had it concluded with the death of Hector, or been carried on to that of Achilles, it would have been in so far perfect; but it ends tamely in the burial of Hector, and in this respect resembles the Ajax of Sophocles, which it is not impossible that he intended to be an imitation of the Iliad.

The word Rhapsody, or the sewing together of odes, pointedly implies a compilation; and this title is borne out by the contents. These shew it to have been compounded of many panegyrics, some of which can be conjectured. The I., IX., XI., part XVI., part XVIII., XIX., XXI., XXII. appear to have been taken from an Achilleid;—II., IX., XI., part XVI., from an Agamemnoneid or Atreideid; III.,

XVII. from a Menelaieid or Atreideid :—V., X., part XI., from a Diomeid;—VII., XV., Ajaxeid;—VII., X., part XI., from an Odysseid. The rest are uncertain, and might have been independent odes, yet fitting into the general plan laid down by Pisistratus' commissioners, and interwoven with it. It is remarkable that they did not continue the poem to the death of Achilles as the culminating point ; but it was probably thought undesirable to wind up an epic with the death of the principal hero.

THE ILIAD.

The story of the Iliad occupies 48 to 50 days, in the 10th year of the siege, and is too well known to need detail.

Professor Geddes, in his article in the *Contemporary Review* (1877), points out several discrepancies in the Iliad, which incline him to adopt the view that it was made up of various materials. He differs, however, in thinking that Books I. to VII., and XXIII. and XXIV., formed a part of the supposed Achilleid, while the remaining 13 were portions of other heroic poems interwoven or inserted between these two points : his reason is that Achilles is referred to as the leading character in these. But on reference to the foregoing pages, this hardly seems correct, Achilles taking no part in Books II., III., IV., V., VI., or VII., while he reappears in Books IX., XI., XVI., and XVIII. The Professor, however, does not go the length of supposing other panegyric poems ; but remarks on the absence of the unity of the poems, though the Odyssey culminates in a great event. Like his predecessors, however, he maintains the Iliad to be the older poem. He appears to be incorrect also in asserting the 24th Book to be part of the Achilleid, and that the climax is reached in the 22nd Book with the death of Hector. His own arguments, however, though strong fail to persuade the Professor that the poem consists of isolated bardic songs, collated and strung together at a subsequent age : a view strongly supported by the *ἐπιγραφαί*, according to which the action of the Iliad occupied 48 days :

Books I. to VI.	-	-	-	20 days.
" V.	-	-	-	3 "
" VIII. to X.	-	-	-	1 "
" XI. to XVI.	-	-	-	1 "
" XVII. to XXIII.	-	-	-	3 "
" XXIV.	-	-	-	20 "

There are inconsistencies in the Poem itself which imply a compilation. For instance, while Odysseus is described as a man of undaunted courage, though cunning, full of expedient, and a persuasive arguer, yet in the encounter where Nestor is in peril by the failure of one of his horses, he is represented as disregarding the appeal for assistance and flying towards the camp. To pick out with certainty the diversities of style in a poem written not only in an archaic language, but of which the original form has not survived, would be impossible from the want of material; but that such diversities exist cannot but strike any careful reader, as at least probable. The absence of a certain continuity is however the leading feature.

PROBABLE FATE OF THE OTHER BARDIC POEMS.

It may be asked why the other bardic poems, which must have existed to afford subject for the many plays of the tragedians, were not interwoven in a similar manner, or compiled into another epic. The answer is obvious:---the characters could not be brought together, nor the chronology made to fit, even by poetic license; or the accounts were not suitable either *ex relatione* or *ex similitudine*. To account for the loss of such "odes" is sufficiently easy. Many were probably of inferior interest or merit, and survived only in those fragments which contained the best and salient points. Nor is it impossible that some survived, paraphrased in an Attic dress, by the three great tragedians. Should anyone be at the trouble of rendering certain portions of these tragedies into Homeric Greek and measure, the similarity would at once become obvious. In other words, the Tragedians have plagiarized them; and to this plagiarism of well known poems and myths may in

some measure be referred the popularity of these dramatic pieces. Moreover the subject, and the manner of treating it, were as different from the manners of 400 B.C. at Athens, as those of this country now are from what prevailed in the early age of the Saxons. Had Bopp, or Brünck, or any other being analogous to a German professor existed in those days, these fragments would have been collected as such, and an essay made to supply conjecturally the *lacunæ*, and perhaps correct the author himself. Such, however, was not the view of the classical Greek collators. The public was their client; and that client required a continuous story, comprising the main incidents with which it was already conversant,—the Bopp and Brünck business being relegated to the Tragedians.

WORK OF THE COLLATORS AND COMPILERS.

The task of the collators would have been comparatively easy had they found these disjointed pieces in the shape of a continuous poem, such as that subsequently composed by Virgil or other later original imitators, who adapted the substance of the myths, only paraphrasing or even translating certain stock passages and adapting them to a plot or framework of their own. But in the present case they had not only to collect but to collate, select and reject, using a wide and well considered discretion. The supposed Achilleid could, in any case, have formed but a small proportion of the 24 Books, and would moreover savour too much of the personal panegyric. But it formed a good nucleus for the epic constructed by the collators out of the material in their hands, which was so ample as to render it unnecessary to invent imaginary heroes who are not friends of the public. It is moreover remarkable that a serious, careful and capable historian like Herodotus refers to these poems, which had been collected about 100 years before he flourished, by no means as vague myth, but as authentic history, showing undeniably a certain state of things at a remote antecedent epoch.

THE NATURE OF THE ODYSSEY OR ODYSSEID.

Those who maintain the single authorship of the *Iliad* assert with equal confidence that the *Odyssey* is not only of more modern date, but is by another hand; and indulge in poetic allegories about the midday and setting sun. But are they correct in their assumption? Of course repudiating a sole authorship which is unsustainable for the reason given above, that it would have required no collation, and would not have been intitled a Rhapsody, the *Odyssey* has great advantages as a poem over the *Iliad*. It is a continuous story; or to use a technical dramatic term, the unities are preserved, both in the subject and the hero, who is the main hinge about which every event turns. There is one sole object in view: his return to his native home—one sentiment or *αἶσθημα*,—the love of that home and its belongings, despite of all blandishments. It has a culminating event, the destruction of the suitors. The hero is the same, and maintains the same character throughout.

The *Iliad* shews him in camp, the *Odyssey* in domestic life. The *Iliad* occupies 48 to 50 days. The *Odyssey* 3,650 days. Both poems show local knowledge. The topographical accuracy of the *Iliad* has been repeatedly tested and proved by the late Professor Ulrichs in his treatise on that subject,* and since he wrote placed beyond a doubt by that eminent scholar, the late Dr. Munro's discovery of an irrefragable fact, the hot and cold springs where the Trojan women washed their clothes in time of peace: volcanic springs do not burst forth in convenient places to supplement other proofs.†

The local descriptions of the *Odyssey* are rather geographical than topical—at least the former prevail;—and though recognizable but in few cases, as in the *Iliad*, they are sufficiently accurate to indicate a personal knowledge of

* Professor N. Ulrichs' *Topography of Ilium*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.

† This was written before Dr. Munro's letter was confirmed by Dr. Schliemann's more recent investigations and discoveries.—ED.

real, rather than of mythical places. The greater part of this poem may be, not improbably, attributed to the same bard; for one hero alone is lauded. That it existed in anything like its present form, however, when taken in hand by the collators, cannot be affirmed; but it is certain that, as in the other case, they found to hand a great mass of legend attributed to Odysseus after the war than to any one hero during the war, and strung these together without sufficient geographical knowledge, and perhaps in ignorance of the non-existence of many places they found described in the fragments.

If the *Iliad* be older because sung by bards present at the events recorded, the matter could not have been older by more than 10 years. The inference therefore would be in favour of contemporaneousness. There is, however, more simplicity in the details of the *Odyssey* than of the *Iliad*, inducing some presumption of a higher antiquity or of a more simple bard.

HEROIC BARDS.

It is an undoubted fact that all these great heroes had their bards, like Highland and Welsh chiefs and all semi-barbarous tribes. Nay, their names are in some cases given. The office of bard, herald, priest, were in many instances combined, conferring on them a sacred and protected character. Talthybius was Agamemnon's herald. Phœnix stood in the same position to Achilles. Odysseus is represented as having augurs and bards in his house: Medon the bard and herald, and Phemius the bard whom he spares, and Leiodes the soothsayer whom he slays.

In Phaiacia, the modern Corfu, Alkinous requires the bard Demodochus to sing. The harp which hung on the peg over his head is put into the hands of the blind bard who sings the deeds of the heroes before Troy, and the loves of Mars and Venus. Such is his theme 10 years after the termination of that war, yet fresh in the memory of the Phaiacians, a theme which, by bards such as he, was perpetuated for hundreds of succeeding years.

These bards, ἀοιδοί, were no studied composers; they were inborn poets to whom the inspiration came with the occasion. They were improvisers, as is distinctly stated.* Theirs was a status. In a word they were bards, but when their rhythmic and poetic utterances were transferred to the professional reciters, they lost the charm of originality which enchained the listeners. The expectation of novelty was wanting, and the audience knew what the next strophe would produce. There was no element of surprise to supply the want of a plot.

ORIGIN OF THE MYTH OF HOMER'S BLINDNESS.

The myth of the impersonate Homer, and the elaborate and conflicting stories of his blindness here stand confessed. The basis of that myth becomes clear and has its foundation in the blind Demodocus,† the impersonification of song, be it ode or lyric minstrelsy.

Epic was a later and Attic invention. Ode is the foundation of poetry. Epic is artificial and comparatively modern, and is at best an incorporation of odes so as to form a continuous story. There is no Greek Epic remaining, except the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The nearest approach to these are the Greek Tragedies. With the Romans it was otherwise. But here there is but one who has attempted the task of taking a theme, and sustaining a continuous and well-connected story without the help of individual odes.

That poem is the *Æneid*. Even then a Greek word is borrowed, with Greek incidents and customs, highly polished to meet the taste of the Augustan age; and if it be tame, it is no fault of the author, who, to hope for success, recognized the necessity of avoiding a shock to the public feeling of the Augustan age, in which the brutality of the *Iliad*, splendid in its savagery, would have produced no re-echo of feeling. Toned down to tameness, the *Æneid* has only emasculated virility compared with its prototypes.

* *Odys.*, viii 45.

† *Odys.*, viii. 105, 255. Tiresias was also blind, 480.

The story of the *Odyssey* is of a different and domestic nature. It shows more of the social life, and contains more of the elements of romance. This poem was the foundation of the *Æneid*, into which were woven some of the scenes of the *Iliad*. To follow and compare the passages would be superfluous and foreign to the purpose, as they are well known to every scholar.

The story of the *Odyssey*, as well known as that of *Iliad*, needs as little to be here detailed.

THE BARDS OF THE ODYSSEY AND ILIAD.

The *Ἐπιγραφαὶ* of the *Odyssey* are not quite so indicative of compilation as those of the *Iliad*; still the signs of compilation are sufficiently evident. Thus the trace of a refrain is more or less patent throughout the whole poem. So too are certain contradictions. Hence though there are marks of more than one mind, yet the main body of the epic must be attributed to the same bard. Moreover many bards are incidentally mentioned in the course of the 24 books, Demodocus, Medon, Phemius, etc. Nor is there any reason to doubt that some of these were present at the events they sung, while others composed from the accounts given by the actors in the drama, or from the legends current regarding it among the people, which the bards rhythmatized.

The *Odyssey* is rather an imaginative poem, while the *Iliad* deals with facts. The invocation in the *Iliad* presumes that the reciter was not himself present at the events, but it by no means follows that other portions were not composed by eyewitnesses. The middle of the 2nd book appears to be the commencement of another poem, quite out of place where it stands in the story: this should logically have commenced with the muster-roll of the forces and ships. The first invocation was probably from the commencement of the *Achilleid*. The muster-roll of the army has no connection with the "wrath or sulks of Achilles," who is described as amusing himself, during his retirement,

with a *φόρμιγξ*—some sort of stringed instrument—on which he had been instructed by Phœnix, his Bard, Herald, Cup-bearer and Sacrificial officer. Hence it follows as not impossible that Achilles may have been himself the composer of some of the Rhapsodies.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν

clearly meant men of the present age, of whom the poet was one. Or, more probably, this is an *ἐμπόνημα* of the collators. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the invocation is placed at the beginning.

The logical sequence of the *Iliad* would have been to have commenced the poem with the 484th line of B., *Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι*, to the end of that book as A., and placed the 1st A. as the 2nd book, B., *Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ*, to the 483rd line of B., *ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἔξοχον ἡρώεσσι*, making 1093 lines in the 2nd book, and only 393 lines in the first A.

With respect to the traces of a refrain, it cannot be denied that these odes or songs were sung to the music of some stringed instrument; for Demodochus sings them to the company, accompanying himself on a *φόρμιγξ*. In like manner Phemius lays his *φόρμιγξ* on the ground when he supplicates Odysseus; Achilles also sings to his *φόρμιγξ*. In the *Odyssey* the refrain has been preserved (XXII., 257-274).

*Τῶν ἄλλος μὲν σταθμὸν, εὖσταθιός μιν ἀρόισι
Βέβληκεν, ἄλλος δὲ θύμην πυκινῶς ἀρουῦσαν
Ἄλλων δ' ἐν τοίχῳ μέλιθ' ἵσσι χαλκοβάρεια,*

which may be rendered somewhat thus :

One struck the post of the solid house,
And another the close fitting door,
While the ashen haft with its brazen point
Of the third struck the wall and the floor.

There is a similar passage in the *Iliad*, I' 68-88.

*Ἄλλως μὲν κάθισον Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς
Αὐτὰρ ἐμ' ἐν μίσσῳ καὶ ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον*

Ξυβάλετ' ἄμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτῆμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι
 Ὅπποτέρου δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται
 κτήμαθ' ἑλὼν ἐπὶ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἶκαδ' ἀγέσθω
 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃ καὶ ὕρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες.

Let the Trojans sit down and Achæans all
 Menelaos and me, face to face,
 For Helen adversely to fight and to fall :
 Let the better man win in the race.
 And he who shall conquer and win the fair dame,
 With her dower and wealth to his hall,
 Let him carry it off, having proved his good fame :
 Let us swear it—be witnesses all.

There are many passages in both Epics which might be treated in the same manner, as evidence of the assertion that these bardic ballads had been forced into the comparatively modern conception of an Epic, with which intention they were no more composed than the so-called Ossianic ballads, or the modern Chevy Chase. The Ossianic ballads were spoilt by being forced into an Epic ; and may not the same be said also of the bardic ballads of the Iliad and the Odyssey ?

ILIAD AND ODYSSEY NOT THE WORK OF THE SAME POET.

In comparing the Iliad and Odyssey, it would seem that the same foregone conclusion is adopted—that both were the work of one and the same man—a theory which common observation must dismiss as entirely untenable. All bardic or lyric poems must necessarily bear a great resemblance, enhanced by the similarity of object ; the difficulty, therefore, of distinguishing them would be great. In fact, there was a typical style which the composers of such lyrics naturally adopted, though in later times this rigid conformity was abandoned when Pindar and Sappho assumed a versification of their own. As well might Moore or Byron be expected to write love-songs in long hexameters. The metre, as at present, must fit the subject, and when applied to an incongruous subject, as the Rolliad, it becomes what it was intended to be—mock-heroic, a caricature. This remark acquires additional force from the supposition that the

language in which the Homeric poems are at present clothed was not the original tongue in which they were conceived.

There is a hackneyed phrase of Longinus, not the more true for having been repeated during many centuries, that "the Iliad was like the sun at its meridian, the other poem like the setting sun." The expression may be poetic and taking without being true. The description of a battle is necessarily more forcible than that of a journey. The Iliad contains none of the latter, but the Odyssey contains some of the former, viz., the slaughter of the suitors; nor can it be alleged that the scene is deficient in force or virility.

EVIDENCE OF TRANSLATION FROM ANOTHER TONGUE.

The type of the Odyssey is, if anything, more archaic than that of the Iliad. Less polished in its composition and more cumbersome in expression, it bears stronger evidence of translation from another tongue. Many of the sentences are not according to the *αἰσθησις* of the language. It may, perhaps, be answered that it is archaic. But we do not know what the Greek language then was; and this is a strong argument that the present is not the original dress of the Rhapsodies, and that the adapter was one to whom, however familiar, it was yet not the maternal tongue.

The Odyssey has more the type of a semi-barbarous people than the Iliad, and is more simple in its diction and more exact in its repetitions. On the other hand, it contains fewer tropes and figures; and generally it has more narrative and less indication of different hands. Many of its characteristics are the same as those of the Romaic Greek in the mouth of the Shkypetar, where an idiomatic translation from his own mother tongue is usually evident by its clumsy involution.

The Greek of the Homeric poems is also in many respects peculiar, abounding in expressions and words found in no Attic or even Ionic author. This, too, argues a greater antiquity than has hitherto been ascribed to them.

ARCHAIC GREEK AND GAELIC.

A striking similarity existed some hundreds of years ago between the inhabitants of Scotland and the heroes of the Homeric poems. The tribal system prevailed; and the gentry or Doineusal of the various clans occupied themselves, almost exclusively, in war, and exercised the same absolute sway over their tribe or clan as the Homeric chiefs, settling differences among their people by their decisions, and disputes with other tribes by war. In Ireland, these contests often led to the almost total extinction of a tribe. Each chief, both in Ireland and Scotland, had his own bard—a Gaelic word naturalized in other languages—who occupied a position akin to that of the Homeric ἀοιδός.

THE WORD *Βασιλεύς*.

The *Odyssey* mentions many βασιλῆς as inhabiting the territory subject to Odysseus. They were analogous to the immediate barons, established in the German Empire by Charles the Great, and in more recent times in the British Isles, whose modern representatives are the present country gentlemen, Lords of Manors, with their courts of Leet and Baron. It has been shown, in the first part of this Treatise, that the Albanian Chiefs, termed *Begs* or *Aghas*, occupied the same position, as descendants of the ancient Pelasgi—the true Homeric heroes—who, divested of the halo thrown round them by poetry, were confessedly a semi-barbarous though not quite uncultured people, with the same piratical tendencies as the Scandinavian Vikings.

THE TROJAN WAR, A PIRATICAL EXPEDITION.

Their expedition against Troy was piratical—to plunder the rich cities of Asia Minor. Nor is this object concealed: gold, silver, arms, and slaves were their spoil. Whether Helen ever existed, or was married to Menelaus, or was stolen from Sparta by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, the myth itself well accords with and exemplifies the

customs of the Pelasgi. The rape of a woman, especially if married, was the most serious offence that could be perpetrated. It justified then, as it would now in Albania, retribution by blood (Ghiacks), furnishing the best excuse for plunder and pillage. The myth, therefore, which need not itself be historically true, furnishes a characteristic type of the manners and customs of the people and epoch.

THE ATTACK ON EGYPT, *temp.* RAMESES II.

The Trojan raid was not, however, the only piratical expedition undertaken by this people.

Odysseus, relating his fictitious adventures,* represents himself as having taken part in an unsuccessful attack on Egypt. Two such attacks are recorded,† respectively about 1250, and somewhat later : and Odysseus may have alluded to one of these, taking advantage of a well-known fact to give the colour of truth to a fictitious narrative.

It has already been remarked that although the Leleges who settled in Asia Minor were the same people as those who crossed into Thrace and settled on the European side, they had become, during a long period of separation, almost a distinct people. They would, therefore, have no hesitation in attacking, either in Europe or Asia, others who had branched off in remote ages from the same race as their own, while the Egyptians had no affinity at all with this race of Caucasian descent. It is not improbable that this raid had an influence in fixing the vulgar era of the Trojan War at 1184 B.C.

(To be continued.)

* Od. xxii.

† Brugsch's Hist. Egypt, vol. ii., p. 111. *Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1867 ; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, p. 249.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 466).

XXIII.

THE PORUL ADIGÁRUM OF TÓLKÁPPIYAN.

BY A NATIVE.

[I here give three notes of Sir Walter Elliot on this subject, marked A, B, and C, the latter containing a translation of an interesting and very ancient fragment. The *Porul Adigárum* contains an account of the Tamil tribes of Southern India, probably as they existed about 1,000 years B.C. before their absorption into the great dynasties of the peninsula, Chola, Chera, and Pāndya.-- R. S.]

A.--CATTLE-RAIDERS.

WHAT is vulgarly called by Tamil people the "cattle-catching fight," or "cow-fight," is found in an ancient Tamil work generally named *Porul Adigárum*, of which the cow-fights form only a small portion. The *Porul Adigárum* is the only vestige remaining (except some grammar treatises) of the ancient literature of Southern India containing facts relating to their country, caste, customs, habits, manners, and religion. *Porul*,* primarily signifying "a thing," or "things," "a subject," or "subjects," comprehends three divisions, viz., *mutarporul*, "first or chief subjects,"† *Karupporul*, "peculiar properties,"‡ and *Uripporul*,§ "essentials" or "habits." These three together constitute a sort of repertory of ancient manners, each subject ushering in the next. The eight modes of warfare are dealt with, which had long before become obsolete and died out, and of which cow-plundering and cow-rescue are the introductory parts. Then the work dwells on social habits, especially with

* Rottler (vol. ii. 440) does not give a clear explanation of these terms.

† Main subjects, as those relating to time and place, comprised under five kinds of soil, and six divisions of time.

‡ As customs relating to marriage and other social matters (Rottler, i. pt. 2, p. 34).

§ Or subjects of a domestic nature (Rottler, ii. 440).

reference to the eight sorts of marriage-contracts then in use. Intermingled with these are many curious incidents. The tribes mentioned are different castes of Maravars, Kuravars, Pánars, Kurumbars, Idaiyars, Eyinárs,* Urārst Tóniyiyakkuvárs (Boatmen, or River-fishermen), and Pulaiyárs.† It is remarkable that the Paraiyas (Pariahs) are not mentioned by the most ancient writers.§ Mallars, the present Pallars, did exist. Védars and Villiyars also are occasionally mentioned. The work treats of their different avocations: chase, plunder, warfare, selling roots, destroying forests, etc. Their worship of trees, demons, and departed men and women is gathered therefrom,|| also their government by chiefs or patriarchs of families. From it we learn that they were subsequently connected or incorporated with the Cholas, Cheras, and Pandiyas; thus some of the other ruling and partly-civilized people were admitted to caste-privileges (they are the present Kallars, Pallis, Agambadiyas, etc.). Their ancient literature consisted only of war-chants, praises of kings, and love songs. They commemorated their great men by planting or setting up stones.¶ (W. E.)

B.—INTRODUCTION.

As *Kaluvial*, the custom of clandestine marriage, or rather of the ratification of a previous unsanctioned private union was, according to the 3rd Chapter of the 3rd Book of Tolkáppiyān, peculiar to a class of people called *Yāzhār Kúttam* (the congregation of harp-players), so was the practice of fighting in the matter of cows peculiar to that great body of mountain inhabitants subdivided into Karumbars, Maravars, Tudiyaars, etc., as told in the 2nd Chapter of the same book; the manners of these ancient races are reduced

* Traces of all the others remain, but the Eyinárs are altogether extinct.

† Dwellers in towns, civilized races.

‡ A very low caste still known in Malabar.

§ The Pánars are considered to be Pariahs.

|| This constitutes the worship of the bulk of the people to this day.—R. S.

¶ Such stones may be seen to this day in and near every village in the country, only all trace of any knowledge of their origin has disappeared.—R. S.

to a system in the *Porul Adigárum* of Tolkáppiyan. He, however, derived his *Porul Adigárum* from the more ancient work of the sage Agastya, and called after him *Agastyam*. These sages are said to have come from the north (or from Kailás), upon a mission for introducing and improving the Tamil language among the people of the south, and to have written many books, among which was the *Porul Adigárum*, containing rules and descriptions of the then existing manners and customs of the people. . . . Before his death or apotheosis, Agastaya ordered his 12 disciples to describe the subject of warfare, only on a more connected system; and their conjoint work is *Purapporul Panniru Pádálam*, i.e. the 12 chapters on Hindu warfare, the oldest work on the subject now extant.

C.--THE PORUL ADIGÁRUM.

The *Porul Adigárum* or *Ilakkannam*, is part of the celebrated work by Tolkappiyan, on grammar and several other subjects. It consists of 3 parts, or *Adigárums*; but other grammarians divide it into 5 qualities or *Ilakkannams*. The *Porul Adigárum* refers particularly to the third portion, subdivided into two parts: 1. *Agapporul*, or rules for composing amatory poems, with observations on agriculture, soils, and seasons, etc.; and 2. *Purapporul*, or rules for composing war-chants, with notices of warlike operations. The author's real name was Tiranadhumagni; but he is generally known as Tolkáppiyan, or a man from the village of Tolkappiyam.

The title *Porul Adigárum* is also given to the work of the 12 disciples of Agastya (of whom Tolkappiyan was one) entitled *Poroporul punniru pádálam*, being 12 chapters on the art of war. These were abridged by Eiyánár Idanár, a member of the third or last college (*Sangha*) of Madura, as the 12 disciples of Agastya were of the first. His work is called *Venba Malai*. These appear to be the only works now extant on the subject, and thus they contain the most ancient notices which we possess of early Hindu custom and polity.

I give a translation of the two first chapters or *Pádálams* of the work of Eryanár Idanár, who is described as “Eiyan Aridhan, the well-versed in the 12 kinds of warfare, governing the whole earth, of imperishable fame, lord of the *Vanavars*, the long armed, grasping the bended bow, who set forth clearly the science of *Porul* (war) in the *Venba malai* (name of the work) that it may be thoroughly understood by the people of the land.”

The introductory remarks treat of the practice of cattle-lifting, the first cause and origin of war, and are taken from a commentary on the *Porul Adigárum*. To this day a common proverb says, that the seizure of cows is the first cause of war. The *Pádálam* is divided into *turai*s, of which the *Vetchi-pádálam* has 20. Each *turai* has 3 parts: 1. its name or title (*Kilavai*); 2. its explanation (*Sutram**); 3. an illustration or proof (*varaláru*) in amplification of the *Sutram*, generally a quotation from some standard work in *Venba* metre, which was that most approved by the *Sanghattár* (Collegians) of Madura. The last is often represented as spoken by different parties to the action, as by one or other of the belligerents, by the king or leader, by the spectators acting as a chorus, or by the author himself.

CHAPTER I.—VETCHI PÁDÁLAM.

The custom of *Vetchitturai* is most frequent in mountainous districts. The description of *Vetchi* comprises 20 subdivisions, each describing an incident of the expedition. This is the general signification of the term *Vetchi*. Its more recent and practical meaning is expressed in the second *Sutram*, thus: The king sends his warriors (*Munei-nár*) to seize the cows (of the enemy) and keep them for the State. The *Vetchi* expedition is carried out either by open force or by stratagem. The warriors go by night, and unexpectedly carry off the booty. When this robbery is known the next day, war is proclaimed, which if carried

* *Sutram*, an amplification of the *Kilavi*, in the metre called *Agavul*, which always ends with the word *uraittándu*, literally “it is said,” and is rendered variously “notice,” “description,” “statement.”

out and completed belongs not to *Vetchitturei*, but to *Vangiturrei*—open warfare. Vetchi is a shrub, the flower of which, also called *Vetchi*, must be worn by the leader, his officers and his men, when out on a cattle raid : *turrei* signifies “way,” “manner” or “plan.” Therefore the 8 different kinds of fight refer to the different modes of action in which they are carried on. The term cows (*pasu*) includes all innocent or harmless creatures—Brahmins, women, sick people, unmarried youths and maidens, and children. Though *Vetchi* is a special kind of Hindu warfare, it may be considered the commencement of all the other 7 kinds of warfare, aggressive or defensive. The defence set up for it is curious : According to the Vedas, “the object of a king’s administration being the establishment or practice of virtue, a king intent on the practice of good deeds may, on just cause and in retaliation for evil deeds, deprive another of the indispensably necessary articles of cows, Brahmins, children, etc., for the same reasons for which Vishnu in every *Yuga* comes into the world— to avenge the innocent and punish the wicked. In the *Bhagavad-gita*, Vishnu declares : “I make my appearance in this world, *Yuga* after *Yuga*, solely to save the *Sādhus* (righteous), to destroy evil-doers, and to establish *Dharma* (virtue).”

If the act of the king, in carrying off the cows of the other, be unjust, naturally the latter immediately pursues the plunderers, to recover his animals. This is termed *Karandei*, from a shrub so named, the flowers of which the king, his officers and men must wear as signs of their determination to relinquish all other work, for the recovery of their lost property.* Tolkappiyan following his Northern

* It is very probable that the highly interesting bull-festivals still held constantly in the Madura country, the home of the Maravars and Kallars, form a relic of bygone raids. Certainly no such custom exists in any country in Southern India, with which I am acquainted. I have been present at some of them. A notice is sent round, and some hundreds of highly fed young bulls are collected and driven into a strongly walled enclosure, having a sort of lane formed by two strong stone walls running outward from the only entrance. The bulls are gaily decorated and have cloths tied between their horns. The plain near the village is crowded

(Sanskrit) teachers includes both seizing and recovery under the head of *Vetchi*, but his successors, from the difference of the actuating motives, divide it into 2 chapters: *Vetchi*, with 20 incidents, and *Karandei* with 14. These incidents are simply so many scenes, from the first action of offence till the victory is decided.

TRANSLATION OF THE VETCHI TURREL.

Contents.

There are 20 acts or incidents, viz.: 1. *Vetchi*; 2. The noise or bustle of *Vetchi*, *i.e.* arrangements for the march and the din of preparation; 3. The good omen—ascertaining the chance of success by omens; 4. The march; 5. The spying; 6. Halting outside or lying in ambush; 7. *Urkolai*; 8. Seizing the prey, *i.e.* capturing and carrying off the cows; 9. Fresh contest or rescue, resisting the enemy's endeavours to interrupt the retreat; 10. Return homewards, by bye-ways, with the cows; 11. Appearance of the army, *i.e.* return of the party to their own people; 12. Collecting the spoils, or taking the plundered cattle into the town; 13. Dividing the spoil; 14. Eating and dancing—rejoicing after success; 15. The giving of gifts from the spoil; 16. Reward for information, honouring

with thousands of people assembled to see the fun and witness the prowess of their young men. The object is for a man to stop a bull and take off the cloth upon its horns, which then becomes his property. The lane leading from the enclosure is lined by the bolder spirits; every point of vantage is thronged with spectators; and at the appointed time, amid beating drums and deafening shouts, the gate of the enclosure is opened, and half a dozen bulls are driven out. They dash down the lane in frantic excitement, striking right and left with their horns, while the young braves strive to catch and hold them. Racing out into the plains, they dash half blindly among the crowds, people falling flat on the ground on their approach, when the incensed animals leap over their bodies. The more active and dangerous escape into the fields; some stand quietly and are easily captured, once they are free of the terrible passage. This goes on for two or three hours, the bulls being let out in batches. It may be easily imagined that this amusement is not without its danger. Often men have been killed at these games. While I was present, one man was badly gored in the arm. But it is a bold, manly sport, requiring great pluck, activity and strength; and it gave me great pleasure to witness it.—R. S.

those who brought the secret intelligence ; 17. The bird-gift, or present to those who interpreted the bird omens ; 18. The drummer's part ; 19. The *Kottavei Neli*—the honouring and treatment of *Kali*, the goddess of victory ; and 20, the intoxicated dance.

“ 1. The King gave order, saying, O chief, go, and seize all the cows, that our enemies perceiving their bodies covered by the arrows of our archers, like cloven billets [of wood] heaped up on the fire, may scream on the battle-field.*

“ O maid, with large and black eyes ! deny me not the toddy which trembles [or splashes] in the overflowing jar ; for the cruel-eyed *Maravar*† king will not wait, the angry soldier will not pause for a moment. He has put on the war-anklet. We must see our enemies' cows in our yards by the morrow's sun.

“ 2. When the long-sighted Maravars stood, and their drums beat, and the men were adorned with the *Vetchi* flowers, ready to march through difficult tracks, the crows resting on the sheds of the beautiful bell-adorned cows in the adversary's territory, set up a low wailing [*i.e.*, they gave warning to the herdsmen of approaching calamity].

“ 3. When, in the evening, the army stood worshipping in the royal courtyard of the steel-defended little town, a

* I omit, in each case, the *Kilavai* and *Sutram* (see p. 36) and give only the *Varaliru* as tending to simplicity. Thus in Incident 9, the original runs : *Kilavai*, Fresh Contest ; *Sutram*. The capture effected with so great slaughter is maintained with heavy loss. *Varaliru*. The enemy coming by another path, etc.

† Maravar is still the name of a powerful, possibly aboriginal tribe in Madura and Tinnevely, to which the Rāmnād, Swaganga, Uttrimalai and many other Potigars or petty chiefs belong. The Uttrimalai chief is celebrated in Sungara Namasivaiyar's commentary on the “Nannul.” The *Maravars* have traditions of their former power and influence, and point out the sites of many of their ancient strongholds in the open country now usurped by the Villalers, Mudeliars and other Hindu races. The latter still are obliged (or till very lately were) to ask permission of the Maravars to begin their marriages, etc. The Maravars are also accustomed to meet in a great assembly or *kutam*, to discuss matters affecting the interests of the caste. Their funeral rites are peculiar, all their weapons, etc., being buried with them.

maiden cried out, 'Bring the toddy in a jar from the booth'; and then, 'O mighty-handed, never-retreating King! the word is Victory.'

"4. Fierce bowmen, resembling the emissaries of Death, directed their march towards the place where the cows stood. As they marched on, in their left hand holding their lances, vultures followed them to the tall bamboo-covered hills.

"5. Said one to the Chief: 'O Impetuous wearer of honey-dropping wreaths and of the great war-anklet! our spies have just arrived, in the darkness of midnight having entered the encampment of the enemy and learned well the state of the party, of the cows, and of the hill under which they stand tethered.'

"6. Cried the attacked ones, 'Alas! None can hence escape alive; for by the help of their spies they have surrounded our fastness with their strong men! They will attack us like the fire in the last day; and we shall all be destroyed, for we are so encompassed that we cannot escape!'

"7. Urged by their own valour, the death-dealing bowmen rushed on like hissing fire, and with ringing anklets entered the camp. They captured the fortress in 3 hours and three quarters, after dreadful slaughter.

"8. Like a host of tigers, the serried ranks of spearmen with blood-stained lances, have seized the cows from the heart of the town, whose clusters of bamboos rustle and sigh in the night wind.

"9. The enemy coming by another path, endeavoured to outflank their foes and rescue the surrounded cows. Alas! they fell! Quick in their flight like birds, the blood-stained arrows, shot from the cruel bows of the archers, alighted on the corpses.

"10. 'Let the kine under the shade of the lofty mountain, grazing slowly, proceed together,' said the bow-grasping and victorious anklet-wearer, although he saw the enemy in pursuit, like a mountain torrent.

" 11. The great herd of cows passes on, followed by the rejoicing drums of the successful hero. The oval-eyed women, sitting with their chins resting on their hands, felt their left eyes quiver,* and rejoiced exceedingly.

" 12. The white-toothed women seeing their halls filled with bell-adorned cows, blessed themselves, saying, May the bee-attracting wreath,† with which I was wedded on my marriage-day, continue to flourish !

" 13. To the wielder of the shining sword, to the spy who sought out and brought information, to the augur who declared the auspicious omen, to the victorious Maravars who cut down those [whom the King] pointed out, the captured cows were divided.

" 14. When the soft-voiced damsels, gazing at them with beaming eyes, served out in large measure the clear palm-wine, the anger of the red-eyed Maravars was kindled against their enemies.

" 15. The riches gained by the red-eyed chiefs, raging with their well-bound bows in the front of the battle, were thrown carelessly in exchange for ardent liquor by drummers, trumpeters, messengers and singers.

" 16. Said one to the King, 'There are some who, regardless of death, went day and night into the hostile camp, to bring information. Surely, it is but right, O bearer of the shining-bladed lance ! to give to them in more abundant measure !'

" 17. 'There are those who interpreted the favourable bird-omen to us, when we were bent on capturing the

* It is a belief among the Hindu women, even in modern days, that if the muscles of the outer corner of the right eye quiver involuntarily, some great evil will happen,—as that their husbands will die ; and that a similar evil to the wife is foretold by the like affection of the husband's left eye. The twitching of the left eye in a woman and of the right in a man is esteemed a favourable omen. Spasmodic movements of the muscle of the right hand foretell the loss of a brother—for a brother is considered like the right hand.

† In the Hindu marriage ceremony, the bridegroom and bride throw each a wreath of flowers over the other's necks. These are kept with great care and treasured up with the silk dresses or wedding garments sent with the *Tali* (necklace) on the day preceding the wedding.

enemy's cows, that we might march with confidence. To them give at once 4 large-uddered cows of the Kudanjuttoo breed. Do not delay !

" 18. Said the King to his chief drummer, ' His ancestors were good drummers to my ancestors, his father to my father, as now he is to me. Never have they failed in their hereditary duty to our family. Pour yet more of the clear sweet liquor to the old retainer.'

" 19. When the King resolves on a cattle-raid and the destruction of a fortress, the goddess Kottavai* with her lion-flag flying, her green parrot hovering over her, precedes him in her antelope-car, surrounded by demons.

" 20. The anklet-wearing Maravar, beheld with favour by Hari [Vishnu], stands resplendent. The jewel-decked, lotus-eyed, moon-faced one, adorned with wreaths and perfumes, dances inspiredly before the god."

CHAPTER II.—THE KARANDEI.

As already stated, this poem contains 14 incidents:—

1. *Karandei*, i.e. the pursuit;—2. The din of preparation for the pursuit;—3. The march through the jungle paths;—4. The fight;—5. Returning with wounds;—6. Loss in the fight;—7. The avenging youth;—8. The coolness of the young Chief;—9. The doings (*lit.* dancing) of the young Chief;—10. The warriors' funeral;—11. The Eulogy;—12. The neglect of the bird-omen;—13. The praises of the King;—14. The eulogy of his race.

" 1. As, when in this sea-girt earth, a man would recover a life swallowed up by the god of Death, so the excited [Karumbar†] inhabitants, donning *Karandei* wreaths, rushed furiously after their cows stolen by the foe.

* When the omen of this goddess of Victory is tried, a large and handsome brazen lamp is lighted with a lotus-fibred wick immersed in *ghee*. If the flame rises up straight and burns steadily for 2 or 3 minutes and then begins to flicker, so that the tip of the flame turns 3 times to the right of the inquirer, the result is considered favourable. See a reference to the ceremony in the IV Sargham, 25th Slokam of the Raghuvansam of Kalidas.

† Probably another aboriginal tribe.

" 2. With their war-anklets on their left legs,* seizing their cruel bows, grasping their swords in their hands, they presented an appearance as when the god of Death rose and bristled at the cries of their dying relatives.

" 3. With the braying of loud conches, horns and other peacock-feather [ornamented] instruments, they hastened with serried ranks and glittering swords over the heated stones of the burning waste, following hard on the foot-prints of their cattle.

" 4. Stung by fierce anger, their honour and reputation outraged, they rush like a host of lions, tigers, and war-elephants, to the front and fight with untameable fury.

" 5. The leader, chosen by the King himself, when he had humbled the pride of the Maravars, came forth from the fight and stood, warm blood gushing from deep wounds in his body, as streams from a mountain-side.

" 6. Is this a matter of wonder? The chief who pursued after the captured cows, and with matchless valour struck on all sides, with his sword, his valiant foe, at last himself fell prone to the earth, and was no more seen.

" 7. Then into the fray sprang the noble youth,† overthrowing men like children, heaping up corpses, mocking the cattle-robbers, of whom some fought, some died, and some retreated: the graceful anklet-wearer never giving way one pace, stood fast.

" 8. The youth annihilated his enemies! He never sheathed his sharp sword! He danced with redoubled activity on the battle-field before the anklet-wearers, while drums were beaten with ever-increasing rapidity.

" 9. He tore open the breasts of the Maravars, dragged out their entrails with his sword, and hung them around

* This is not expressed in the text; but the commentary states that the war-anklet was worn only on the left leg by distinguished warriors, but by the common men on both legs.

† This may refer either to the son of the fallen leader, or, as others think, to the son of the King or Chief, who allowed him to accompany the Commander of the party.

him, while drums sounded, and on all sides swords were brandished. He defied the enemy!

“ 10. And then he, the renowned of poets, the terror of the hostile band, drooped his head like a wounded tiger, and fell and died! O bards of ancient race, with fame-extolling lyres, born of the flower-wreathed race! are your eyes rocks, that they weep not?

“ 11. His soul spoke to the King—‘ O King! when the flood of the enemy poured in upon us, I stayed it with my sword! I alone did it! The others, O exulting anklet-wearing hero! were all day drinking the strained [pure toddy] liquor given by you.’

“ 12. Though the omen was ill and the bird foretold failure in the serried fight, the youth was not hindered! In reward of his prowess when he beat down his foes by the might of his hand, the invincible bow-wearers bestowed on that very day the honours of precedence, and the first distribution of the cooling leaf.*

“ 13. How great is the happiness of that fragrant wreath-crowned [Chief] who rising from the shade of his ample canopy [or State umbrella] dashes into a just fight, a fight of vengeance, and gives up his life on his enemy’s sword-blade! It is plain as a fruit on the palm of the hand!

“ 14. His family were of ancient descent, sword-wearers. They stood as kings when the roaring waters retired from the deluged earth and the mountains were uncovered before the land appeared! Day after day, they suppressed wrong; and their fame is world-wide!”

(To be continued.)

* The betel-leaf always given at feasts.

THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE TO THE NATIONS OF THE WEST.*

BY DAIGORO GOH,

Chancellor of the Imperial Japanese Consulate-General in London, and
Honorary Secretary of the Japan Society, London.

THE future of Japan—her true welfare and safe progress—absorbs, as it should, the thought and energies of all her children. The right path to pursue for its attainment becomes, and is, the momentous enquiry which occupies the minds of her best and most responsible statesmen. One important step is, undoubtedly, to cultivate the closest possible intercourse with the foremost nations of the West, and to invite their powerful co-operation in an effort to consolidate the interests of both, by a more rapid and intimate interchange of ideas in political, literary, and scientific investigations, and, not least, in regard to the extension and improvement of commercial relations.

Perhaps, in the words of a Japanese proverb, “The blind man has no fear of the snake,” I may incur your reproof for uttering truisms ; but too many of those mental inductions remain only as truisms in the retirement of philosophical speculation, and do not assume a practical form ; or, if exhibited in practice, they occasionally illustrate the law of induction in electricity, in which an electrified body induces in neighbouring substances a condition opposite to its own. Without, however, applying this invidious parallel to existing commercial relations between the East and the West, I wish to remark that it was owing to the great satisfaction I felt on learning that the hitherto neglected element of Commerce was made so prominent in the programme of this Congress, that I was nerved to appear here to express

* Paper read at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, on the 7th Sept., 1891, in Section (s) “Oriental Linguistics in Commerce.”

my warm approval of its introduction, and to record my earnest hope that it may receive from competent friends all the encouragement and assistance its vast importance demands. When I was informed of this, it was likewise intimated to me that essays on the subject would be received. I am no essayist. It is sufficient distinction for me to be privileged to read this humble paper before this Congress, my sole object being to express, as well as I may, not only my individual opinion, which of itself is of little value, but the aggregate opinion of the vast majority of my countrymen, that the commerce of the future will prove, even more than that of the past, one of the most powerful factors in the civilization of the world. For what is Commerce, when properly pursued, but the handmaid of Religion, in enlightening and humanizing the dark corners of the earth, and cultivating peace, goodwill, happiness and prosperity among all mankind?

It is also, to my mind, a good augury that this, the Ninth Session of this important Congress, which witnesses the valuable addition of the consideration of enlarged commercial views to its programme, is held in this great city, the commercial emporium of the world, and the centre of those civilizing agencies to which I have alluded.

Among so-called "Oriental" countries, Japan, geographically, is not only the most remote in position, but historically also was the latest opened to European intercourse. Hence it is the least considered in popular esteem on this side of the globe. This is not to be wondered at, since her language, her science, her religion, and, above all, her foreign trade, have attracted much less attention in Europe than those of India and China. But this state of things will now cease. The progress of steam, of locomotive and telegraphic communications, on the one hand, are bringing the opposite sides of the world daily into much closer union; and on the other, the national light or intelligence of the "Land of the Rising Sun" is spreading rapidly over the world. During the last nine or ten years the importance of

Japan has been gradually making itself felt in Europe and America by the aid of her exquisite arts, her progressive industry, and rapidly multiplying commerce. In the daily newspapers, in the periodical literature and in the catalogues of publications, the news items, the general articles, and other literature relating to Japan, are, though slowly, increasing in the frequency of their appearance, and also improving—by “improving” I mean, here, that all information concerning Japan appearing in books or newspapers is becoming less liable to error than before. Yet her claim to more general recognition in the West has hardly been acknowledged as it ought. It is useless, however, to refer to past events. The past is done with. But how can we neglect the future? Can that neglect be repeated with impunity? Especially at this momentous juncture, when that serious question of the relative commerce and prosperity of Japan and of the West respectively is before us, and which will be further adverted to.

Returning to the importance of foreign languages in commerce, I venture to remind you of the following fact. Some years ago, so great was the outcry in London against the ever-encroaching German clerks in the City offices, that the Chamber of Commerce was compelled to promptly investigate the causes of this complaint, and to seek a remedy. Among the reasons given here for the prevailing preference of German to English clerks was the superior equipment of the former in foreign languages; and the Chamber immediately took the requisite steps to stimulate English youth intended for a commercial career in the study of modern languages.

In Japan, also, it is well known that the small amount of foreign trade carried on by the natives is owing, mainly, to the want of acquaintance with foreign languages among the commercial community. These facts preclude the necessity for further comment on the subject.

The foregoing remarks apply only to European and American commercial cities and towns, where no restriction

to native employment exists, where foreigners have perfect freedom to establish and carry on all legitimate trade, and to engage in every kind of occupation in free competition with native populations. But the most extraordinary conditions and rules fetter both the native traders and foreign merchants in the transaction of their business in Japan. It is well known that, by virtue of the present old-fashioned treaties, the number of our ports for international commerce is limited to seven—only seven in that most favourable country in the East for trade and navigation. The restriction—a most injurious one—does not end there. Even in those treaty ports no foreign merchants can reside, or open any shops or premises for business, except within a certain small tract of land, about one or two miles in area, which is generally known as a “Concession.” Under this ominous covenant, foreigners and natives never reside together: their dwelling localities are distinct and separate. Moreover, no foreign merchant is allowed to put a foot beyond those ports for trading purposes, although the permission to do so is absolutely essential to the healthy and much-needed expansion of our trade with foreign countries. Thus all the foreign trade in Japan is, up to this moment, restricted to a very narrow channel—a channel, if I may so describe it, each bank of which is respectively occupied by Japanese and foreign merchants, and separated by the run of the treaty; the traffic being carried on between them by the troublesome and tedious means of what may be called “ferries” of small merchants, native and foreign; the ferrymen being the “bantos” of the former, and the “compradores” of the latter, speaking English or Japanese. Hence, foreign merchants in Japan are not under the same necessity to speak the native language, as we are here, in all business matters. In London, we cannot manage a single business transaction without a knowledge of English. Recently I met an Englishman in business who had just returned from Yokohama. To my surprise, he could not speak a single word of Japanese, although he stayed there, he said, more than five years. I

could not help asking him if he had found any inconvenience, while there, from his ignorance of the native language. He promptly replied, "No," explaining that he had seldom associated with Japanese, as he was a clerk in an English firm. The explanation was at first not quite clear to me, but a little consideration showed me that the separation between the foreign and native communities is, as I have said, so complete that he had no opportunity of associating with Japanese, either socially or in the way of business.

This might have been an exceptional instance in a single man's experience. But here is a far more formidable and significant circumstance, to which I venture to direct your attention and that of the public at large.

In the statement issued in December 1890, by the Committee of Foreign Residents in Yokohama, in connection with the treaty Revision—a vexed and intricate question—the following is their concluding expression:—

"The bait which is apparently being held out, and which to the uninitiated seems a tempting one, is the throwing open of the whole country to foreign residence and trade; and no efforts are being spared by the Japanese and their partisans in this matter to impress on European Governments, as well as on merchants and Chambers of Commerce at home, the belief that a large and valuable internal trade, hitherto beyond the reach of foreign traders in the Treaty Ports, will at once become available to them, and that great results may be expected.

"Now in the opinion of the great majority of those who have been longest engaged in business in this country, there can be no greater fallacy than this; and whatever hopes might be formed of seeing a material increase or expansion of the trade in foreign imports would certainly be doomed to disappointment.

"It is hardly to be supposed that foreign goods have not, in the course of the past thirty years, found their way to every part of the country, and it is precisely this work of

distribution to consumers in the interior that can be done more economically and to better purpose by the native merchants or middlemen, than by any foreign trader, were the country thrown open to-morrow unrestrictedly.

“Turning to the subject of Exports, it is hardly necessary to point out that there has been a steady and continuous growth in the volume and importance of the trade in them for many years past, and there seems no good reason to suppose that the opening of the country would effect any beneficial change in the conditions under which business has been conducted in the past.”

Without introducing a political element into this purely commercial question, but assuming, for a moment, the foregoing statement and argument to be tenable, is it not evident that the first effect of this dictum of the Yokohama Committee would be to undermine the efforts of this Congress to promote the study of Oriental languages? For what is the declared object of that self-constituted body of exclusionists? Nothing short of closing the whole Empire of the Mikado to the enterprise of foreign merchants, with the single exception of the contracted area exploited by themselves which I have described! If the ruinous Treaties which actually exist be perpetuated, as selfishly claimed by the Yokohama Committee of Foreign Residents, what motive would remain for your generous exertions—what reasons, except of an official or pedantic nature, for the study of international languages, so far as Japanese interests are concerned? The problem of the development of Japan would still remain in native hands—that problem which so profoundly agitates the native mind from one extremity of the Empire to the other.

Through the obstructive operation of the present Treaties all healthy progress in Japan is arrested. The natural, the worthy ambition of her rising generation, to participate in the intellectual activities and advantages of the external world; the almost inexhaustible mineral and various wealth of her fertile soil; her exquisite arts, her ingenious and

valuable industries; in a word, the endless material resources, and the mental and moral faculties of a gifted nation, bursting to be free, are to be condemned to "rust in us unused," by the suicidal action of these most pernicious Treaties, and at the dictation of a Committee of Foreign Residents in Yokohama! This condition is unendurable. It will, and must, end.

Of the benefits of foreign elements in national prosperity, may I be allowed to quote, very briefly, that eminent authority, Professor Leone Levi? In his famous work, "The History of British Commerce," he says, in the chapter on "Commercial Law Reformers":—

"For the promotion of commerce we cannot open our doors too wide to the merchants of all countries. It would be an interesting inquiry to ascertain how many of those industries which now thrive so prosperously in this country were originally introduced by foreigners. We owe banking to the Lombards, the silk industry to the French and Italians, the sugar refinery to the Germans. And it is the same with other countries. France is largely indebted to the Italians, Holland to the French, and America to English, Irish and German immigrants. We almost imagine that without the foreign element engrafted upon it a country would soon lose its energy and suffer in its best interests."

In truth, England herself is the best of all examples for Japan. Her commercial policy is the freest in the world. Hence the vast preponderance of her commercial influence and prosperity. Why should Japan be debarred from the beneficial action of the law of nature so successfully utilized by Great Britain? Were the entire dominion of the Mikado open to its operation, as it soon must and will be, there are forty millions of inhabitants (exceeding those of the United Kingdom) waiting to exchange the rich produce of their soil, the varied productions of their art, their skill, and their ingenious industries, with those of every part of the civilized world. There are 148,000 square miles of

territory (also exceeding that of the British Islands) likewise waiting for the application of new and improved methods in agricultural, manufacturing, and mining operations. And even still more urgently is experienced assistance required in the important enterprises of harbour and railway improvement and extension ; in water-works, sanitary reforms, shipbuilding, submarine cables, etc., and though last, not least, in the investigation of our literature, arts, and sciences, by the highest cultured minds of other nations, in each of those varied departments of thought and intelligence. Here is a field replete with every incitement to enterprising genius and talent of every kind, and rich in promise of reward and of advantage to civilization. The key to these treasures, and to the means for their utilization, is language. No appreciable research can be effected, no adequate diffusion of their benefits can take place, without the aid of the Japanese language. Success can only be obtained by the task you have undertaken, to foster and stimulate the study of it by every means in your power, especially in the commercial centres of Europe and America.

Japan, moreover, is so happily situated between the three great continents of Asia, America, and Australia, as to justify the opinion, generally entertained, that, with all her natural capabilities, human and material, the " Land of the Rising Sun " may become the centre of civilization in the East, as Great Britain is in the West.

One remark I should wish to be allowed to make in conclusion.

In the introductory part of this paper, I ventured the observation, as the real conviction of my own mind, that " Commerce, properly conducted, is the handmaid of Religion." I little imagined, at the moment of penning this observation, that I was but echoing the sentiment of one of the most eminent of English poets—I mean the Rev. Dr. Young, the author of " Night Thoughts"—of whom the late lamented John Bright remarked in one of his public

speeches, after quoting from him a memorable passage, that he (Dr. Young) was "too little read in these days." The poem to which I am now referring is named "Imperium Pelagi." It is, if I may so describe it, an Apotheosis of Commerce : a poem, in short, so eloquent and suggestive that I venture to recommend its perusal and particular study to all those of my countrymen who may not already have had the pleasure to read it. One or two detached quotations will exhibit the peculiar genius of this illustrious poet :

"Is 'merchant' an inglorious name?" he asks.

* * * * *

"Accomplished merchants are accomplished men."

* * * * *

"Trade monarchs crowns, and art imports,
With bounty feeds, with laurel courts ;
'Trade gives fair virtue fairer still to shine ;
Enacts those guards of gain, the Laws ;
Exalts even Freedom's glorious cause --
Trade, warned by Tyre, O ! make religion thine !

"You lend each other mutual aid :
Why is Heaven's smile in wealth conveyed ?
Not to place vice, but virtues, in our power.
Pleasure declined is luxury,
Boundless in time and in degree ;
Pleasure enjoyed, the tumult of an hour.

"Merchant ! religion is the care
To grow as rich--as angels are ;
To know false coin from true ; to sweep the main ;
The mighty stake secure, beyond
The strongest tie of field or fund ;
Commerce gives gold, religion makes it gain.

"Join, then, religion to thy store,
Or India's mines will make thee poor.
Greater than Tyre, O bear a nobler mind,
Sea-sovereign isle ! Proud War decline,
'Trade patronize : what glory thine,
Ardent to bless, who couldst subdue, mankind."

SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS.

BY THE SUB-EDITOR, *A.Q.R.*

FOR intensity of feeling, extent of interest and importance of results, few, if any, questions among Hindus, equal that which, after agitating for some years the Hindu mind, is now, we trust, in a fair way to a solution. It is—*Whether Hindus may lawfully cross the ocean and live in foreign countries.*

Lately a strong representative Committee has been formed, in Calcutta, after a public meeting of leading Hindus, to investigate and report upon the matter. The initiative has been taken by men well known as much for profound learning and enlightened views, as for faithful adherence to their ancestral religion and for the exact observance of its precepts. Among them we may name the Maharajas Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore and Sir Narendra Krishna, and Pundit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna.

A special literature is fast springing up on this subject, several specimens of which are now before us. As we cannot, in this issue, afford the space requisite for their detailed treatment, or for the full discussion of a question, that we were the first to start, we are compelled to confine ourselves now to a close summary, which, by placing before our readers the salient points of the controversy, may enable them to see its bearings, aims, and future prospects. The question subdivides itself into the following six points :

I.—*Are sea-voyages forbidden by the Hindu religion ?*

No texts have yet been adduced, from the Vedas or the early sacred books, clearly and directly declaring such voyages to be either lawful or unlawful. Both sides, however, urge indirect utterances in favour of their views.

The advocates of liberty quote passages from the sacred books proving that in former times Hindus went to sea, and that, far from any condemnation, we find directions actually given regarding such voyages. History also is quoted profusely to show that Hindus travelled formerly to

many distant countries. Their opponents have, however, an easy answer. Circumstances indicate that the voyages mentioned and not condemned were those on rivers in boats or on sea by coasting vessels,—that most of the countries mentioned can be, and probably then were, reached by land,—that the others could be reached without actually losing sight of land for even a day,—that such sea-voyages afforded facilities for practising the Hindu religion, which might be impossible in longer voyages.

Having carefully balanced opinions and authorities on both sides, we are forced to conclude that sea-voyages, *per se*, are nowhere forbidden by the Hindu books,—that as all ancient voyages were coasting voyages, modern sea-voyages (days out of sight of land) were not at all contemplated by Hindu teachers, and hence could not be condemned. Hence this part of the controversy may be closed by stating that as far as the mere fact of voyaging by water is concerned, Hindus are left by their religion as free to traverse the ocean in a ship as to go on a river by boat.

II.—*Can Hindus observe the precepts of their religion on a long voyage?*

Here we must distinguish the observances of caste from those of daily religious practice. Undoubtedly a man who is sincerely desirous of avoiding any breach of his caste-laws and who has the means of paying for any additional accommodation which his strictness may require, can carry out all his caste observances on board ship. We may quote a case in point. A high-caste Brahmin writes to the Superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company:—

LETTER PUBLISHED IN THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

1st June, 1891.

I have no hesitation in testifying to and recording the kind treatment that I and my two Hindoo servants, one a high caste Brahmin and the other a waiter (Gujjir) and two Mahomedan friends have experienced from the hands of Captain P. Harris and the other officers of the s.s. *Pekin*.

The necessity of recording these few lines arises out of and will be found from the fact that I am a high-caste Brahmin (Coolin), undertook a journey to England and the Continent for some object, and I was under the im-

pression that it was excessively difficult, nay, rather almost impossible, for a Brahmin of my class to preserve his caste and religion while on board the steamer. I was therefore very anxious about the arrangement to be made by the officers of the P. and O. Co., as I was determined to keep my caste really and in the true sense of the word, and not merely nominally, as some might imagine. Consequently this affords a sufficient plea for the record of my opinion, which I do with greatest pleasure especially that it may undeceive most of my countrymen and induce them to take a trip to Europe to know what is worth knowing, in a country and amongst a people hardly possible for me to describe, without the slightest risk of danger to caste or religion.

The Commander of the ship (s.s. *Pekin*) Captain P. Harris is an excellent goodhearted fellow. He gave us a very accommodating place for our kitchen-stove and cooking purpose; a canvas screen hung at the front kept the place quite secluded; the Captain allowed no one to interfere with, or come near, our kitchen (chowka). The chief officer, Mr. Cowie, was very kind and friendly to us, and had always permitted my servants to draw water from the tank. Mr. Anderson, my old friend on s.s. *Massilia* and about whose kindness I have already recorded my opinion in my former letter to Mr. Kendall at the Company's head office in Leadenhall Street, London, had made it his care to see us comfortable: he paid every attention he possibly could to our demands; he gave a standing order to his subordinates to supply my servants with all kinds of raw vegetables, milk, rice, (chau-ul) flour, fruits etc. that is, all that we required for our purpose; while Mr. Harpour, the second saloon steward, always displayed his friendly, courteous, and kind behaviour towards us, and especially accommodating in his manner and dealing. There is not the least doubt that all these gentlemen interested themselves, nay, made it a point, to see that nothing was left amiss to complete and perfect the arrangement whereby a high-caste Hindoo, or an orthodox Mahomedan, may keep his caste and religion while on board the steamer and under their charge.*

In conclusion, I cannot refrain myself from adding that Dr. Morris, the medical officer in charge of the s.s. *Pekin*, is a very good-natured and kind-hearted young gentleman that I ever came across on board a steamer. . . . All these only reflect credit on the selection and good arrangement of the P. and O. Company, and any high-caste Brahmin, or any orthodox Mahomedan gentleman traveling by the P. and O. steamer would, I hope, expect to find equally good and kind treatment from the hands of the officers of other steamers of the Company if they are as good and kind as those to whom I have already alluded.

(sd.) P. C. Roy.

For himself and his whole party.

S.S. *Pekin*, May 31st, 1891.

This practically settles the question of caste observances, which is a matter mainly of will, means, and forethought.

* These arrangements, which entailed no extra cost beyond the ordinary fare, were made by Mr. Kendall, the Managing Director of the P. and O., in consultation with Dr. Leitner, and were fully and faithfully carried out by the officers concerned.

But coming to daily religious rites, the opponents of sea-voyages can quote the sacred Books on two points. It is distinctly forbidden to eat in a ship,—and to recite the Vedas in a ship, a part of the daily *Sandhya*. It is also expressly prohibited to void excrements in water. From this it would seem that *long* sea-voyages cannot be performed without breaking through these three positive prescriptions, which can, however, be discharged in short coasting and river voyages, at the time of the daily and nightly halts.

The advocates of long sea-voyages have not yet directly tackled this difficulty, which, were it insurmountable, would quite prove that no Hindu may lawfully undertake a sea-voyage in which he cannot land at least once a day. Leaving the technical reply to the Pandits, we can here only suggest a solution, from an outsider's point of view. Such long voyages were things utterly unknown to the ancients who, if we except the Phœnicians, did little beyond coasting trade. Hence whatever they said about voyages applies only to those then in vogue—on rivers, and near the coasts; not on the high sea. The three ordinances, therefore, only meant that, *being near land*, the passengers should alight for their meals, for their prayers, and for the offices of nature. The last, so as not to defile what would be used by others lower down stream—an excellent and thoughtful hygienic measure; the second, because prayer should be said in peace, quiet, and recollection; and the first, because a small vessel (and only such were anciently used) would not allow of the space necessary for ensuring avoidance of contact. Now in large vessels these points lose all their force. There is ample space to ensure seclusion in cooking and eating meals, and for securing privacy and quietness for the daily devotions; while the sanitary arrangements on board allow the maintenance of cleanliness, and the ocean can be as little defiled as mother-earth.

Hence it follows that a Hindu may continue to practice all his daily religious and other duties on board modern ships during a long voyage by sea, even as he can during

journeys on land, or during voyages by water where he could land from time to time.

III.—*Is residence in Non-Hindu (Mleccha) countries forbidden by the Hindu religion?*

Here, too, the plain letter of authorities seems, at first sight, to forbid living in such countries; for penances are prescribed for so doing. It appears, however, that this was for something more than mere residence. It included living after the *manner of the Mlecchas*, and having unrestricted social intercourse with them. Actual intermixture of races and creeds compels Hindus, except in retired country-places, to mix with Mlecchas as much in India itself, as if they resided in Europe. Hence, in the absence of any positive command against leaving Hindustan or residing elsewhere, we may conclude that at least in this Kaliyuga, —when India is Hindu-sthan no longer,—it is not, *per se*, prohibited to live in a Non-Hindu country, provided the Hindu lives as his religion prescribes. The mere fact of living among Mlecchas is not in itself sinful.

IV.—*Can Hindu precepts be practised in Mleccha Countries?*

This, too, seems to be merely a question of will and means. Doubtless the struggle to live as a Hindu should, and to practise his religious and social duties in such countries, requires greater strength of will, energy of character, and submission to more inconveniences, than in India. But where these characteristics are present and means are plentiful, such observance is not impossible. By judicious selection of a residence and a careful choice of tradesmen, a Hindu can avoid any infraction of his duties.

But it is by no means easy to find such places and tradesmen. The ordinary European House in a town or city and the ordinary tradesman do not meet the desired purpose. In boarding houses and hotels, caste observance is all but impossible. In sightseeing or travelling from town to town, we fail to see how such observance can

be ordinarily maintained. In the land of "nutmegs made of wood" it is simply out of the question.*

That SPECIAL arrangements are needed to enable Hindus to live as such in (say) England, needs no demonstration: all Hindus will admit it. No doubt, too, such special arrangements cannot be made in a day; and caste may easily be broken and religious observances be neglected of necessity, while one is seeking for or providing such arrangements. Hence the necessity of securing such arrangements beforehand. It should therefore be more generally known that such facilities actually exist at present in England, at the Oriental Institute, Woking, in the English county of Surrey, only 23 miles from London, which can be reached in 35 minutes by numerous daily trains.

Established by one whose long residence in India and profound knowledge of its religions had peculiarly qualified him for the work, this Institute provides every facility for Hindu observances. He has pointed out since 1876 the possibility and desirability of Hindus keeping caste in England, and the establishment and organization of the Institute in a suitable locale, on virgin soil and near running water, have been the work of years. There are series of rooms in separate houses, the set for each resident being self-contained and furnished with its own appliances, so that scores of students can live, each according to his religious or caste observances. From covered wells in the grounds, there is abundance of water untouched by leather. Fruits and vegetables of all kinds; flour, lentils and pulses; and especially butter and milk, free from all suspicion of admixture with animal fats, are to be had as required. Once at the Institute, living is almost as cheap as in India, whilst the cost of arrangements on board the steamers differs according to the requirements for the passengers of the 1st and 2nd classes respectively.

* We have failed to receive exact particulars as to the arrangements on board the steamer alleged to have been chartered by orthodox Hindus for Chicago, but we are convinced that there are none at Chicago itself for the preservation of caste.

In no case, however, does it exceed the ordinary fare on the P. & O. steamers. Even servants of good caste, who go as deck passengers, are carefully attended to. Some years ago, on board a Rubattino steamer, a small tent was put up for such a passenger in the service of the Principal of the Institute. Dry fruits were given him, when the passenger's own supply had been exhausted, and two of the side coal-bunks on deck were screened off and placed at his disposal. These having an iron flooring, were technically, according to Madras Pandits, no part of the vessel, and, therefore, free from contamination as regards cooking and washing. Indian earth also covered the iron floor, and gharras of water, taken from India, and renewed at the ports of landing, stood in one of the compartments. At Genoa he was met by an agent who put him in the way of providing himself with milk from a cow and with fruits and pulse, and a similar process was renewed at Milan and Paris, and so on till he was met in London and taken to the Institute.* It is, however, clear that all such arrangements must be made beforehand in consultation with the Principal of the Institute and the Agent of the Steamship Company. Suffice it to say that, as regards the P. & O., there is every desire to facilitate the conveyance of caste-passengers without loss of caste, except such as they may wilfully incur themselves, when out of the reach of their orthodox co-religionists, and, therefore, no passengers are admitted at the Institute, unless provided with a declaration of the Captain of the steamer, explaining the manner in which they kept their caste on board, whilst under his charge.

We may conclude, therefore, that, while caste and religious practices may be observed with difficulty by a resolute man, with care and great expense, these observances become easy and inexpensive in an establishment like this Institute, which has been specially prepared for the purpose.

* Of course, those who travel to London by sea all the way from Bombay have not the same difficulties as Hindu travellers *viâ* the Continent.

V.—*Is the opposition of modern custom and opinion equal to a prohibition ?*

A well-known legal maxim declares that custom, when ancient and reasonable, has the force of law. That modern custom and opinion in India are opposed to travelling beyond the Ocean (*Kāla Pāni*) is certain. The advocates of liberty prove from History that Hindus, till lately, were great travellers. This, however, only shows that many *did* travel : it leaves untouched the question, what was thought of them by those they left at home ? But leaving aside the antiquity of the custom, we ask is it reasonable ?

It may have been reasonable when India, self-contained so far as production is concerned, held if not quite a monopoly, at least a high position, in civilization, which dispensed her from going beyond her own confines for the full and complete education of her sons. But now things are different. While various causes stopped the advance of India, other nations have made vast progress and have passed her in culture and (modern) civilization. The head of the great *Naga* no longer rests beneath the *kili* of *Prithiraj* at Delhi. The stranger rules—neither unkindly nor unjustly—over India, and India's sons must travel to other countries, in order to return with accumulated knowledge for teaching their fellow country-men. It is no longer useless to go abroad ; it is, on the contrary, unreasonable to insist now on what may formerly have been good, but at present prevents much good. Hence we have no hesitation in saying that the modern opposition of public opinion and custom is decidedly unreasonable ; and as such can carry no weight as a prohibition. It cannot make a long sea voyage sinful, though it may, and does, subject those who undertake one, from even the best of motives, to unpleasant criticism and many hardships, socially. At the same time, it should be remembered that Hindu caste-tribunals often deal leniently, as regards expiation, with those who have travelled to Mleccha countries under the order of a superior or for the sole sake of science, and who can further prove that they have successfully done their

utmost to preserve their caste when residing away from the sacred soil of Aryasvata.

VI.—*How is this opposition to be overcome?*

This practical part of the question is, we take it, the special duty of the Committee which has been appointed in Calcutta. Without pretending to dictate to them what they are doubtless competent to treat well, we venture to make some suggestions, to be carried out in succession :

1. A council of Pundits from the north, south, east, west, and centre of India, should be assembled at Benares, to settle the lawfulness or unlawfulness *per se* of long sea-voyages, and of residence in foreign countries. These are questions, for Pundits observant of their social and religious duties and learned in the sacred books. They should be deputed for this purpose, from among men who to these qualifications add that of an acquaintance with European manners and customs and the present state of modern civilization. Among them we would specially like to see men like Babu Janaki Nath Bhattacharya, who spoke with equal modesty, frankness, and common sense at the Calcutta meeting. As he rightly urged, it is religion alone, and not mere expediency, utility, or the alleged flexibility of Hinduism, that must decide this question: flexibility in religious matters often means want of reality, and is no compliment. We are sure that such an assembly would solve any doubt still lingering regarding the absolute lawfulness of such voyages and residence; and this authoritative decision would end the theoretical part of the controversy.

2. This Convocation should also settle the practical part of the question by drawing up a series of rules to be observed, (*a*) on board ship where there are Hindus exclusively, (*b*) where there are Hindus travelling with others, and (*c*) during residence in foreign countries. It should give the distinction between the essential, the grave, and the minor observances; and settle the penances requisite for readmission to full rights, when these observances have been accidentally broken through. We quite agree that no good Hindu will deliberately violate them.

3. The decisions of this Council of Pundits should then be promulgated at public meetings and at lectures given for the purpose in public assemblies (as at Hurdwar, Benares, etc.). They should also be published repeatedly in the native papers, so that the public at large may know that mere travel and residence abroad is no sin, and that travellers do not necessarily cease to be good Hindus.

4. To prevent imposture, however, by those who, having taken the liberty to live as Mlecchas in foreign countries, or during voyages, wish to pose as observant Hindus, arrangements should be made, in places like London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Cirencester, Paris, Berlin, etc., for regular Certificates, to be given by responsible persons, testifying that caste and religious observances have been duly maintained by the bearer : this at present is only done at the Oriental Institute at Woking.

5. It is not impossible that a monthly or bi-monthly steamer could be chartered between Bombay and London and London and Bombay, for exclusive use by Hindus. This might be the beginning of a regular line of steamers devoted exclusively to the conveyance of Hindus.

6. Pending this desirable consummation, the committee should make definite arrangements with some line of steamers, say the P. & O. S. N. Co., and publish such arrangements for the information of intending Hindu travellers.

Having tried to put, as fairly as we could, the case regarding Sea voyages by Hindus, we cordially express our hope that the day may soon arrive, when members of that religion may be able to travel and live everywhere, in the due observance of their laws and customs, without incurring any penalties and privations for what we think is sufficiently proved, neither to be forbidden by their sacred books, nor to be incompatible with their social or religious duties, the exact performance of which can, under definite rules, be secured, if not with ease, certainly with but little trouble, by those who rightly prefer religion to mere worldly advantage.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS, ETC.

EARL GREY ON UGANDA AND "PHILO-AFRICANUS."

WE have received the following letter from the veteran statesman, Earl Grey, K.G. :—

I duly received your letter of the 19th with a copy of the article on Uganda reprinted from the *Asiatic Review*, but I am only now able to offer to you some desultory remarks on it after having read it with the attention it deserves. I do not dispute that there is too much ground for the author's condemnation of much that has been done in Uganda since the operations of the British East Africa Company were extended to that country, but I think he is unjust in imputing blame for the acts he condemns to the East Africa Company, to Captain Lugard, and to the missionaries. The censure of the latter I consider to be especially unjust after their long years of zealous and devoted labour in striving to extend the blessings of Christianity and civilization to the inhabitants of Uganda. Till within a comparatively short time their labours had been as successful as could reasonably be expected considering the character and circumstances of the population that had to be dealt with, and they had not been disturbed by such contentions as have since occurred between hostile parties in the population arrayed against each other by their professing to be adherents of different churches. These deplorable contentions with the bad passions they have roused, and the bloodshed they have occasioned, cannot therefore be said to have been caused by the missionaries, but may with far more reason be regarded as only a part of the evil consequences which have followed from the action of the British Government in Africa.

In letters I lately addressed to the editor of the *Times* I have endeavoured to show that the want of a due regard for justice towards the population of Africa, and also of foresight in taking timely and judicious measures for improving their condition, and at the same time guarding British interests, has been long displayed in the policy of our Government under successive administrations. A late and striking example of these faults in our policy is afforded by the agreements entered into during Lord Salisbury's administration for dividing a great part of the African Continent into "spheres of influence" assigned to certain European nations, and there seems to be little room for doubting that the mistake committed in entering into these agreements has been the main cause of the sad events in Uganda which have called forth the remarks of "Philo-Africanus." It is clear from the information on the subject given by the correspondence and other papers that have been published, that the East Africa Company did not desire to extend its operations to Uganda. On the contrary, this was so manifestly contrary to its interest as a commercial company that it never would have thought of engaging in so costly and hazardous an undertaking had it not been pressed upon it by the Government. It is also clear that the Government of the day was anxious that British authority should

be promptly established in this valuable territory which had been declared to be within its "sphere of influence," because otherwise any advantage it could claim under that declaration would lapse, and some other nation might assume the authority England had neglected to take for itself. Such was the manner in which the East Africa Company was led to take up the position it did in Uganda; and though I think it made a mistake in doing so, for that mistake and its consequences the Government of the day rather than the Company ought to be held mainly responsible. I need not state what all these consequences were; it is enough to remind you that the conclusion of treaties with native rulers investing the officers of the East African Company with a large share of political power naturally excited much jealousy of English interference and influence both in French residents in Uganda, whether they were missionaries or engaged in secular occupations, and also in many of the native inhabitants of the country. Hence arose bitter animosities between parties calling themselves Catholics or Protestants, though differences in their religious opinions seem to have had much less to do with the quarrels of the native parties and the civil war which ensued than selfish interests and passions. These results of the measures of the East Africa Company in Uganda were most lamentable, but I have seen no evidence that they were produced by any unjustifiable acts of the Company or of those employed in its service; the only fault of the Company, as I have already remarked, was its having undertaken at the instance of the Government a task which it was not possible for it to perform with success.

With regard to Captain Lugard, a fair comparison of the different accounts given of his conduct shows, in my opinion, that instead of deserving the severe censure pronounced upon him by "*Philo-Africanus*," he is entitled to high praise for the sound judgment and the fairness with which he acted in a situation of great difficulty. It is true that in the hostilities in which he was engaged many of his opponents were killed; but he was practically forced into these hostilities to defend himself, those acting under him in the service of the Company, and the large number of the native population who had a right to look to him for protection in consequence of what had previously happened. The war was also carried on with as little severity as any war can be: and when he had established his authority, he used it to enforce upon the contending parties a settlement of their quarrels which was generally accepted as fair to them all, and which has hitherto at least been the means of putting a stop to further bloodshed.

I hope that "*Philo-Africanus*" on more carefully considering the history of their transactions will feel it right to withdraw his unmeasured condemnation of Captain Lugard and also of the missionaries. As to the latter, Bishop Tucker's letter to Sir Gerald Portal, of the 21st of September, which was published in this country before the end of October, shows that the missionaries were unwillingly drawn into taking a part in the public affairs of Uganda from which they had previously kept studiously aloof by the need of their supporting the officer who virtually represented the British Government. The English Mission, as the Bishop observes, naturally supported the English resident in the exercise of the powers entrusted to him by the English Government through the Company.

I must add some words on the views this article seems to imply that "Philo-Africanus" entertains as to what ought to be the conduct of the British Government with regard to Uganda and to Africa generally, in the actual state of affairs. I cordially concur with him in condemning the extravagant projects for establishing British authority over a large part of that continent, which have been put forward in letters to the newspapers and in other ways. I think both justice to British taxpayers and a consideration of what would be of real benefit to the African population forbid the adoption of these schemes by our Government. Among those which ought to be rejected I include the project, which has obtained a large measure of support, for the construction of a railway from Mombasa to the great lakes. I do not doubt that the time will come when such a railway will have to be made (though not by money furnished by the British Government), but for the present such a work would be altogether premature, since Mr. Joseph Thomson has clearly shown in the *Fortnightly Review* for December that upon it "there would be but the most trifling traffic utterly out of proportion to the expense of construction, of up-keep, and of working."

My cordial concurrence with "Philo Africanus" in condemning this and all costly and hazardous measures with the view of creating a great British Empire in Africa does not, however, imply that I agree also in the opinion I fear he entertains that the nation would be justified in suddenly withdrawing from Uganda the British assistance by which an end was put to the civil war, and its renewal is now prevented. This would, in my opinion, be a dereliction of the performance of a duty clearly imposed upon the nation by what has been already done, and I consider it to be equally a national duty to use the great power and influence, to which England has been raised by Providence, for the improvement of the African population. In my letters to the *Times* I have pointed out the means by which I am convinced that England might gradually establish peace and order in a large part of the African continent without imposing upon this country any serious expense or dangerous responsibility, and, what is of great importance, without exciting the jealousy of other nations. If security for the persons and property of missionaries and traders of all nations and of all denominations of Christians were thus provided for, their exertions would accomplish all that is needed for the benefit of the African population. I shall be glad if you can bring under the consideration of "Philo-Africanus" the remarks I have now made on his article, for though I differ widely from a large part of it, there is also much in it in which I concur.

I am, faithfully yours,

GREY.

REPLY TO "PHILO-AFRICANUS" BY THE IMPERIAL
BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

To the Editor of the IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Sir,—My directors desire to acknowledge your courtesy in sending them a copy of the article of "Philo-Africanus" published in your *Review* for the current quarter.

It is of course the privilege of the individual Briton, be his motives or his idiosyncrasies what they may, to call in question the policy of her Majesty's advisers, and regardless of pledges or consequences to advocate the reversal by ministers in power of the acts of their predecessors; but where "the honour of Great Britain" is concerned strict observance of the eternal equities and an impartial consideration of facts are indispensable elements of a righteous judgment. "The fall of Khartoum" and "the defeat of Majuba Hill" must rather serve as beacons to their authors and promoters without distinction of party, than as guides to action in dealing with Uganda. "The continuity of moral policy" hardly consists in repeating disgraceful experiments, nor could it be justified, in the sense suggested, by false analogies to cover the reckless depreciation of the concert of United Europe for the civilization of Africa.

The tone adopted by "Philo-Africanus" in treating of "the slave trade and slavery" is a typical instance of his spirit. Relying upon the dicta of self-asserting partisans "Philo-Africanus" ignores the evidence of facts attested by the responsible representatives of different nationalities, and their conclusions as to the best means of suppressing an evil common, in varied forms, to all the spheres of influence. Of these means the railway, in the estimation of Mr. Joseph Thomson, an independent witness, with the courage of his opinions, holds the first place (*vide the Contemporary Review* for December, 1892). If his summary of its efficacy were not conclusive, in exposing the fallacy of "Philo-Africanus'" views, their further authoritative refutation is to be found in the Parliamentary Blue-book, Africa, No. 2 of 1892. Its official documents are recommended to "Philo-Africanus," as at any rate justifying "the prominent place given to this great curse (slavery and the slave trade) both in the discussions of this autumn, and in the debate of House of Commons last session."

In respect to the "opening of new markets" I must again refer to Mr. Joseph Thomson's article for a fair and unbiased exposition of the prospects of trade, present and future, in the British East African sphere. In dwelling upon the absence of any means of transport except slave labour "with no well-established trade route," and in limiting the commerce of the country to the importation of "liquor, gunpowder, and fire-arms," prosecuted with every detail of atrocity, "Philo-Africanus" omits to advise his readers that the condition of things he contemplates is not only out of date, but one which the construction of a railway is destined to counteract, one, also, as certified by the title-deeds of the Company's tenure and by the agreements and conventions regulating its administration, which the Company has been especially constituted to supersede.

The status of slavery is definitively abolished in the territory assigned by the Charter. In the territory of the concession the self-redemption of slaves is persistently encouraged, and despite the unavoidable recognition of vested interests the "institution" is doomed to expire within a measurable time. With a view to its immediate extinction the adoption of the Indian Code has been advocated by the Company.

All the British sphere of influence has, by express desire of the Company, been placed in the zone of total prohibition of the importation of alcoholic

liquors under Article 91 of the Brussels Act, and its restrictions as to the importation of fire-arms and gunpowder are being rigidly applied.

As to the treatment of natives, the strict accounts required from all the Company's employes refute the imputations of "*Philo-Africanus*," when contrasting the "accounts of Henry Stanley and Carl Peters" with the "honour due to the ex-Missionary Stokes, who neither flogs nor murders, and pays his porters their wages as agreed upon." In repudiating his gratuitous insinuations of cruel and dishonest conduct towards its porters on the part of the Company, I may remark, in passing, that the individual, in these respects cited as a model, is in fact the arch-trader in arms and ammunition, indispensables to the slave-raider, his last consignment through German territory into Uganda being a matter of public notoriety and the subject of official representations.

As to colonization, the Company has never insisted upon the suitability of the British sphere of influence in East Africa for European settlers. The Directors have left the public to form their own judgment upon the published reports of its employes, and notably that of Mr. Hobley, geologist, at p. 129 of the Parliamentary Blue-book, Africa, No. 4, having reference to a considerable tract of high-lying country in the vicinity of Mount Kenia. His opinions, by the way, have been reinforced by Bishop Tucker (in the *Times* of 24th January last). What the Company has advanced with justifiable iteration, without asserting or denying the suitability of selected tracts for European colonization as maintained "by everybody who knows the country," is that the unoccupied fertile lands which abound in the sphere of British influence are peculiarly adapted in every particular to settlements of the surplus population of British India, and this the more so if not for the reason that, on the unqualified testimony of "another writer," "*Philo-Africanus*" describes them as being "entirely void of all inhabitants."

The homily of "*Philo-Africanus*" on the "annexation of this large country to the British dominions *with the consent of the people*" relates to the law of Nature which from time immemorial has been universally operative. If in the case of Great Britain the process of expansion rests exceptionally upon "the volcano of public sentimentality," and be conducive to "periodical paroxysms of madness," there is at least comfort in the reflection that annexation in the special case by concert and consent has been hedged by laws and conditions directed especially to secure the happiness and well-being of the peoples concerned by at once repressing the cruelties of filibustering adventurers and by checking the aspirations to martyrdom of rival creeds, propagated amongst them.

The attitude of rival sects during the recent troubles in Uganda, and the action of Captain Lugard with regard to them being still, as it were, *sub judice*, should properly be left to the judgment of the controlling authorities.

It is worthy of note that in pre-judging the case by endorsing the comments of the Rev. Edward Conybeare, "*Philo-Africanus*" withholds the explanations of the Rev. Dr. Collins on whose misreported statements the former gentleman had relied. Those explanations are at p. 324 of Captain

Lugard's reply to the French charges, published under the authority of the Foreign Office, and contain the following passage: "Captains Lugard and Williams were both more than justified in everything they did, and acted throughout in a most humane manner." As regards events, however, of anterior date, the following extracts from the response given to another pretentious critic may serve to enlighten "Philo-Africanus":

"The Church Missionary Society are, in no way, responsible for the policy of her Majesty's Government, and for the consequent advance of the Company to Uganda: their representatives had already been established there many years, leaning on the hand of God and not on the arms of the flesh. But the records of the Society, the letters of Bishop Tucker, and the reports of Captain Lugard, attest the change which now supervened in the conditions of their work, a change that, whether or not in the abstract advantageous to all concerned, involved the subservience of all ecclesiastical agencies to British Administrative control, as the result of the dislocation of existing relations between the rival sects, Protestant, Catholic, and Mahommedan, and between these sects and the native Chiefs. For a right judgment of the new régime it is necessary to recall the state of things in Uganda prior to the advent of the Company, owing to the religious rivalries by which the country was torn and distracted. The events recorded* . . . are conclusive evidence of a dominant authority to save the country from ruin and its inhabitants from extermination. Compare in this connection the condition of the State of Uganda when visited by Speke and Grant in May, 1862, and when entered by Lugard in December, 1890. As well might it be argued that the introduction of Missionary enterprise in a field open to the intolerance of antagonistic creeds and subject to no governing or moderating influence, is an evil in itself, certain, as the event has proved, "in a country inhabited by a people in a low state of culture to produce intermittent anarchy and bloodshed."

"It is therefore an abuse of language to represent the C. M. S. as desiring or soliciting the intervention of her Majesty's Government, or to attribute to the Company's action other motives than those of which their Charter is the exponent, and the obligations created by International Agreements are the sufficient justification. It was from the consequences of the Company's intervention if withdrawn that the C. M. S. are understood to claim protection, nor have they been more urgent in appreciating the advantages of settled rule to avert those consequences than the Roman Catholic Missionaries themselves, through their spokesman Monseigneur Hirth, or than the Mahommedans in their official engagements with Captain Lugard.

"Just as the presence of these religious bodies was no factor in determining the requirements of Imperial policy, so now is their presence entitled only to official consideration in the general interests as the means of checking their aspirations to martyrdom by flying at each other's throats.

"The Protestant Mission was established at Uganda and the Lake Districts at the special invitation of King Mtesa in June, 1877. The field

* The Two Kings of Uganda, by R. P. Ashe. Life of A. M. Mackay, by his sister. The Religious War in Uganda, *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1892, by G. S. Mackenzie.

was invaded by the Roman Catholics Missionaries without invitation in 1879; it has been proved beyond doubt or question that while the former under the direction and auspices of the C. M. S. devoted themselves exclusively to their missionary labours, the latter directed their efforts without intermission to acquire political predominance, and were the direct occasion of the conflicts which have supervened upon the expulsion of the Mahommedans. Their conduct is faithfully depicted on undisputable evidence in the works above cited; it is brought to light in Captain Lugard's reports, and is corroborated by Father Achte's declaration as extracted from the *Hamburger General Anzeiger*, 8th June, 1892, as follows: 'The fight with the Mussulmans was hardly over before it became needful to begin another and far more arduous battle with the Protestants. It seemed to us to be the most opportune time to make an energetic forward movement towards the extension of Catholicism and stirring up the dogmatic zeal of the Catholic Chiefs. I shall inspire the Catholic army with courage.'

"... Not only did the Roman Catholic Missionaries seek the intervention of the French Republican Government to enable them to import arms and ammunition into the country, but they surreptitiously introduced a very considerable quantity—in addition to much that was intercepted—for distribution to their partisan converts.

"The key-note of the Company's Administration has been the exercise of the strictest impartiality in the treatment of all classes. . . . Acting on this principle Captain Lugard has succeeded in establishing a *modus vivendi* governed by an appellate jurisdiction vested in the Company's agents, which all parties have formally bound themselves to respect, including the Mahommedan and Pagan parties.

"No one disputes that the Roman Catholic Missionaries had precisely the same rights as the Protestants, and are entitled to the same protection, the only proviso being that the former, like the latter, shall scrupulously abstain from veiled political partisanship. Equally must it not be disputed, however, that their Mahommedan fellow-subjects are entitled to the same rights and the same protection."

Leaving to "Philo-Africanus" the consolations of an "easy conscience" derived among other things from his desire to minimise or attenuate the "awful consequences to the Waganda of the British nation abandoning the country" by likening them to the struggles between Picts and Scots, between Norsemen and British, and between Normans and English; it will suffice to call attention to one more glaring inconsistency of this astute and impartial writer in formulating his impeachment respecting the "Maintenance of sacred treaties." The whole dissertation on this head must be read in order to be appreciated for its simple naïveté.

After denouncing the treaties concluded by Captain Lugard as forcibly imposed by a filibusterer who "claims to bind the British taxpayer for ever by his erring judgment," "Philo-Africanus" straightway says that Captain Lugard was "the agent duly accredited with the full knowledge and consent of the Crown," and that "these treaties were as duly submitted to the Foreign Office, to Lord Salisbury, and to Lord Rosebery, and after

revision, some details as to words being checked, were by them accepted and approved!"

The fact is not disputed. It is simply used with the patriotic object of invoking the "foreign European Press" to note "the divine right" asserted by the British nation "to lay hold of anything that comes to hand," to wit, territory legitimately accruing to it on the delimitation of spheres of influence, which in the words attributed to Lord Salisbury, "had been imposed on native populations by rival European nations."

It is to these nations, *participes criminis*, that Great Britain is held up to execration. "The Uganda lamb," it is pointed out, "has never injured the British wolf. The Scotch fought the English for their mountains; the Irish are crying out for national independence" (p. 5). Great Britain's action is attributed to "the earth greed of the comfortable English middle classes," who, "instead of attending to the sorrows and wants of their own poorer classes in their great cities, are desirous to control the filthy opium-smoking appetites of the Chinese, to enforce the re-marriage of Hindu widows, to compel the Chinese women to have their feet free from ligaments; and lastly to anticipate possible civil war in Uganda, they would let loose the dogs of war! The honour of England is represented by Maxim guns to cut down the African converts of French Roman Catholics" (p. 6), and much more in the like incoherent strain, ending in the reflection that "the British have shed no Mahomedan or Pagan, only Roman Catholic blood in these spheres, while the Germans have shot and hung the natives pretty freely" (p. 19), that "Captain Lugard is to be thanked for one thing: he is the only Englishman who has said a word in favour of the French Missionaries, the citizens of a friendly State," albeit, "with the French Missionary difficulties are experienced, which are not felt with other nationalities, certainly not with British Roman Catholics" (p. 23). and "in India, British, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, German, Roman Catholics never give any trouble; the French Missionary has always 'La France' on his brain" (p. 28), to wit, when "Mr. Carl Peters, the German adventurer, *with the help of the French Priests*" (p. 19), tried to supplant the English in Uganda. Of course therefore "it comes with a bad grace from the Government of a Republic which has ejected English Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands and threatens to do the same in Algeria and Tunisie" (p. 25); nevertheless, by the story told by "the French Missionaries with large amplifications the hatred of the people of France against 'Les Anglais' is roused: this is most lamentable." "I am not blaming Captain Lugard; he certainly does not value black life much;" "the incident shows that he did not possess the least elementary knowledge of ruling native races; the people killed were nominal Christians though of a different Church, and this renders the incident more deplorable."

"Philo-Africanus" may condemn the policy of a party in the State, to which he is opposed, and sneer at the "British insularity and superciliousness," which "wishes to have its own way east and west and to get rid of all other nations." He exemplifies this triumphant taunt by the futile attempt "of English domination after centuries of effort to extinguish the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland," and similar taunts abound.

To quote another instance distinguished by complete disregard of cause and effect as well as contempt of analogy, "Philo-Africanus" classifies the shame of withdrawing from "a country occupied for less than two years by three European officers" with the crime of invading Afghanistan, "twice occupied" and "twice abandoned." In the one case permanent occupation was the avowed object, while, on the other, we are told that the Government was "hounded on by treaties forced on their rulers under the influence of the bugbear of Russian intrigue, a new opening for commerce, a blessing to a few oppressed people oppressed by Mahomedans"—this queer concatenation of motives, regardless of grammar, being pivoted on a bugbear whose inherent vitality has since been amply realized.

Such illustrations may serve to edify and amuse the uninitiated. Abuse of subordinate instruments whose only crime consists in having done their duty, efficiently and successfully, in furthering the National policy, is no argument for or against that policy. It is grievous to find bare assertion based upon garbled extracts from anonymous and irresponsible communications to the Press preferred for this purpose to the evidence of official documents, and to the reports of British officers whose honour and veracity are thus gratuitously impugned.

Speaking of Soudanese *troops* "Philo-Africanus" compares these trained soldiers to "the Red Indians in the war with our Colonies in America last century," and ignoring the discipline to which they have proved to be amenable under British officers in Egypt, further conceals the fact that Captain Lugard's declared object in engaging the men "left behind by Emin Pasha" was to subject them to the same discipline and to rescue them from the savagery characteristic of the surrounding tribes, to which their abandonment must inevitably have exposed them. Do Captain Lugard's proceedings in this particular justify the vile insinuations of "Philo-Africanus" and his informant?

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

27th February, 1893.

ERNEST L. BENTLEY,

Acting Secretary of the Imperial British East Africa Company.

LORD HOBHOUSE ON THE JURY SYSTEM.*

There are three main aspects of the Jury-system, according to its effects. We may look at it as an instrument for doing justice between one litigant and another. That is its direct object. Or we may look at its indirect effects: first as regards the minds of the Jurors themselves: secondly as regards its influence on the Laws of the country. It is in the first of these aspects that the Jury-system is most praised, and most blamed; praised because it is said that Juries stand between the strong and the weak, and

* Lord Hobhouse has favoured us, at our request, with the substance of the important remarks on the principles of the Jury system which he made at a Meeting of the East India Association, held under his presidency at the Westminster Town Hall on the 2nd March, 1893, to hear a Lecture by Mr. Justice J. Jardine, of the Bombay High Court, on "The History of Trial by Jury in England and India."

save the weak from oppression : blamed as being a clumsy machine, uncertain, blundering, leading to illogical and absurd decisions. Each of those views has much to be said for it, and against. I cannot discuss them now. I quit this part of the subject, merely saying that, whichever way one decides the question whether or no a Jury is the best instrument for meting out precise Justice, that is not the most important aspect of the Jury-system.

Considerably more important, I think, is its effect on the Jurors, and through them on the community at large. Every man who is called upon to exercise a responsible function, especially if he does it in public, is a stronger man for it, and more fit to exercise another. And considering the numbers of persons who year by year take part as Jurors in the administration of the Law, though we cannot gauge the effect of the process, it is impossible to doubt but that it must have a considerable effect in educating the nation, and in giving them self-reliance for dealing with public affairs. I agree with Mr. Justice Jardine in thinking that the Jury-system has played a substantial part in making us a self-governing nation—I agree : but with a proviso against putting the claim too high. I think the result is more due to the various Local Governments, which, for matters not judicial but administrative, both ecclesiastical and civil, worked for centuries in great vigour and reputation over all parts of the kingdom ; which, becoming unsuitable and not being reformed, decayed away, and which we are now trying to revive in new forms. Through them our forefathers learned, in their Parishes, their Manors, their Hundreds, their Counties, and their Dioceses, to manage public affairs on the smaller local scale, so that when the time came they were able to manage them on the greater national scale. For the result Juries must have credit, but not the largest portion of credit.

Far the most important effect of the system, is, in my judgment, its influence upon the Law. Juries keep Law sweet, keep it practical ; acting constantly like the force of gravitation which enables us to walk upon the earth instead of flying off into space. It is surely most important to the coherence and strength of a nation that its Laws should be in harmony with the thoughts and feelings of its people. Now, Lawgivers may be the wisest of mankind ; but the Laws evolved out of their minds are apt to be, too hard, too much over the heads of the masses, or apart from their feelings, or beyond the ideas of the day. If such Laws are enforced by rigid machinery, convulsions are apt to ensue ; and if there is force enough to repress them, apathy and atrophy will set in. Now, Juries are always making innumerable decisions, each one perhaps very small, but constant, ubiquitous, so as to produce a great effect on the whole : and their constant tendency is to fit the actual working of the Law to the ordinary standards of mankind, and so to bring back a superfine and transcendent Law to earth again, and to make it fit for human nature's daily food.

The Lecturer has referred to the Law about Suicides ; a barbarous Law, I believe of theological birth, by which unhappy creatures who had found life unbearable were pursued with refined malice beyond the brink of the grave. Juries did much to take the sting out of that Law.

Take the Laws of which many were passed in the eighteenth century, when the propertied classes were omnipotent in the Legislature, under the notion that theft could be stamped out if only punishments were made savage enough. It was found that Juries strongly objected to take part in killing a fellow-creature, often one of the same class with themselves, and one whose temptations they could understand, because he had stolen a sheep or some trifle from a shop or from the person. They would constantly acquit in the very teeth of the evidence, and their conduct led to the introduction of more humane Laws, or at least supplied the most cogent arguments to the advocates for such Laws. They showed that milder Laws might be more efficient, and so they have proved in fact.

I remember being told when I was a young man by a friend who was then an old one, of a certain assize held at a time when bankers thought it necessary to protect themselves by hanging those who uttered forged notes. I have not verified the story, but repeat what I heard. A number of persons, between 20 and 30, were tried for their lives for forging or uttering £1 notes. The Jury acquitted them all. The Judge was supposed to have shown countenance to the Jury's doings. After the day's business, the Solicitor of the Bank of England went to the Judge, and represented to him the great danger of such refusals to enforce the Law. And the Judge—I think it was said to be Baron Thompson—answered that he was an old man and liked to sleep of nights, and so doubtless did the Jury; but that people could not do it who had been dipping their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures because they had committed some paltry depredation. The story is picturesque; and, whether true or not, it illustrates the feelings and actions of Juries which were a main agent in bringing about better Laws.

I remember also hearing complaints in my earlier life how difficult it was to get convictions in poaching cases. What did that mean? It meant that the Game Laws, the descendants of the odious Forest Laws, were severe out of all proportion to the offence, and that the Juries were resolved to hamper their action.

Take again prosecutions for libels or words alleged to be seditious. At times the minds of Rulers are affected by panic fears, as was the case in the great storm of the French Revolution, and they think, doubtless quite sincerely, that free criticisms and utterances of discontent aimed at themselves, are very dangerous to the State, and ought to be dealt with as treasonable and punished with death. Offences were then charged as capital which we should now look upon with much quieter minds. But the obstinate sense of the Juries refused to confound words with actions or discontent with rebellion. Very strong Judges failed to get verdicts of condemnation in cases of the class I am referring to. And consequently more serious discontents were avoided, our Law became more reasonable, and our society more firmly knit together.

I will not seek for further examples. Every day the Law is administered by Juries in cases of trespass, assault, compensation for all kinds of injuries, in a way which if rough is sensible, and is such as to satisfy the bulk of mankind that Justice is done to them by their equals as well as human

imperfections allow. I do not think that Judges could do such work, or that people at large would ever be so satisfied with them as they are with Juries.

This then is, as I think, the greatest merit of the Jury-system ; that by its constant quiet operation it keeps our Law sweet and wholesome, and in touch with the sympathies of average men and women ; and that so our nation escapes convulsions and gains in tranquillity and strength.

I have spoken from English experience, and with England in my mind. But I cannot help thinking that the indirect benefits of the Jury-system must be as largely available for India. Possibly more so for the reason that in India the distance between the Ruler and the Ruled, between the Lawgiver and those who are to obey the Law, is greater than it is in England. I suppose that even an Indian Juror feels more of a man when he has exercised his public function : and if he does so, then to that extent, infinitesimal in each case, Society is strengthened. Likewise I should think that the conduct of Indian Juries would point out the weak spots in our Laws. It seems certain, for instance, that in order to get convictions the police in India sometimes use hideous cruelty and oppression. Now, Jurors whose brothers or sisters may have suffered from such practices, or who maybe have suffered in their own persons, are likely to have much keener noses for scenting out a police-made case, than the Judge who only knows of such dark things by report. I cannot help thinking that if Indian Jurors are not despised, and are not hectorred when the Judge disagrees with them : if their proceedings are watched, and attention is paid to the cases in which they are reluctant to give verdicts according to the evidence, they may by degrees help the Government of India in that point where it is weakest. Its weakest point, I have always thought, is inability to learn the feelings and thoughts of its silent multitudes. The wisest officials seemed to me to be those who sought most sedulously for points of contact with the people ; and one such point must, I conceive, be the Jury. I do not enter into the now pending controversy ; nor do I presume to utter a confident opinion on the application to India even of the more general considerations I have been discussing. But I feel a strong bias in the direction of applying them, and a strong wish that they should be found to apply ; and I am very glad to hear favourable opinions from Sir Raymond West and Dr. Leitner : and to find that Mr. Justice Jardine agrees with them himself, and has been able to point to a large body of opinion, both judicial and official, in India, to the same effect. With that expression of satisfaction, I will bring my remarks to an end.

LETTER FROM MOROCCO.

We presume that our readers are aware that the important member of the Shereefian family, who has sent us the valuable article, which we publish elsewhere, regarding the true causes of "the Marocco difficulty," is commended to our attention by his British parentage on the mother's side. His eldest half-brother, Mulái Al Arbi, who resides at Wazan, has been recognised by the French as Grand Shereef in succession to his father. A base-

less report had been spread that he was in some way connected with the capture of Hamám, the leader of the late Anghera revolt, merely because he happened to have spent a few days in the Anghera district, where he had gone to return the visit of Kanga, the Khalifa of Anghera. Our Tangier correspondent writes as follows regarding Hamám's capture :

"He was betrayed by the Wadrasis where he was in hiding, and was yesterday, February 24, ignominiously hurried through the town of Tangier to the Kasbah, his hands tied behind his back, seated upon a donkey—his head covered to conceal his face, and thus avoid the danger of a rescue, and followed by a triumphant rabble armed with guns and staves—a sorry, but almost inevitable, conclusion to his courageous opposition to the extortions practised by the Sultan's authorities, for thus ends in betrayal and hopeless imprisonment every protest."

Speaking of the late Anghera revolt, certain French papers plainly accuse us of having fomented it with a view of causing disturbances that would justify our interference, or, at all events, act as an indirect pressure in support of the late mission of Sir C. Euan-Smith. Mr. Bonsal, the American Journalist, in his Volume on Morocco, published by Messrs. Allan and Co., hints that the expensive rifles with which the poverty-stricken Angherites were supplied, were of British manufacture. At any rate, neither the state of health nor the attainments of Sir C. Euan-Smith inspired much hope among his best friends as to the success of his delicate mission. Nor, in the subsequent difficulty, was it either wise or just on our part to cause the Foreign Minister at Tangier to be censured by the Sultan for carrying out his orders. A more simple and honest man never existed in Morocco than Syad Torres, nor a better friend to England, and to have wantonly punished him was, indeed, a mistake which might have seriously impeded the efforts of Sir J. West Ridgeway. We are, however, convinced that Lord Rosebery is sincerely anxious to avoid another "Morocco incident," and that all he requires is to secure some sort of apparent satisfaction for the flag which may please the British public. The real situation of Morocco can only be affected by a European War or by some disaster to the Sultan's forces, and neither event would benefit the interests of England in Morocco.

We understand that the English Mission under Sir West Ridgeway is to start for Fez almost immediately. We believe there will be nothing more than an exchange of the usual hollow compliments, but this will suffice to enable Lord Rosebery to claim a triumph. We must add, however, that Sir West Ridgeway has produced a very good impression at Tangier, and that he is evidently animated by excellent intentions. His efforts especially to assist Tangier in securing something in the shape of a Municipal Government deserve every commendation, as does also his support of the proposal to tax foreign property holders. It is most unjust that the whole fiscal burthen should be thrown upon native landlords and house-owners only. All ought to be assessed in proportion to the value of their property without regard to nationality.

AN EXCHANGE OPERATION ROUND THE WORLD.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following interesting statement regarding the vicissitudes of a sum of £500 in travelling by exchange from England to India and thence to China and America, whence it returns to England, after an absence of 80 days, only diminished by about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for banking commission, postage, etc., in four countries. The statement has been drawn up by Mr. P. B. Baker, the able Manager of the Delhi and London Bank :

On 1st July, 1892, remit £500 to Calcutta @ $1\frac{1}{3}\frac{9}{16}$; reach Calcutta on 23 July.

On 23 July remit Rs. 7710·13·6 to Hong Kong at Rs. 224 per \$100—in \$3442·34, arriving in Hong Kong 10th August.

10 August remit from Hong Kong \$3442·34 to New York at \$100 silver per \$67·75 gold, arriving in New York 10 September.

10 September remit \$2332·15 gold to London at ex. \$4·88 $\frac{1}{4}$ per £1, arriving in London 19th September.

Question : What sum will be received in London, and taking interest @ 5 %, from 1 July to 19 September, what profit or loss will be made on the transaction ?

£500 @ $1\frac{1}{3}\frac{9}{16}$ = Rs. 7710·844 at Calcutta.

Rs. 7710·844 @ 224 for \$100 = \$3442·34 at Hong Kong.

\$3442·34 @ 100 for 67·75 = \$2332·15 gold at New York.

\$2332·15 @ 4·88 $\frac{1}{4}$ = £477 12s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
	500	0	0
Interest, 80 days @ 5 %	...	5	9 7
	505	9	7
Return to London	477	12	6
Loss	...	£27	17 1

THE SIKH KHALSA COLLEGE.

A correspondent from the Punjab gives us some interesting information regarding the Khalsa College, the affairs of which, after long factious opposition, are now at length in a fair way of settlement.

The movement was begun in 1890, by the Khalsa Diwan, a powerful Sikh Association, and it aims at providing a denominational College, with affiliated schools, for the Sikhs. A site has been chosen, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Umritsur, on the Lahore road, and the foundation stone was laid by His Honour the Lt.-Governor on the 5th March, 1892. Among the donors are the Chiefs of Patiala (Rs. 150,000), of Nabha (Rs. 105,000),—of Langru (Rs. 75,000)—of Kapurthala (Rs. 122,000). A lakh of Rupees has already been raised for the Building, which is designed by Bhai Ram Singh. Gujuranwalla and Ferozepore are to have affiliated schools. The educational scheme comprises a High, a Middle, an Upper Primary and a Lower Primary Department. In the High and Middle Departments, the students will be able to choose between classical and modern subjects, the

latter including Sanskrit and Persian. The Technical and industrial departments will be duly attended to; and as might have been expected, the study of Gurmukhi and of the Granth are to form a special feature.

The education imparted will follow the general system of the Punjab educational Department; and Boarding houses for students will be established in connection with the College and Schools. We have been favoured with copies of the draft rules forming the constitution of the College, and of the Boarding-houses; and we have found them carefully drawn up and very appropriate for the purpose intended. The opposition to the establishment of the Khalsa College has lasted for two years, and seems to us to have been as unreasonable as it was fortunately unsuccessful. The Patrons are the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, and the Chiefs of Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kapurthalla. The President of the College Council is the Hon. W. H. Rattigan, Lit.D., and the Vice-President, Mahamahopadhyaya Malozul 'Ulma-ul Fazila Sirdar Sir Attar Singh, K.C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur, both elected for life. Special members of the Council are, the Manager of the Golden Temple at Umritsur (ex officio), and five Europeans: Genl. S. Black, Messrs. J. Sime, M. Macauliffe, E. Nicholl and J. Campbell Oman. Bhai Jowahar Singh, Kapur, Granthi, is the Secretary of the College Council. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, one of the main promoters of the movement, is the General Secretary. The system of religious instruction laid down seems excellent. We heartily wish "Success and Prosperity to the new Khalsa College!"

ROMANIZED URDU FOR THE BLIND.

The scholarly Mrs. F. A. P. Shirreff writes to us as follows:

"It has been suggested to me that you might very kindly help to clear up some points connected with the adaptation of the Braille Code for the Blind to Urdu. I was asked to make this adaptation two years ago, with the suggestion that as far as possible the English code should be followed. I therefore took Roman Urdu as a guide, only adding at first a sign for "zhe" (a dotted j) and afterwards "se" or "the," "he" and "swád," it being my impression (confirmed by friends), that Muhammadans, at any rate those who knew Arabic, so pronounced these letters.

"If it would not trouble you too much, could you very kindly tell me if you would consider this a sufficiently representative alphabet? A á b ch d d e f g 'ain gain h h i i j j. (zhe) k l m n n o p q r r s sh t t u ú w y z.

"'Ain' having a separate character I have made 'ghain' a dotted 'ain' instead of dotted g as in Roman, and I had thought of representing the nasal sound by a dot after the vowel, instead of by a dotted n.

"If it would be better to follow the Perso-Arabic alphabet it could be easily done, the grouping of the Braille characters lends itself to this arrangement, but it would be much more complicated for use by the blind.

"A gentleman in Southern India has lately elaborated an adaptation of the Braille code to all the various languages and dialects of India. He has not made it correspond to the English code at all, and from what I have

seen, it looks to me as if practical utility had been lost sight of for the sake of philological interest, but very likely I am wrong.

"Is it not more likely to benefit the future blind Urdú reader, that the same sign should represent the same sound in English and Urdú, than that Urdú should correspond to all the other Indian dialects, and not to English, which again, I believe, corresponds as closely as possible with Latin, Greek and French, if not German.

"Those who advocate keeping to the Roman Urdú in adapting Braille urge that it is necessary that as many as possible of the aspirated consonants should be represented, as they are more useful than the different s, z, etc., sounds. The number of available signs in Braille is 63. I had wished to settle an alphabet for present use, leaving the aspirated consonants, compounds, and abbreviated words to follow after it had been tested, but others wish to adapt the whole code with contractions and all at once.

"There has been much discussion and the whole matter is at a standstill. The Blind Association are anxious to get the opinions of experts."

[After long experience of "Roman-Urdu" by the Educational Departments of India, in Eastern Law Courts and in Oriental publications generally, most unbiassed persons have come to the conclusion that the "Roman Urdu" system is utterly unsuitable, except to those who are already acquainted with the indigenous native spelling of the words and who, therefore, do not require it. The apparent ease of the "Roman-Urdu" is deceptive and only leads to eventual difficulties and confusion. We would most certainly urge your adoption of the Perso-Arabic Alphabet in your admirable purpose.---ED.]

REGISTERED LETTERS AND POSTAL REFORMS.

We have drawn the attention of Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., whose proposal regarding an *Imperial Penny Postage* is probably at 'present the only practical feature in "Imperial Federation" which Colonials of all shades of opinion seem likely to accept, to the great defects of our system of registering letters. It would scarcely be believed that there is no guarantee of their arrival except the *ipse dixit* of the Post Office. Such arrival must be taken for granted in the case also of unregistered letters. In a recent instance, after waiting for many weeks to know whether a registered letter to Ireland had arrived, we received the assurance of the Postmaster-General that it had done so, but we did not get the postal receipt, which the addressee to whom the letter had been delivered, has to sign. Why, then, pay twopence extra for registration, if, even in the case of an inquiry, the postal receipt of the recipient cannot be shown to the sender? "They do these things better in France," but in the Home of the "penny post" we are far behind that country in postal facilities. Of this, we will only give the instance of registered letters. For years, before its partial and inefficient adoption in this country, the system of "prepaying the acknowledgment of a registered letter" has prevailed in France, so that e.g. the sender of a cheque by letter can oblige its recipient to acknowledge the receipt of the cover supposed to contain it, and this receipt is at once returned by the Post Office to the sender, because of the prepay-

ment of an additional fee. In England this fee is 2½d. for foreign letters and—*mirabile dictu*—also for English letters so sent, though the postage in this country is only one penny and the return of a receipted form might well be treated as a post-card and be similarly only charged one halfpenny. Half the Post Offices in London, and nearly all the Offices in the country, do not know of the system of prepaying the acknowledgment of registered letters; when they do, they used to hunt for a *French* form of the “*Avis de réception*,” and now, actually, they refuse to give one a receipt at all for the extra fee paid by the sender, beyond, perhaps in some cases of great courtesy, adding the letters “A. R.,” which stand for “*Avis de réception*,” on the ordinary receipt given for a registered letter. But such a receipt, as we have shown, is practically useless, for, in the instance with which we have commenced this paragraph, weeks of inquiry only resulted in the unsupported assurance from the Postmaster-General that the registered letter had been duly delivered.

For years also has the postage to India from France been half of what it has been from England, so that large Firms have found it less expensive to pay the travelling expenses of a Clerk to France to post a large number of letters, etc., there, than to do so direct from England. In many other respects also are the Postal and Telegraph facilities of England behind those of other countries, for here the principal object of the Departments in question seems to make money, whilst elsewhere they are mainly a State function. The education, dignity and emoluments of the Postal employés must be raised, so as to proceed *pari passu* with the increased responsibilities towards, and requirements of, the public. In the Middle Ages, these hardworking and patient public servants would have been an honoured guild; the future should constitute them into a profession in aid of the ever-growing demands of facilities for “communication.” The enormous income of the Post Office now mainly goes to make up for the deficiencies in other sources of the Revenue; but a portion should certainly be devoted to giving higher pay and education to its employés. Otherwise, all complaints, Committees and questions in Parliament will not inspire these useful functionaries with a constant desire to learn and to benefit the public, without doing which they will always be “behind the Age.”—ED.

Dr. Max Nordau writes as follows :

In connexion with Mr. Charles Godfrey Leland's interesting paper on “Salagrama” Stones, I beg to point out the fact, that in the purse of many French people, both male and female, even belonging to the higher classes, you may find, among gold and silver, a modest “*sou*” with a hole through it. Value is attached to this piece of money, its loss causing regret, and sometimes even alarm, because it is supposed to “bring luck” to its possessor. Now, evidently, the pierced coin is a disguised Salagrama. This is a curious instance of survival, the cultivated mind of civilized contemporaries having preserved a dim reminiscence of the once general primæval superstition which credited with some secret power a stone with a hole in it.

Paris, January 1, 1893.

M. NORDAU.

We have received the following remarks on the attempt made by a portion of the English and Anglo-Indian Press to misrepresent our relations with Afghanistan. These chiefly refer to the allegations made in the *Standard* of February 23, 1892, most of which are baseless :

TURNING THE TABLES ON THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

It is the Simla Political Department, not the Amir, that has "pushed forward" in regions where we had no sort of right or duty—an utterly revolutionary proceeding—of which the treatment of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the absorption of his resources and troops were the means. As to the absurd warning not to "blind ourselves" about the intentions of the Amir, it is Sir Mortimer Durand, Lord Roberts, and a clique in the India Office, with Lord Salisbury, who have "blinded" the British public ; so that the present Government came in "*blindfolded*" to begin with, and are helpless, unless some independent man will open their eyes in the House itself.

The "encroachment" is from *our* side, *not* the Amir's. This is the exact truth ; it is our (secret) Political Department that has "interfered" in the Amir's territories, and in those of the tribes who owe him allegiance : it is we (the Simla coterie) who have exasperated Abdur-Rahman "almost beyond endurance." This *ghastly situation* has been persistently worked up to, for months and years past, by the Political Department, backed by the India Office here, and partly by Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. The Amir avoided the interview with Lord Roberts, *knowing* that the British Envoy was going to Jelalabad *on purpose* to bully him. *It was our* aggression in Chitral—our inexcusable folly in taking the part of a *murdering usurper*, that brought confusion there, not the Amir.

You will have seen the "India Office" circular for tenders for *Mule-Carts* : it is almost tantamount to an avowal of a settled project for a huge Trans-Himalayan campaign, early in 1894. *Absit omen.*

THE ILLEGALITY OF THE PRESENT TRANS-FRONTIER OPERATIONS.

There is one very grave consideration arising out of the various military operations and political "combinations," carried on beyond the Frontiers of India during the last few years through the Political Department of the Government of India—for which branch of executive action, be it noted, the Viceroy is directly and personally responsible. This is, that these proceedings of the Executive Authorities are entirely illegal and in flagrant violation of the Statute of 1858. Those operations, far away from British territory, at Gilgit, Hunza-Nagyr, and Chilás ; on the borders of Kafiristán ; in Bajour in alliance with the brigand chief Umra Khan ; as well as beyond the boundaries in the Kurram and Khost valleys and beyond the Zhab ravines—all come under this statutory, but contemptuously despised, interdict. The evidence of these transgressions of our frontiers and of the Statute are scattered through the Anglo-Indian press, as also in the demi-official telegrams and communicated articles that have appeared in the English press during the last year or two.

It is impossible, however, to obtain any categorical list of these illegal

transactions without some peremptory demand from Parliament to the Indian authorities and the Indian Office to draw up and present such lists. On constitutional grounds, it needs no argument to show that any "obstruction" and every needful exercise of the forms of either House of Parliament would not only be justified, but ought also to be used in order to obtain authoritative evidence of these breaches of the Law. In vital matters of State, such as this, a word to the wise is sufficient.

Therefore, we only need here to quote the text of Section 56 of "the Act for the better Government of India," Cap. cvi., 1858: it runs thus—

"Except for preventing or repelling *actual Invasion* of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, or under other *sudden* and *urgent Necessity*, the Revenues of India shall not, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the Expenses of any Military Operation carried on *beyond* the external Frontiers of such Possessions by Her Majesty's Forces charged upon such Revenues."

The capitals are in the text: the italics are ours, to anticipate the gross sophisms by which it may be sought to excuse those military operations. Section 55 provides that "any order sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities . . . shall be communicated to both Houses of Parliament within three months of the sending of such order." This, also, has been grossly violated.

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ANGLO-INDIAN.

THE FIRST DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON BRITISH "ECONOMY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDIAN TREASURY."

We have much pleasure in giving a full verbatim Report of the first Debate that took place in the House of Lords on Monday, the 13th February, 1893, on "Economy at the expense of the Indian Treasury," which was introduced by Lord Stanley of Alderley's remarks respecting Lord Kimberley's double appointment:

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord President whether he had applied to the Treasury for the salary belonging to his office; and he also asked the noble Lord, as Secretary of State for India, whether as guardian of the interests of the Indian taxpayers he had remonstrated against the salary of the Lord President being provided out of Indian taxes. He said that shortly after Mr. Gladstone formed his Government his principal organ—or perhaps it would be more correct to say his chief supporter in the London Press, perhaps almost his only supporter among the principal London newspapers, *The Daily News*—made on August 17th last the following announcement:

"Economists will observe that the double appointment given to Lord Kimberley (Secretary of State for India and Lord President of the Council) saves the country from payment of the salary attached in the ordinary course of things to the functions of President of the Council."

This was a most unblushing avowal of shabby economy—an arrangement which was discreditable to the country and to the First Lord of the

Treasury who has made it. It was part of the too prevalent system of bribing voters with other people's money. On the following day, the 18th August, a letter appeared in *The Daily News* from Mr. S. Digby, in which he wrote :

"Will you permit me to respectfully suggest for Mr. Gladstone's consideration that his Lordship should draw part of his salary from the English Exchequer and part from the Indian—£2,000 from the former and £3,000 from the latter? A saving to the Indian Government of even £2,000 per annum is not to be despised in these hard times when the rupee is down to rs. 2½d. It is sometimes forgotten in England, though never in India, that the entire cost of the India Office, £227,985 (. . . 1891-92), is a charge on Indian Revenues. . . . The emoluments of the Secretary of State, Under Secretaries, Members of the Council, etc., amount for the last year to £134,070. Some of us who are not adherents of the National Congress fail to see why, in regard at all events to the official Parliamentary representatives, India should be treated differently from the colonies."

To avoid any misapprehension or suspicion of hostility to his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, he would hasten to say that for his part he thought the best solution of this untoward circumstance would be that his noble Friend should receive the salaries of both the offices which he held, for the following reasons: that the duties of both offices were very onerous. With Mr. Acland in the Education Office and little or no restraint exercised over Her Majesty's School Inspectors, the Lord President would have a good deal to do. He would have to answer questions from the right rev. Bench, except the Bishop of Sodor and Man, who was alone independent of the Education Office. But with a falling rupee, Upper Burma unpacified, and Lieutenant Governors to restrain, a great deal of extra work would fall upon the Secretary of State for India. Though this would not relieve the Indian Treasury, yet it would remove the feeling of indignation that had been aroused in India by the economy practised by a rich country at the expense of a poor one; and it was well known that there were none of Her Majesty's Ministers in office or out of it more hardworking than the Secretary of State for India. But if this might not be, he must ask his noble Friend the question of which he had given notice; and should it be the case that the Secretary of State for India had not yet remonstrated or had failed in his remonstrances, he must ask him to renew them and to refuse to allow the President of the Council to be provided for out of Indian revenue. He had not invented the theory that the Secretary of State was the guardian or protector of the Indian taxpayer. It was one that had been laid down by the late Lord Halifax, and more than once by the Duke of Argyll in a few words which he would read. Lord Halifax said, quoting from *Hansard*, on March 14th, 1876 :

"The circumstances of India make it impossible that an independent local Legislature should be established in India, but the same principle of government is no less applicable to India than to the colonies. The colonies are able to protect themselves through their own Legislatures; and as the people of India have not a domestic Legislature to protect them, I have always held it to be the duty of the Secretary of State for India to protect their interests against any pressure in this country from English interests."

He remembered hearing the Duke of Argyll say that the Secretary of State had to carry on an incessant struggle with the Horse Guards and

other Departments to prevent encroachments on the Indian Treasury ; and that the Secretary of State was the sole guardian of the Indian taxpayer. He had not been able to find this passage in *Hansard*, but he had found another which would do as well. The Duke of Argyll said on July 28th, 1870, in connection with the Indian Financial Statement :

“He might remind the House that the Act of Parliament specially provided that the Indian Revenue should be expended for the purposes of India alone, and any expenditure on the British Army not strictly connected with Indian purposes would be at variance with the Act, adverse to the policy of Parliament, and at variance also with their duty to the people of India.”

Under these circumstances, he did not think that the Secretary of State had any choice but to insist, with the First Lord of the Treasury, that he should provide for the Lord President out of the British Exchequer, otherwise the alternative would be that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India would reproach himself for not having kept up to the standard laid down by Lord Halifax and the Duke of Argyll. It was very probable that the attention of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India had not before been drawn to this matter, and very natural that he should not read *The Daily News*, since he would probably pay more attention to those papers which attacked Her Majesty's Government. It was also natural that his noble Friend should have thought that this was a case similar to that of former Prime Ministers also holding the seals of the Foreign Office : but there was this difference : that both those offices were provided for out of the English Exchequer. *The Daily News* had taken credit for what was a shabby economy, and the Press of India had cried out against the injustice. He would read only one short extract from *The Times of India*, an English paper published at Bombay, and leaning more to the Civil Service than to the people of India. That paper on September 16th, 1892, said :

“If it be true, as alleged, that the whole of Lord Kimberley's salary is to be borne by the Indian Government, despite the fact that he holds a second office also, there is certainly ground for complaint, though the relief would no doubt be slight enough. The pay of the President of the Council is £2,000 ; but although the two offices are combined in Lord Kimberley's case, the double office does not carry extra salary, so that it would only be just if a moiety of two-fifths of Lord Kimberley's pay were borne by the Home Government. But the whole question is one that will need looking into in the near future.”

He would, in conclusion, move formally for any Papers on the subject.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY): My Lords, I will first answer the Motion of my noble Friend. I am sorry to say there are no Papers on this subject. The only paper I am aware of dealing with the matter is the one my noble Friend referred to in *The Daily News* : and I am bound to say, though he may think it very extraordinary, I do read *The Daily News*, and I read the letter he has referred to. And now, my Lords, I must say I am exceedingly obliged to my noble Friend for the kind way in which he has taken up my case, because, as I understand, what he would consider the best arrangement is that my salary should be augmented by £2,000 a year. How that would benefit the Indian revenues he did not explain, because I

do not see that adding some £2,000 to the £5,000 paid by the Indian Treasury would tend to relieve the Indian taxpayer. But having put that as the best way of dealing with the matter, my noble Friend made quite another suggestion: that the salary should be divided into two parts, and he was good enough to furnish an estimate of what my services are worth as Lord President. It appears that, comparing the business which falls upon the Secretary of State for India, who is to some extent responsible for the government of that Great Empire, with the business of the President of the Council, he considers that the proportions are as three-fifths to two-fifths. Well, I think that is rather an inadequate estimate of the work which falls upon the Secretary of State for India, and the responsibility which that office entails as compared with my duties as President. If I had to make an appraisement of the proportions, I confess I should be puzzled how to do so. But my noble Friend apparently forgets that the President is also a Cabinet Minister, and a considerable portion of his salary is given him on that account. It is quite clear I cannot do double duty as a Cabinet Minister, and I cannot, therefore, claim any particular portion of the President's salary allotted to him as a Cabinet Minister. My noble Friend, perhaps, takes the view that the Indian Government should, as it were, lease me to the Imperial Government, which should pay so much a week to the Government of India for the amount of work which I may perform in my other capacity. Certainly I was rather alarmed at what my noble Friend said as to those duties, and I hope it does not emanate from any confidential information he has received; that is, that I might have to furnish answers night after night to the Members of the right rev. Bench except the Bishop of Sodor and Man. If I had to estimate the amount to be paid to me for that responsible work I should be inclined to put it somewhat high. But, my Lords, the real point is this: What does the Indian taxpayer lose by this arrangement? If it is the case—and I admit this argument might be used—that the duties I have to perform as President of the Council would prevent to that extent my discharging the duties of Secretary of State for India, then I fully admit that the Indian taxpayer would have a right to complain. But if I succeeded in adequately discharging the duties of Secretary of State for India, in what respect can the Indian taxpayer be injured? The salary of £5,000, I may tell my noble Friend, is fixed by Act of Parliament, and it is my duty to perform all the business the Secretary of State for India has to perform to the best of my ability. Though I should be far better pleased personally, I can assure my noble Friend, if I had not additional work to perform, yet I believe I can discharge my duties as Secretary of State for India, and even answer those Members of the right rev. Bench who may address questions to me. I have the advantage of having as my colleague Mr. Acland, who is a Member of the Cabinet; and though that fact does not relieve me from responsibility as President of the Council, anybody who knows what the work is will recognise that it does lighten my work. My Lords, I must say that I think a great deal of unnecessary bother has been made about really a very small matter. The whole question is only as to £2,000; and though I am most anxious that no pains should be spared

to guard the Indian Treasury against unfair demands upon it, there is nothing here which, in my opinion, calls for interference on my part.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he was disappointed with the answer the noble Earl had made to the question, which was rather in the form of a conundrum—one felt uncertain whether it was a single question put to two Ministers or two questions addressed to one. As Secretary of State for India the noble Lord had answered the question, but his answer might be attributed to his having spoken in the third capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer of the English Government. It could not be believed for a single moment that the noble Earl, as Secretary of State for India, would desire that the English Government and English taxpayers should, by this arrangement for his filling two offices, make a clear profit of £2,000 a year, and that the Indian Government and taxpayers should lose that sum by the arrangement.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY : How do they lose it ?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, they really lost it because it was quite clear the Indian Government should not pay whatever salary was attached to the other of the two offices, the duties of which the noble Earl had to perform. Looking at the question from the Indian taxpayer's point of view, which his noble Friend had overlooked, they might tell him, "Year by year the salary of the Secretary of State for India is increasing ; it is not at all a fixed sum, because that salary is not paid in rupees of an even standard, but in sovereigns, and we Indian taxpayers have to pay more rupees to furnish it ;" and the same thing, of course, applied to the whole expenses of the Government. The sum, it was true, was not large ; but this was a matter of justice and equity, and the question was whether there was a disposition to deal with the Indian taxpayer and the Indian revenues in, he would not say a liberal, but a just spirit. This was another instance in which the French proverb might be applied, "That those who are absent always get the worst of it." Complaints were continually being made as to the manner in which questions connected with Indian finances were dealt with by the English Government notwithstanding the constant remonstrances of the Indian Government and of the Governor General in Council, that they were determined with a view to English and not to Indian interests ; and this was another instance of the manner in which these questions were treated. He would not have thought it necessary to address their Lordships on this subject were it not that at the present time the Indian revenues were in a condition of great and serious embarrassment, not to say an alarming condition, in consequence of the fall in the exchange and the difficulty of meeting the gold debt in this country ; and one of the great burdens of the Indian Government was the payment of the whole expenses of the India Office and of the Secretary of State's salary in this country. He would ask the Marquess of Ripon, who had filled the office of Viceroy of India, and was now Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether the colonies paid his salary ; and, if not, the reason why the Indian taxpayer should pay that of the Secretary of State for India ? And, also, the further question whether the colonies paid the £80,000 or £100,000 a year expenses of

the Colonial Office? Or whether they made any contribution in either case? He asked the Lord President and Secretary for India who paid the expenses of the India Office, and the reason why the British taxpayer and British Government paid the whole of the expenses of the Colonial Office if the Indian taxpayer had to pay the entire cost of the India Office? He would not go further into this very important question of the distribution of the expenses of the Home Government now paid by the revenues of India; but with regard to the question of the expenses of the Army touched upon by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley), his noble Friend the Marquess of Ripon knew very well that Government after Government, in India, and Viceroys and Members of their Councils had represented to the English Government the inequitable nature of the charges paid out of the Indian revenues for the home administration of the Indian Army. The noble Marquess had himself made that representation as strongly as every other Viceroy of India. In this time of grave difficulty, if not danger, to Indian finances—danger and difficulty not in any way depending upon the general condition of the finances of India, but entirely upon the fall in the value of the rupee—these heavy burdens became of immense importance, and he would ask whether Her Majesty's Government had considered whether any, and what, relief could be given to the Indian revenues by a determined effort on their part to reduce the home expenses which were now borne out of them? Although this question was a small one, it created considerable interest in India, which was always watching to see whether Indian claims were dealt with equitably by the Government of this country. He was bound to say the noble Earl's answer had not satisfied him that this matter had been treated equitably. Like others, no doubt, who had been under the harrow of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might say, "Sufferance has been the badge of all our tribe," when they had had to deal with even the smallest charge upon the English taxpayer, and he would not, therefore, quarrel with his noble Friend who, doubtless, had done his best. Still he was sorry he had failed, and hoped Her Majesty's Government would consider not only this small charge, but the far larger question of the reduction of the home charges of the Government of India now paid from Indian revenues.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (THE MARQUESS OF RIPON): My Lords, my noble Friend who has just sat down has wandered considerably from the minor point raised by the question of my noble Friend opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley). He has raised a question of great magnitude, which I think it would be exceedingly inconvenient to attempt to discuss upon an occasion of this kind. That question, I admit with him, is one requiring great consideration, especially at the present time; but I can assure him it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government to do everything they can to reduce any expenditure which now presses upon India. My noble Friend knows very well, in regard to the loss in consequence of the depreciation in value of the rupee, that a Committee is sitting upon that subject to see whether, by any Government measures or by legislation, it can be dealt with.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I should like to ask the noble Marquess whether the question of home charges is referred to the Committee?

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON : Certainly not. I entirely admit that, like my noble Friend, when I was in India I used to grumble at these home charges, and desire that they should be reduced. My noble Friend knows that is no new question. He talked about the increased salary of my noble Friend the Lord President, but that, I think, is not a fair way of putting the question. No doubt India has to transmit more money for the home charges at the present time than she did when the rupee was at 2s., but that does not mean that the home charges have really increased in amount, but only that—to the great loss and injury, I admit, of India—she has now to transmit larger sums to meet them. My noble Friend the Secretary of State is as well aware of these difficulties as anybody, and they occupy, I am sure, a large share of his attention. I quite admit they are difficulties of a serious kind. My noble Friend, Lord Northbrook, used strong language with respect to the present state of the finances of India which I hope is not altogether justified to the full extent to which he went : but no one can doubt that this heavy drain on the revenues of India ought to be relieved as far as possible ; and there is just ground, I think, for giving to India every consideration in respect of the home charges. But really, my Lords, when we consider large questions of this kind, is there any connection between them and the exceedingly minute point raised by the noble Lord opposite ? I cannot admit for a moment that the taxpayer of India loses, because my noble Friend does not draw £2,000 a year from the English Revenue in respect of the other office he fills. In accordance with custom and practice in these cases, he does not draw salary for the two offices. He draws salary as Secretary of State for India, and I am sure it will not be disputed that he gives to the duties of that office the fullest attention which the people of India can require. My noble Friend speaks of the arrangement which has been made in respect of the colonies. No doubt it is quite true that the whole expense of the Colonial Office is borne by the English taxpayer and not by contributions from the colonies ; but my noble Friend knows very well that that has been the practice time out of mind, whereas the practice with regard to India has always been precisely the opposite. There has been no change whatever introduced into that practice of late years, and I confess I should think it very inadvisable that we should embark at this moment without notice upon so large and serious a question as the discussion of the present condition of Indian finance or the mode in which the difficulties of that finance should be relieved.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY : My Lords, I do not think the matter is quite so small as my noble Friend represents. Of course, £2,000 a year is not a matter of great importance either to the English or Indian Exchequer, but it does represent a new departure of principle. The noble Lord appealed with great emphasis to the existing practice, but this is an absolutely new departure from any practice which has existed before. It is entirely a new departure. The question is, whether you have a right to use an officer paid by the Indian Treasury to do English work ? That is the question. It has not been an unknown practice in other countries or in other ages. Appointments used to be made in the Middle Ages *in commendam*, as when the Pope appointed persons to good fat English

Abbeys. That is exactly a precedent for the proceeding which has been adopted by the noble Lord opposite. Now, I want him to consider, supposing he was dealing with some community less distant and less patient than the Indian, how such an arrangement would be criticised. Supposing, for instance, the Governorship of the Isle of Man were given in the same way to some Minister whose salary it was desired to clear off the English Estimates, or that he was made Chairman of the London County Council. Supposing, again, the Home Secretary were to have no salary at all, but should always be Chairman of the London County Council. I think this practice will necessarily grow, and I venture to commend that consideration to the noble Lord in reference to the payment of salaries to Members of the Indian Council. I think there are four Under Secretaries in the House of Commons, and I do not see why they should not all be appointed Secretaries to the Indian Council.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY : They could not sit in Parliament.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY : Of course, that is a trifle which would have to be altered. But all those are ways of saving the English Estimates, which no doubt might seem very smart and very ingenious to the persons who arrange the figures at the English Treasury, but would not be so satisfactory on the other side of the water. You must not measure a financial injury by the number of thousand pounds involved. If people feel that their money is being taken from them, it matters very little whether it figures as thousands or tens of thousands. I regret the arrangement very much. I cannot see any reason for it. I am sure the services which the noble Lord renders are amply worth £2,000 additional a year, and it would entirely solve the question if he had an English as well as an Indian salary.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, one point had been forgotten. The noble Earl had stated to the House that a division of the salary paid into two fifths and three fifths would not be in proportion to the duties he performed in his two offices. No doubt the duties of Secretary of State for India were far more important than those of Lord President of the Council, but that did not comprise the whole question. Wear and tear had to be considered; and however robust the noble Earl might be, it was by no means the same thing to him, after being occupied in reading long Indian Despatches, to be exposed night after night to be baited with questions in his other capacity in this House. The Lord President had already been up three times to the Secretary of State's one, and that was likely to continue. On this occasion the noble Earl's reply might be regarded as a joint affair, but he would keep an account of the noble Earl's appearances in both capacities in case no alteration were made.

We have received the following Note on the above Debate from Mr. W. Martin Wood :

NOTE ON THE HOME CHARGES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Thus the subject was left at the time—but not to sleep. Up to that date not only many peers, but most who come under the category of “the

average M.P."—to say nothing of the general public—were utterly ignorant of this, one of the most prominent facts in the financial economy of our British Empire, namely, that not only does India pay the whole of the public expenditure within (and, of late years, *beyond*) its borders, including the enormous cost of that large portion of the British Army stationed in that peninsula, but also every charge defrayed here that can possibly be debited to Indian account. Hence every right-minded citizen lies under great obligation to Lord Stanley for having, by a "little fire," kindled curiosity into one of the greatest matters that concern the British Empire. In many directions we have seen evidence of the wholesome effect of this ray of light shot into a dark place; and what is of high practical moment, is the motion of Lord Northbrook to raise the broad question of the equitable incidence of the Home Charges of the Government of India. The exact wording of the motion is "To call attention to the Home Charges of the Government of India in relation to the condition of the finances of India; and to move for papers."

Now, by way of showing how leaden are the feet of those who should bring financial equity to bear on the relations between India and her all-powerful master England, we will quote a sentence or two written nearly *forty* years ago by probably the first Anglo-Indian who drew public attention to this subject, the late Sir George Wingate, then Major Wingate, R.E. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Land Revenue system, and perhaps the most clear-sighted economist who ever dealt with the Indian problem: this is what he said at that period regarding the Home Charges—then a mere bagatelle of three millions or so, as compared with the sixteen millions of to-day:

Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case the taxes collected from the population at large are paid away to the portion of the population engaged in the service of Government, through whose expenditure they are again returned to the industrious classes. . . . But the case is wholly different when the taxes [or revenues including that from the land] are not spent in the country from which they are raised. . . . As regards its effects on national productions the whole amount might as well be thrown into the sea as transferred to another country; for no portion of it will return from the latter to the taxed country in any shape whatever. Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India. . . . Let the reader picture to himself what the present condition of India would have been had the eighty or ninety millions of Indian taxes [or revenues] transferred to this country [the United Kingdom] in the present century been spent in India upon reproductive public works, calculated to augment the producing powers of that country. . . .

Since 1859, when the above was published, another 350 millions sterling have been thus drawn from India and expended here to the national gain of the United Kingdom. We ask those who approach this subject in the fresh light that has been thrown upon it by the incident in the House of Peers we have described above, to "picture to themselves" what this enormous withdrawal of revenue from India means in the economic sense

as stated by Wingate. It will suffice for a first lesson. Details can be gone into later on.

Here are two propositions to serve as texts for investigation—(a) as remarked by a certain political leader (at Ealing on March 8), in reference to an infinitely smaller subject, “the richer partner may well bring its resources to the help of the poorer partner”: (b) the time has come, is indeed long overdue, when the British Treasury should, and must take some appreciable share in sustaining the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom—every shilling of which has hitherto been borne by India alone.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

We have received the following copy of “A Bill to Provide for the simultaneous holding in India and the United Kingdom of the First Examinations for Appointments to the Civil Services of India,” which has been prepared by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., and his English Colleagues in Parliament, Messrs. Schwann, Caine and Birkmyre :

“WHEREAS it is just and expedient that all competitive examinations for Civil appointments in India, heretofore held in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland only, should for the future be simultaneously held in India also :

“Be it therefore enacted by the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

“1. All examinations heretofore held in England for the selection of candidates for any branch of the Civil Services in India shall henceforth be held also simultaneously at one or more appropriate centres in India, the examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners :

“Provided always, that nothing in this Act shall preclude Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India in Council from framing from time to time and enforcing such rules as to the subsequent training of the successful candidates, whether in England or India, prior to their actual admission to the Service, as may to him seem fitting.

“2. This Act may be cited as the Civil Services Examinations (India) Act, 1893.”

The Memorandum which accompanies the Bill is very much on the lines of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1892.

PAPERS OF THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS (LISBON, 1892).

Since we noticed in our last number (p. 231) the first set of 10 papers then printed and issued by the Organizing Committee of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, we have received the second set of 10 more papers, which we now have the pleasure of describing. A list of the two sets, forming 20 pamphlets of varying thickness, will be found in our advertisements (p. v.).

1. Professor G. Vasconcellos-Abreu has published (in French and

Portuguese on alternate pages) a full report of his speech in June, 1892, justifying the Geographical Society of Lisbon in their acceptance of the duty of organizing the Tenth Congress at Lisbon, which, though its actual meeting was prevented by the cholera scare, is considered as held, in consequence of the number and importance of the papers which had already been received, and which are now being issued by the Committee. The learned professor's close reasoning in favour of the Statutes of Paris (1873), and his statement of several important facts regarding the schism among Orientalists, render it a very interesting paper.

2. Senhor F. Assis Clemente's paper, entitled *Le Droit Vatoua*, gives a most interesting and only too short account of the laws and legal processes of what he calls a savage tribe, but which has certainly attained to an uncommon amount of common-sense in the management of their legal matters—to a greater amount of it, in fact, than many civilized states.

3. Professor J. Leite de Vasconcellos gives a short paper on the various religions which have, at various times, prevailed in Portugal, and which he divides into Prehistoric, Proto-Historic, and Lusso-Roman. On the first he has nothing to say; on the second little, partly guessed and partly verified by monumental and other records. The third he considers a mixture of the gods of the second period with those of the Romans and other peoples. As a short conclusion, he says that Christianity next followed; and after claiming the Spaniard St. Damasus as a Portuguese, pretends to find in some Christian practices a savour of ancient paganism.

4. Senhor Candido de Figueiredo's paper on Penalties in the Code of Manu, first traces the antiquity of that code to the thirteenth century B.C.; and then proceeds to furnish details of the crimes, judges, processes, and punishments ordained by that code. The code, as is well known, discloses a high degree of civilization already attained, a perfect gradation of society formed, and a regular system of jurisprudence in practice.

5. The gruesome paper (noticed in our last issue) on "Man as a Medicine," translated by Senhor Demetrio Cinatti, Portuguese Consul at Canton, from Dr. MacGowan, is now followed by a more horrible and blood-curdling description, from the same source, of one of the many ways in which Chinese ingenuity and science have been prostituted for purposes of gain, to the infliction of the most revolting cruelties. It tells of an application of the principle of transplanting the skin to the exchange of a human being's own skin for that of some animal, say a dog, and the subsequent change of the human being into the semblance of that animal, by the addition of other atrocious cruelties.

6. Professor G. Vasconcellos-Abreu, in a lengthy paper which, with its preface and index, may rather be called a book, presents some erudite commentaries on certain passages from Camoens' "*Lusiad*." Those dealing with Oriental geography and mythology, and at first sight rather legendary or imaginary, are shown by the learned Sanskrit Professor of Lisbon to be very exact and truthful, and to coincide with what we have since learned on the subjects. The conquest of Ceylon and its conversion to Buddhism are specially treated; and there is an excellent illustration reproduced from the Ajanta caves.

7. "The Village Communities of Goa" is the title of a paper by C. R. da Costa, in which, after a short historical sketch of the well-known indestructible village system of India, he proceeds to quote from Maine, and then details the state of affairs connected with the system which the Portuguese found established at Goa and sanctioned with their approbation, in September, 1526. Over the village council he finds the Provincial Council, which was formed of one deputy from each village community. These two assemblies he compares to the local and national Legislations in the United States, but points out essential differences. He makes good use of Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*, but persistently speaks of him as Mr. Sumner Maine. His details of village arrangements and composition are good and interesting, if not new.

8. Professor A. K. Fabricius treats with much erudition the question as to what the Norsemen (Norwegians) knew regarding Spain. He recounts three voyages to Spain at three distinct times, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first by St. Olaf, somewhat legendary, brings him to the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula; the second by Sigurd, the son of Magnus, makes him visit (and fight in) Spain and the Balearic Islands *en route* to Sicily and the Holy Land; and the third is the more peaceful journey of Christina, daughter of Hako IV., to be married to a brother of Alfonso X.: she was accompanied by Bishop P. de Hamar, A. Nicolasson, and a suite of 120 persons.

9. The same learned Professor contributes a similar paper on the first Norman invasion of Muhammadan Spain, in 844, when the barbarous marauders took Seville and ineffectually tried to burn down its mosque; but were eventually repelled with much slaughter by Abdurrhman II. The various accounts left by three Arabic authors, and by several Spaniards who followed them, are given and commented upon with much critical judgment.

10. The Secretary of the Tenth Congress, Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, contributes another Bibliographical sketch of his series of Portuguese Discoverers and Discoveries, of which one—that on Diogo Cão—was noticed in our last number. This one is on Diogo d'Azambujo; it is quite a volume in itself—85 pages. It traces the parentage and life of its subject, his voyages and government on the north-west coast of Africa, his acts there, his retirement, and his descendants. The remainder of the *brochure* contains a number of documents illustrating the family and life of Diogo.

We have received the continuation of Pandit Gopalacharlu's valuable article on "Sea Voyages by Hindus," which we propose to deal with in connection with the masterly treatment of the same subject by the learned Principal of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, Pandit Maheshchandra Nyaratna, in a paper sent to the Lisbon Oriental Congress of 1892.

As we are going to Press we have received an interesting account from Mr. R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., of further discoveries regarding the existence of a Dwarf race not only in Morocco, but, nearer home, in the Pyrenees near Barcelona and elsewhere in Spain. We hope to be able to publish this account in our next issue.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—In Parliament, we note the absolute silence, in the Speech from the Throne, on India and its severe Monetary crisis, though ministers did not fail to whine over the depression of trade. An important Indian debate in the Lords will be found *in extenso* elsewhere. In the Commons, questions have been asked regarding the Russian incursion into the Pamirs, on which negotiations are proceeding, with little chance of speedy termination;—the Burmo-Chinese frontier delimitation, which is now being negotiated in London;—the Indian Currency Commission report, which is not yet presented;—and Trial by Jury in Bengal, which has been referred to a Commission for an immediately expected Report. The Indian budget has been presented to-day (23rd March) at Calcutta, showing a deficit for 1892-93 of Rx. 1,081,900, and estimating another deficit of Rx. 1,595,100 for the coming year, to meet which a loan of Rx. 3,000,000 will, probably, be raised. It is also believed that the Secretary of State will draw bills for £18,700,000 during next year, and that he will raise a loan of £1,300,000 to discharge Railway Debentures.

The Indian Government itself has till the present taken no action whatever in the Currency question, the deferring of which costs India £12,000 a week loss on the Home Charges alone, and about five times that amount on her trade transactions. While an important deputation of Civil servants and gentlemen of all classes has waited on Lord Lansdowne to urge action in the matter, Lord Roberts has addressed him specially on its effects upon the Army. This most important matter being neglected, the Legislative Council is engaged with many Bills, not calling for special mention here. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria is travelling and has been received with the traditional welcome of India; also the Duke of Braganza. The winter

rains have been neither plentiful nor general ; and Madras, already in distress, especially in the Tinnevely, Tanjore, Carnatic, Madura and Central districts, had relief works already begun, but the outlook is now better, as some rain has fallen. Other districts that have felt the want of rain and consequent strain are Lahore, Sialkot and Umballa in the Punjab ; Dera Ghazi Khan is reported to be in distress ; and in Chingleput fortnightly reports are called for ; the harvest has been poor and fodder is becoming exhausted.

The Bombay command, vacated by the resignation of Sir George Greaves, is given to Lt.-General Sir John Hudson, K.C.B., whose service includes the Persian, Mutiny, Abyssinian, Afghan and Egyptian wars. Some Maxim guns, of the same calibre as the Martini-Henry, have been received for field Service. Lord Roberts is to have a statue in Calcutta. Rs. 300,000 are sanctioned for grass farms in the Punjab ; and for Dairy farms at Meerut, Lucknow, Umballa, Cawnpore, Quettah and Peshawur Rs. 4,000 each, and Rs. 2,000 at Campbellpur. Rs. 550,000 are sanctioned for erecting accommodation at Fiddin, Fort White, Falon and Haka in Burma.

The prosperity of India is shown in the return of Savings Banks, which last year numbered 6,442, with a deposit of Rs. 88,850,000, bearing interest Rs. 3,000,000 ; the increase in depositors being 55,000, and in deposits Rs. 820,000. The Indo-European Telegraph Service has been separated from the Indian Telegraph Department, as proposed by the Viceroy and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. In India nearly 100 new Telegraph offices were opened.

The present convention with Italy for the conveyance of the Indian Mails has been extended for 5 more years.

The 8th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta, under the Presidency of W. C. Bannerji of Calcutta, when speeches were made and business discussed and resolutions passed of the usual kind. The Resolution regarding the exchange question was of a rather retrograde nature. A hospital was opened at Lucknow.

Among works of public utility, the Indus is being re-surveyed from the Punjab borders to the sea, owing to many changes in its bed. Karachi harbour has been deepened for vessels up to 25 feet in the S. W. Monsoon, and 27 ft. in the fine season, still leaving 2 ft. of water under the ships in the latter, and 4 ft. in the former, cases. A Railway line was opened between Bangalore and Doddballapur, and 24 miles of the Godra-Rutlam line. Lord Lansdowne has sanctioned, with a free grant of land, 2 French Railway lines from British territory to French ports on the E. Coast of India, which will seriously injure the prosperity of Cuddalore and Negapatam; while to make matters worse for the Madras Presidency, he has stopped the works on the Godavery Bridge (East Coast Ry.) in spite of the urgent appeal of the Governor of Madras in Council.

Waterworks are being actively taken up. The Imperial irrigation grant for 1893-94 is Rs. 7,500,000; *à propos* of which Sir T. McIlwraith of Brisbane has been travelling in India to study the irrigation system, and apply it, if possible, to the wants of Australia. Seven irrigation parties are at work on tanks in the districts of Madura, Tinnevely, Salem, North Arcot, Chingleput, Kistna and Vizagapatam.

Sanction has been given to various Railway grants up to the total of Rs. 393,500,000.

The Portuguese Goa Government paid Rs. 600,000 to meet the interest on the Mirmagao Railway. From the Bombay Presidency, a Mahar sentenced to death for a murder, at Sattara, successively appealed to the Governor, the Viceroy, and finally to her Majesty under sect. 401 of the Criminal procedure. It was the first appeal of the kind, and the Empress of India graciously commuted the sentence to life-imprisonment, as a special act of mercy. In Kathiawar a gang of 12 dacoits was destroyed, but with the sad loss of Lt. Gordon and 4 sepoys. In the Central Provinces, 7 posts have been opened to the Provincial Civil Service: 1 head of District, 2 Small Cause Court judges, 1 Registrar, 1 Settlement officer, and 2 Assistant Commis-

sioners. At Madras, a native scholar will probably succeed Prof. Gustav Oppert in the Sanskrit chair. In Bengal, the Lt.-Governor's regulations regarding trial by jury have been severely criticised by both Europeans and natives; the question has been referred to a Commission, with Mr. Justice Prinsep as President. The Bengal Municipalities Bill, with its more objectionable clauses omitted, has been postponed for consideration by the re-organized Council. For the practical application of the late Indian Councils' Act, Government has published some details at last. The principle of election is restricted to the presentation of candidates, the final nomination resting with Government. Bengal is given as the model on which all the others will be founded. It will have the maximum number of 20 additional members (10 officials); the Calcutta Corporation, other Corporations and District boards, and Associations of merchants will propose 6 members, the University Senate 1 member, and 3 other members will be nominated by the Lt.-Governor so as to secure the fair representation of all classes;—one member to represent landowners. The Viceroy's Council will be reorganized for work on return to Calcutta next season, on similar lines. Four Provincial Councils will send representatives; Commerce and the Bar will have one each. Other details are not yet out. Sir C. Crossthwaite has been touring in the N.W. Provinces, and has held an important durbar at Jhansi. Trout are again being cultivated in the Doon. Lord Roberts made his final tour in the Punjab, and with the Commander-in-Chief of Nepal as his guest, was present at the Muridki Camp of Exercise. The discovery of thefts of rifles from the Ferozpur Arsenal, and the finding of 5,000 Martini-Henry's (presumably stolen) at Sealkote, recalls a parallel case at Agra in 1865. An important find of Roman coins is reported from Pakli (Punjab). The division of the Civil Service into Imperial and Provincial is being applied to the Educational Department of the Punjab, where also no less than 8 municipalities have had to be closed.

From the Native States, we have to record the coming of the Maharaja of Kapurthala to England, and the visits paid to the Governor-General by the Maharajas of Mysore and Gwalior and the Zamorin of Cochin ;—the suspension for inefficiency of the Thakur of Malia ;— and the formation, by the Rao of Kutch, of a camel-corps of 200 for the Imperial Defence forces. We have to congratulate the Maharaja Thakur of Bhaonagar on the auspicious double marriage of his son and daughter. The Nawab of Dacca has given Rs. 6,000 for Boarding houses for students of the Calcutta Medressch ; and the Dewan of Dumraon Rs. 75,000 to be spent in works of public utility. Such private gifts in 1891 amounted to Rs. 275,000 ; in 1890, to 350,000 ; and in 1889, to Rs. 650,000. Mysore and Baroda are both energetically pushing on Education. The Gaekwar has opened 300 new schools. Several financial changes have been made in Hyderabad, with a reduction of salaries, personal assistants and under-secretaries. V. Subraman Pillay, late first judge of the Appeal Court, has been made Dewan of Cochin. The Secretary of State declined to interfere with the sentence of death on Major Ramchunder of Ulwar, for the murder of Kunj Behari Lall.

Bulandkhel was occupied by a brigade ; and the Kurram Valley affairs still await permanent settlement. Umra Khan of Jandol has been fighting the Nawagis, but has been repulsed in his encroachments on Chitrál, where Nizam-ul-Mulk maintains himself as Mihtar, and where Dr. Robertson has arrived, after much delay, as Resident. Severe fighting, with great comparative loss on both sides, has occurred at Chilás, which we notice elsewhere.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has sent a very friendly letter, but has not yet been able to see his way to a meeting. He has been seriously ill ; but now is again well. He has continued his occupation of Asmar, and has a new post in Chaman. The Press Reports regarding him are fully disposed by an ex-Frontier Official elsewhere in this issue. Colonel Yate has been appointed Commissioner to

meet a Russian officer for the demarcation of the Affghan and Russian limits on the River Kushk.

Rs. 16,000 have been sanctioned for the extension of tramways in the Andaman Island.

It has been decided that the Administration of the Lushai Hills—exclusive of Chitagong and Arakan—is to pass to Assam. The Lushais are gradually being pacified and disarmed. A Public meeting was held at Rangoon protesting against the present judicial system, under which judges sometimes hear appeals against their own decisions in the lower courts; a resolution was passed advocating the establishment of a High Court.

Good coal has been discovered near Mandalay. An attack by the Kachins has developed into quite a little frontier war, which is scarcely yet concluded. The Kachins, Chins, Siyins and Nwangals had all joined in the trouble, but they are gradually being brought into subjection. There was a good deal of fighting, and among our losses we note the death of Captain Morton. Further extension of our frontiers has been prohibited east of the Irrawadi. General Dormer has visited Burma in an official tour. The Chief Commissioner has gone to meet the Viceroy, regarding the assessment of land, which, being high, is causing much dissatisfaction.

In JAPAN, the dead-lock between the House of Representatives and the Government has for the time being been ended by some concessions on the Budget; but the situation is still critical. A revision of the treaties is demanded, with regard to consular jurisdiction. The Emperor had to intervene between the Opposition and the Ministry, and to solve one of the difficulties granted £60,000 out of his privy purse towards the naval estimates, and ordered a reduction of official salaries 10% for the same object. A charge of \$2 is to be made in future on passports to British subjects. A great fire at Osaka has destroyed 275 houses with a loss of 125 lives; 30,000 spindles were burnt down. Among the votes passed

by the Diet was one for \$16,000,000 for the navy, to be spread over 7 years. A re-assessment was passed which will diminish the revenue by \$3,750,000; this will be met by new duties, especially on tobacco.

In CHINA, the Emperor, in receiving the new British Minister, alluded most cordially to his former residence in that country. An incipient riot at Nankin, occasioned by the operation of fitting a glass eye to a boy, was checked by the officials and the arrival of a gunboat. Another riot occurred at Ichang, owing to a grave having been disturbed in digging for foundations. A terrible outrage, at a feast, is reported from Karuli, in the Shin-hing district, where a band of robbers set fire to the sheds, burning or suffocating 1,400 women and children, and plundering to the extent of many thousands of taels. Two great breaches have occurred in the banks of the Yellow River, causing great loss. Prince Biasemsky having travelled during 18 months in China and Tonquin has passed through Siam and Burma, and reached Manipur. Chinese negotiations continue for the withdrawal of Russians from the Chinese Pamirs.

The Amir of BOKHARA and the Khan of KHIVA have visited St. Petersburg and been received with much honour and many presents; the conditions on which they return to their governments are yet unknown. In PERSIA 30 versts of Railway are reported to be complete from Teheran to Kum; but the project is said to be near abandonment. A British Meteorological Observatory has been established at MUSCAT. From TURKEY we learn that the Railway section from Polatto to Angora was opened on the 31st December; and that its extension, Eskisher to Konieh, has been granted to the German Syndicate of Herr Kaulla. The Tithes which guarantee the interest of the Railway extension will be collected by the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt. The Government has also granted to Edhim Bey, for 30 years, the irrigation of the Jaffa plain, for £3,000 a year, which sum will be spent in charity and in helping other public works.

IN EGYPT the mixed tribunal at Alexandria dismissed the suit questioning the right of the Company to allow Petroleum in bulk to pass through the Canal. Two attacks of Dervishes were repulsed at Wadi Halfa. The municipal concessions mentioned in our last Summary were, like other good proposals, blocked by France and Russia. The serious illness of Mustapha Fahmi Pasha, from which we are glad to say he is quite recovered, was made the occasion for the summary dismissal of the ministry, and the appointment of Anti-English ministers. Under pressure from England, a satisfactory modification was made in the new ministry, while, to obviate evil consequences from the excited state of public feeling, the British garrison was re-inforced. The Egyptian Army, of 11,000 men, is thus distributed: 5,200 at the Upper Nile, 2,100 at Suakim, 3,900 at Cairo and Alexandria. Of the 3,300 British troops, $\frac{2}{3}$ were at Cairo; there was only 1 squadron of cavalry, and no artillery. The Khedive has made a generous present of mummies to the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and St. Petersburg. The returns for 1892 give the revenue at £10,623,000, expenditure at £9,835,000, leaving a surplus of £788,000, or £224,000 over the estimate. The receipts from Railways and all indirect taxes show an increase. The taxes remitted in 3 years amount to £700,000 and the *corvée*, now abolished, represents £750,000 more. At the request of the British Minister, Riáz Pasha has warned the most violent of the native newspapers, whose tone was calculated to do harm.

The French Government, to promote the colonization of ALGIERS, offers to convey French fishermen to their African possessions, and to house them there, free.

Sir Joseph West Ridgeway has replaced Sir C. Euan-Smith in MOROCCO. The accidental death, in a riot, of a British subject—a native of Gibraltar—led to a combined protest of the foreign representatives at Tangiers, with the result that the Sultan paid £1,000 as compensation, and

censured his minister. Another mission to Fez is on the point of starting. 'Hmam has been captured. The Angerites demand the removal of the present Basha. There were contradictory reports of fighting in Wazan, the Shereef of which was said to have appealed to France, and on visiting the Sultan to have been censured for so doing. Troops are being concentrated at Wazan.

Returns from the Oil Rivers' Protectorate give Imports at £748,423 (of which £580,177 were British, Dutch and German, each £80,000), and Exports at £780,139, being chiefly Palm oil, India rubber, ebony and ivory, which are said to be only "a little out of the inexhaustible products of the locality." The customs returns, however, show a strange state of advancing civilization. Rum and gin from Germany and Holland were £57,907; guns and powder, from England and Holland, were £10,000. Thus out of £87,696, fully £67,907 were for direct instruments of destruction. Add £17,440 for tobacco; and there are left, for all the rest, only £2,329. Belgium, England, France, Germany and Portugal seem to be the only countries responsible for the great quantities of arms and ammunition entering Africa, and steps should be taken to suppress this particular trade, without which that of the slaves cannot be maintained. The Egbas, at one time refusing both treaty and a resident, have concluded a treaty in January; the governor is to judge all disputes.

The French have found Dahomey a hard nut to crack. The 9,000,000 frcs. already spent have had to be supplemented with other 5 millions. In the expedition itself, out of 75 officers, 24 were killed and 17 wounded. Many desertions are reported among the French troops. Behanzin however is at large, and in force, northward. The expedition is said to have violated the graves of several Dahomey Kings, in the hope of finding treasures. Some Germans were arrested for the sale of arms; but as they seemed to have deserved their fate, the incident was amicably closed between France and Germany.

The CONGO State has begun to import Chinese labour to its west coast. One of its officers has penetrated to Wadalai and Lado, which are said to be out of the Congo State range and in that of British influence: he was expected to be attacked by the Mahdi. Captain Ponthier who had commanded his vanguard, after staying 3 months at Brussels has returned, it is said, with important instructions. Commandant Dhanis, on the Lomani, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Arabs commanded by Tippu Tib's son. Mr. Jacques had been reinforced, via the Zambezi and Shere, and combined action with Arab chiefs was expected to be taken against Rumaliza to avenge the late massacres. A delimitation had been agreed with France, the boundary being fixed by the Mbomu and its tributary the Schink which comes from the Behr and Ghazal territory and falls into the Mbomu near Bungassa. Telegraphic communication has been opened between Germany and the CAMEROONS.

The CAPE COLONY returns for the half year show a revenue of nearly 2½ millions, being an increase of £125,000. There has been a marked increase all last year in fruit exportations to England. The imports for the whole year were £9,500,000, and the exports, including gold, nearly £12,000,000. £1,225,000 were rebated for transit customs, chiefly for the Transvaal. The South African Mint Conference closed its sittings, but its results are still secret. Railway communication was opened with Praetoria with the new year. The NATAL report for '91, '92 gives the revenue at £1,392,455, an increase of £73,686; the expenditure was £1,280,965,—a decrease of £112,931. The Responsible Government party had secured a majority of two; but the closeness of the contest and the manner of its close show that the parties for and against it are equally balanced. The Governor is in London arranging details at the Colonial Office. The future of Swaziland has been the subject of questions in the House, but nothing seems yet decided regarding it.

In the TRANSVAAL, President Kruger was re-elected by a large majority, but owing to some irregularities in the voting, the matter is not yet settled. The country had suffered much from floods. The Anglo-Portuguese delimitation in Manicaland, having been found impossible *in situ*, is progressing towards a solution in Europe, by the two Cabinets : the Biera Railway is progressing, 27 miles towards the goldfields being finished in February.

At ZANZIBAR, Mr. Rennell Rodd acts for Sir Gerald Portal. An arrangement has been made that the British Consular courts should try all cases in which British subjects are complainants or defendants, or both—a Kazi appointed by the Sultan acting as assessor. The sudden death of the Sultan was followed by the installation of Hamid Bin Thwain, grandson of Thwain, fourth brother of Sultan Sayad Burgash : the last two Sultans were the 2nd and 3rd brothers of Sayad Burgash ; an attempt by one of the princes to seize the palace being frustrated by the prompt landing of a party of British Bluejackets.

The Sultan of Unanyembe has placed himself under German protection. The Germans have had some severe fighting with Sikki, who fell in action. The Indian Government have sanctioned the employment in Central Africa of 1 officer, 1 Hospital attendant, and 100 Sikhs. Dr. Baumann reports explorations beyond Tanganyika, where he was received with great rejoicings, being taken for the last king, returned from the moon. Akenyaru and Mwarengo are rivers, not lakes. Precipitous wooded hills, called by the natives the Mountains of the Moon, form the watershed between the basins of the Rufizi and Kagera. As the Kagera is the chief feeder of the Victoria Nyanza, it is the real source of the Nile. Sir Gerald Portal is gone as Commissioner to Uganda with a staff and 250 Zanzibar soldiers. An outbreak of Somalis near Kismeya was suppressed by a party landed from the *Widgeon*. Captain Hohnel of the Austrian Navy and the Italian Captain Ferlandi are exploring E. Africa in Ethiopian regions, whence

another discovery is reported of dwarf tribes. Mr. Astor Chandler and party are exploring the Makenzie river (Tana), correcting previous observations: they have failed to find some places mentioned by Dr. Carl Peters.

The steamer meant for Lake Tanganyika has had to be launched on Lake Nyassa, the smaller steamer for which was sent back as two were not needed. Dr. Carl Peters unfortunately had his leg broken (at Cairo) by a kick from a horse. Baron von Soden on his retirement from East Africa was decorated with the cross of the "Red Eagle."

A return shows that AUSTRALIA contributes only £35,000 a year towards the prime cost of 5 cruisers and 2 torpedo boats, and £91,000 a year for the maintenance of 3 cruisers and 1 torpedo boat. The import of wines to Great Britain during 1892 was 461,007 gallons, an increase of 79,276 gallons over that of 1891. The Earl of Jersey, for private reasons, has resigned the Governorship of N. S. Wales, and has been succeeded by Mr. R. W. Duff, M.P. for Banffshire. In Victoria, the revenue for 8 months, £4,842,000, has decreased £330,000 chiefly in customs. A loan of £1,000,000 is floated in Australia, while £300,000 of 5% are to be "converted" in London. A vote of want of confidence having been passed, Mr. Shiels resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Patterson, who announced a deficit of £1,800,000, to be met by economy, increase of taxation, and imposition of taxes on what was still free from duties. Mr. Madden, Q.C., has replaced Chief Justice Higginbotham. The directors of the Mercantile Bank of Australia were prosecuted for a false balance-sheet, and found guilty. The Chamber of Commerce has passed a vote that as Federation is both a difficult and remote question, it is better practically to try for a Customs' Union. 500 tons of butter, valued at £35,000, have been exported. In S. Australia, the revenue for the half year amounted to £500,000, showing a decrease of £130,000, the receipts from Public works falling £100,000. There is a deficit of £220,000 for the half year; and a 3% loan of £1,182,400 is being

floated. At Lake Frome, five borings at depths of 1,500 ft. all gave salt water: four more borings are being tried. In New South Wales the quarterly return gave £1,508,000, an increase of £460,000. The heavy financial deficit—£402,000, for this and £56,000 for last quarter—necessitated the withdrawal of the Estimates for reconsideration. Sir Henry Parkes' vote of censure was rejected by a majority of 3 votes. Another vote of censure on Mr. Reid's financial policy was defeated by 68 to 61 votes. Sir E. Solomons, the Government leader in the Upper House, has retired. Sir G. Dibbs has objected to the officer nominated by the War Office to command in Australia, impertinently saying he wants a younger man. While retaining the Premiership, he has resigned his seat for Murrumbidgee owing to pecuniary difficulties. In Queensland there have been extensive and heavy floods, inundating over 400,000 square miles, and causing great loss and distress. Relief funds were started in England, Canada, etc. The half year's revenue, £1,953,000 shows an increase of £65,000, while the expenditure £1,723,600 has decreased by £44,300: the improvement is mainly due to economy and land sales. The customs return was given at £638,891, an increase of £79,226. The first ruby has been found in Queensland, a good specimen, valued at £75. The Griffith ministry has resigned, and the Hon. Muir Nelson is forming a new one. West Australia shows prosperity. The revenue for the quarter ending 31st December was £150,000 an increase on that quarter the year before, of £20,000, while for the entire year it was £540,000. an increase of £46,000. The expenditure was £350,000. The budget showed a credit balance of £100,000; and public works were to be undertaken.

Sir R. G. C. Hamilton, K.C.M.G., has been succeeded by Viscount Gormanston in the government of TASMANIA. The past year has not been one of prosperity to the colony, the revenue only £790,000, showing a

decrease of £94,000. On Maria Island, quite near, an inexhaustible carboniferous limestone deposit has been discovered, which makes into excellent Portland cement almost without any admixture or manipulation. The Fifth session of the Federal Council of Australia was opened at Hobart Town on the 26th of January; Sir S. Griffith, from Queensland, was elected President; only Victoria, Queensland, W. Australia and Tasmania were represented; and the meeting was not of much importance.

From NEW ZEALAND is announced the discovery of new goldfields in Otago, and what in the long run will probably be even better for the colony, a successful attempt to acclimatize lobsters. A similar attempt is being made with salmon. There has been a greater influx of emigrants than usual; and the receipts for the financial year, amounting to £2,940,000, show an increase of £80,000, leaving a clear surplus of £168,000, for the 11 months the Customs exceeded the estimate by £56,000. A destructive fire at Hastings, near Napier, caused a damage of £50,000.

In CANADA, the returns for the last fiscal year give the following results: Revenue \$36,340,000; Expenditure \$36,190,000; surplus \$150,000. The Exports stood at \$113,963,000. Those to the United Kingdom were \$65,000,000, to the United States \$41,000,000, the latter declining \$8,175,000, while the former increased by \$15,750,000. There was, however, a decrease in the Revenue of \$1,650,000, in the customs of \$3,000,000, on the Railways of \$500,000; but the Excise increased by \$1,000,000. The national debt was \$295,000,000 (an increase of \$5,000,000) with an annual interest of \$10,000,000. The Dominion still smarts at the restriction on cattle; and while it authoritatively declares that there is no Pleuropneumonia there, an influential meeting at Glasgow has backed up Canada's demand for the withdrawal of the order in Council. Among other returns we find that the 3,600 dozens of eggs exported to Great Britain in 1890 had in 1892 increased to 3,987,655 dozens: the increase in cheese being 22,000,000 lb., and in butter 4,000,236 lb.

The 1st consignment of Turkeys for Christmas (only one of many such) last exceeded \$50,000. The Budget Statement made in the middle of February, declared good prospects and a substantial surplus. Free trade was declared to be an impossibility as neither the revenue nor the Industries of Canada could stand the strain. The Government, however, favoured preferential trade with the British Empire; and though opposed to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, would accept any fair measure offered by them: we note that the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce have recorded a protest against any "Imperial Federation" modification of absolute Free Trade. The Franco-Canadian Steamship Co. offer a line of fast steamers between Rouen and Halifax, but the proposed new treaty with France is not yet concluded. Canada has removed the preferential canal tolls, which had given offence to the States; and these have, on remonstrance, removed the quarantine they had placed on Canadian cattle coming to Chicago. Severe weather had caused several blocks on the Pacific Railway, while many trains had been delayed. The NOVA SCOTIA Premier announced the purchase by a Boston Syndicate for 99 years of the Cape Breton Coal mines and said he preferred American to British Capital. The proposal passed both Houses; but good coal has been announced in other places near, which practically discounts the value of the acquisition. A return of shipping for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island shows an alarming decrease from 1884. Nova Scotia, 1884: vessels, 3,019; 1892, 2,740; decrease, 279. New Brunswick, 1884: vessels, 1,096; 1892, 946; decrease, 50. Prince Edward's Island, 1884: vessels, 243; 1892, 196; decrease, 47. This total decrease of 376 vessels made a decrease of 142,000 in the tonnage.

The Behring's Sea Arbitration continues to drag on. In January the two counter-cases were put in and two meetings of the Arbitrators took place at Paris on the 23rd February and the 23rd March. The United States demands are the declaration (1) that Russia had

exclusive rights, which (2) England recognised; and which (3) were passed on to the U. States by the cession of Alaska in 1867; that (4) the "Pacific" in the treaty of 1825 does not include the Behring's Sea; and (5) that all the past acts of the United States are justifiable and justified. They ask that England should be mulcted in compensation; and that even if they have not proprietary rights in the seal herds, an International obligation be imposed on England to prevent Pelagic sealing.

The NEWFOUNDLAND Ministry have split on the subject of last year's delegation, and Sir W. Whiteway the Premier has been placed in a minority. The operation of the Bait Act has just been suspended, and French, American and Canadian vessels can now purchase bait at Newfoundland ports on paying the license fee.

In the WEST INDIES, the Governor, Sir H. Blake, is relieved at his own request of the Presidency of the Jamaica Legislative Council, to the delight of both himself and people: Dr. Phillips is now President. The coffee crop is one of the best for many years. The import duties exceeded the estimate by £4,662. To a credit in hand of £243,987 was added the Revenue of 1891-92 = £590,611. The expenditure (including £28,998 for sinking funds and £600 for redemption of debts) was £639,864, leaving a credit to carry over of £194,734. The imports were £1,759,890—being 49% from the United Kingdom (decrease), 37·2 from the United States, 10·4 from Canada (great increase), and 3·4 from other countries. Exports were £1,722,096, being 32·7% to the United Kingdom, 50·9 to the United States, 3·5 to Canada, and 12·9 to other countries. In the Bahama Contempt of Court Case, the Privy Council decide that the Queen having the power to remit punitive sentences of "contempt of Court," has delegated it to the Governor; in the words of his commission. British Guiana export of Gold in 1892 was 121,358 oz. = £436,142.

Obituary.—We record with regret the death, during this quarter of H. H. Sir Ranjit Singhji; Raja of Rutlam; the infant Prince of Mysore, Devaraj Wadayar; J. R. Taylor,

C.B.,† the author of the present system of tabulation of wounds; the Hon. George Higginbotham, of Victoria; Genl. W. B. Price, R.A.;* Genl. W. Reid Martin;* A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G. of Ceylon; at Jerusalem the Chief Rabbi Raphael Meir Phanisel; Genl. Francis Young;* Gen. H. F. Kennedy;† Pundit Dharm Narain, C.I.E.; Genl. Conrad Hamilton;*† Genl. W. C. Anderson,† C.S.I. of the Bombay Legislative Council; Sir J. P. Grant, successively Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P. and of Bengal, during the mutiny, and Governor of Jamaica; Dr. Gottfried von Wagner, of the Tokio University; Sir P. B. Maxwell, of the Straits Settlements; Prof. Gustave Volkmar of Zurich; Col. Marmaduke Ramsay;* Col. T. W. Martin;* H. F. Blandford, F.R.S., Indian Meteorological Dept.; Prince Charles Alexander Edward Theodore of Abyssinia; Dr. David Cassel, a well-known writer on Hebrew literature; Sir James M'Culloch, K.C.M.G., of Victoria; Sir Augustus Fitzgerald, late Bengal Artillery; Sir Thomas Baker, K.C.B., who served in the Crimean, Mutiny, New Zealand, Ashanti, Afghan and Burma campaigns; Genl. S. J. A. Whitehall, who served in the 1st Afghan and Persian wars, and in the Mutiny; Thakur Haribal Amratram, late Prime minister of Radhanpur; Pestonji Hormuzji Cama, founder of the Cama Hospital, Bombay; Gen. George Burn who died at the age of 90, after 42 years of Indian service, including the China war; Kaid Bushta Bin Baghdadi, Basha of Fez; Genl. G. B. Mainwaring, the great authority on the Lepcha language; M. Crozet, the explorer of Massi; Ex-chief Kreli, of the Gulchas of Transkei; R. E. Minchin, Director of the Zoological gardens at Adelaide; Genl. A. L. Steele, Madras Army, who served in China; Gen. A. A. H. Gordon of the Hong Kong Police, who served in the Ashanti and Afghan Wars; Genl. Sir Henry Bates, K.C.B., who served in the first Sikh War;—Col. R. C. Cross;* Col. Hewitt Barnard, C.M.G.; Judge Kelly of Prince Edward Island.

23rd March, 1893.

* Served in the Mutiny. † Served in the Second Punjab War.

‡ Served in the Burma War.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, by J. D. BROUGHTON. (Westminster : A. Constable and Co., 1892 ; 6s.) This forms the fourth volume of Constable's new Oriental Miscellany. The letters (32 in number, making 262 pages) extend from December 1808 to February 1810, and give a plain, unvarnished, and therefore all the more agreeable account of the manners and customs of the then Maharaja Scindhia, his armies, and their contemporaries. Court intrigues and debauches, native feasts and customs, military manœuvres and insubordination, grinding tyranny and cruel devastation, bloody deeds and amusing incidents, descriptions of places and character sketches,—and, distinctly towering over all, the chronic state of abject impecuniosity, of camp-followers, soldiers, officers, chiefs,—and especially of Scindhia himself, the cause of that of all the others,—are told in a narrative, clear and simple, familiar and full. The book is most interesting and instructive, as a true picture of the times of Maharatta ascendancy in Rajputana, and it will be appreciated by all who love to read of the East and its ways. We single out descriptions of *Dharna* at p. 31,—of an *Akhara* or Pancratium at p. 162,—of a camp tumult and murder at p. 167. To mention all the strangely characteristic and telling incidents would be to indicate every third page. We recommend the book heartily to our readers. The map, the 10 illustrations quaint and life-like, and the general get-up of the book are very creditable to its enterprising publishers. It would have been an improvement had Mr. Broughton's quaint spelling of Indian words been corrected : it is vexing to find such things as *Muha Ray* for Maharaja perpetuated without any need. The innate interest of these letters needed no introduction ; least of all so insipid and colourless a one as Sir M. E. Grant-Duff has most unnecessarily given to it.

2. *Grammar of the Hindi Languages*, by S. H. KELLOGG, D.D. (London : Kegan Paul and Co., 1893 ; 21s.) We welcome the second edition of this grammar, which shows, on every page, the learned author's thorough and rare knowledge of the language and its various dialects. It is already a well-known standard work on the subject, and is the one used for the Civil Service examinations. It embraces everything requisite to be known, even by the advanced scholar, and goes into the fullest details of exceptions and variations ; and almost always with perfect accuracy. Dr. Kellogg has, however, been unfortunate in this, that in revising his first edition, he decided also on "enlarging" it. The reverse exactly was needed ; for when a grammar reaches 584 pages and 1,017 sections, besides numerous double and triple page inserts of paradigms, the most enthusiastic students of a language and the warmest admirers of the grammarian are forced to cry, "*Ohe ! jam satis !*" In fact, Dr. Kellogg's great faults are prolixity of style, redundancy of illustration, and wearisome reiteration of details. He also belongs to the class of grammarians who delight in multiplying diffi-

culties in the acquisition of knowledge, by introducing intricate elaboration of needless analysis. Take, for instance, Declensions of Nouns (pp. 95-133): cases are multiplied to no less than 8, whereas in Hindi, if we stick to real case, *i.e.*, inflection of a noun, there are only two in each number, the *casus rectus* and the *casus obliquus*. Of the case in *Nc.*—a peculiar form, generally called the “agent” case, he fails to give any better explanation than we had before. For the advanced student fuller grammatical and dialectic details are put in a smaller type than that which gives the essentials for beginners. But while admiring the learning and patience of the author, we would recommend his issuing a grammar for beginners by itself; and the curtailment of it as much as possible, not so much by omitting what he here gives, as by putting it in fewer words, using a simpler method and adopting a closer arrangement. As it stands at present, the work is sure to frighten beginners, though it is of value to advanced students, and a delight to masters of the language.

3. *School History of India*, by G. U. POPE, D.D. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892; 2s. 6d.) We are simply astonished at this book. Method in arrangement, accuracy of statement, and due proportion in treatment are all conspicuous by their absence. The first defect leads to frequent repetition and to unnatural disconnection of narrative. A glaring instance is the entire relegation of the first Sikh war from p. 233—its natural position—to p. 259, thus treating the reader, in chap. ix., to detailed consequences of an event related in chap. x. With inaccurate statements the pages simply bristle. Hodgson is put in the *Guides*, and slays the Princes “near Humayon’s tomb,” instead of the City Gate; a general massacre is related at Meerut, in 1857, which did not occur; and the last of the Moguls is credited with instigating a mutiny of which he was a mere tool. As a sample of undue proportion, compare the Barrackpur Mutiny at p. 213, with Bishop Cotton at p. 249. The book is, moreover, incomplete, closing with Lord Dufferin in 1888: and though the Punjab and Mysore needlessly have a separate chapter for each, the former ends with Lord Lawrence, and the latter with 1867. Even the Index is defective: Shiah and Sunnis have a reference to p. 54, where there is not a word about either. Sir W. Hunter’s scholarly “Brief History of the Indian Empire” leaves no room for this far inferior work.

4. *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, by SIR ALFRED LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. (London: John Murray. 1893; 4s. 6d.) This is an historical work of quite a different type from the preceding. It does not aim at being a detailed narrative. It is cast in the form of a systematic survey of the history of the British in India till the Company was replaced by the Empire, and of all the conditions, both European and Indian, which attended its progress to full development. Sir Alfred shows fully the antecedent and concomitant circumstances of European rivalry and warfare which are so much neglected in most histories of India. He rapidly groups together a series of events, and then discusses them and their surroundings with critical acumen and statesmanly knowledge. His narratives are terse and accurate, his sketches of character correct, vivid, and lifelike, his critical and political remarks valuable and sound; and occasionally he is

even novel, without being crotchety. Sir Alfred's well-written book deserves to be studied both in England and India: in the former, that England may realize the greatness of her task and obligation, and the best method of securing the loyal friendship of what will soon be a mighty nation; and in the latter, that India may not only revive her gratitude to England for what has been done in rescuing her from the anarchy of former times, but may also feel that her best friend and support among the nations of the earth is and will be the power whose rise is depicted in these pages, and proved to be a blessing to the country it governs. Sir A. Lyall's book deserves to be a great success.

5. *Early Bibles of America*, by JOHN WRIGHT, D.D. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892.) Well got up, with several *facsimile* title-pages, this book has evidently been a labour of love for the author, who, with great pains, tells us all that can be said regarding the various Bibles produced in America. Of course, in a country which, for Europe, *practically* dates from the sixteenth century, the word "Early" has a peculiar meaning. The first Bible noticed is Eliot's in "the Indian language," which must have been a strange rendering, judging from the title-pages, from some errors pointed out in this book, and especially from the fact that Mr. Eliot read an English Bible to an uneducated but English-speaking Indian, who seems to have given an off-hand translation of the same! This was in 1661. The Saur (German) Bible came in in 1743; the Aitken (English) in 1782; the Douai (English) in 1790. The word "early" now surely cannot suit the enumeration; in fact, Eliot's is the only edition to which it can, in any real sense, be applied. Dr. Wright, however, continues his lists to 1822. There is some curious reading in the book, and much to interest the Bibliophile: the ordinary reader will simply say—*Cui bono?*

6. *The Marquess of Hastings, K.G.*, by MAJOR J. ROSS of Bladensburg, C.B. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893. 2s. 6d.) This volume is the sixteenth already issued in the *Rulers of India Series*, edited by Sir W. W. Hunter; and it is deserving of a place among its predecessors, which though necessarily of varying merit, have nearly all reached a very high degree of excellence. Major Ross, too, has written, on the whole, a very good history of Lord Hastings and his times, though the want of personal acquaintance with India (as we had to notice also elsewhere in the Series) makes him fall into blunders, occasionally absurd: e.g. at p. 68 where Gwalior is made to lie "only 3 marches from the Doab, 5 from Delhi and 5 from Agra." There are many needless repetitions of the same statements and facts, and an occasional "bull" reveals the author's nationality; but he has a good grasp of his subject and does it ample justice. The biographical part of the book is unusually full for this series: Lord Hastings' character is well sketched; and the events in which he took part before going to India are succinctly described. The then state of India,—the policies of different leading personages,—the players who divided the stage between them,—the clashing interests of rivals,—the turbulence and irregularities which characterized the time, land, and people are all vigorously and well portrayed. The book is not only important as one in an excellent series, but is interesting also in itself. Major Ross does not fail to paint Lord

Hastings as a good object-lesson to Secretaries of State who wish to rule India from England over the shoulders of more competent officials and statesmen on the spot. Lord Hastings, who in England had condemned the vigour and imperialism of Lord Wellesley, had no sooner reached India, than his eyes were opened, and he carried out with equal vigour what he had before tried to prevent. Major Ross is not quite candid in his criticisms on the military operations in India undertaken by Lord Hastings, who was directly responsible for the minute subdivision of the army, that, as much by chance and by extraordinary prowess on which no one should have counted, destroyed the Pindaris. Nor is our author felicitous in his use of language. Holkar and Scindhia, the Bhonsla and the Peshwa were doubtless foolish in waging war against the British forces; but to talk of "rebellion," "revolt" and "insurrection," in their case, shows that Major Ross has not understood the then independent condition of these chiefs. These blemishes should disappear in the second edition, which we hope this volume will reach, as most of its predecessors have done.

7. *Church and State in India*, by SIR THEODORE C. HOPE, K.C.S.I. (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1893; 6d.), is a pamphlet the importance of which must not be gauged by its size or price. Its 48 pages of closely printed 8vo. contain an Introduction, Statistics, the existing system of State aid, its disadvantages and shortcomings, and the proposal of a new System. Sir Theodore is, of course, a special pleader, and his brochure has the defects of the special pleader—it is unfair and onesided. For instance, making at p. 7 a comparison of the rates of increase of Christians and of the general population, he gives the former at 22·65 and the latter at 13·1 per cent. But the important fact is omitted that the 22·65 is got by comparing the Christians of *India in 1881* with the Christians of *India + Burma in 1891*. Removing this undue addition, the increase is only 15·005:—quite another pair of shoes. He is unfair, too, in the general statement that state aid is given to all denominations. Here details should follow, but do not: for Anglicanism has special favour. Take as an instance the low salaries, arbitrary restrictions and unjust deprivations of pensions of the Catholic Chaplains to troops in India, as compared with Anglican and Presbyterian Chaplains. Hence the statement, at p. 41, that all religions are concurrently endowed, is not the entire truth: one of them gets a great deal more than its share. Of late, too, a deliberate effort is being made to raise the Anglican Church, (which according to Sir Theodore himself has less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Christians of India) to the dignity of an established State Church. While nothing else is allowed to be done for other denominations, beyond what was done some 40 years ago, the Anglican establishment has increased, partly at least with Government aid and taxpayers' money, to an unjust and uncalled for extent. At the late consecration of a needless Bishop of Lucknow, 12 Anglican Bishops were present—mostly Government officials,—when 40 years ago there were only 3; and no more than 3 seem needed by the comparatively few members of this Church. Sir Theodore now advocates a new system of concurrent endowments. For the details of his project

we refer our readers to this pregnant and important pamphlet, pp. 45-47. His work deserves to be carefully read, though we disapprove of any State aid, in the peculiar circumstances of India; and we would much rather see the voluntary system adopted, especially by the rich Anglican community in India.

8. *Notes on the Indian Currency*, by J. TEALE. (Manchester and London: John Heywood, 1892; 1s.) is a small pamphlet of less than 16 pages, dealing with the question of the Indian exchange; but it fails to detail any practical plan for its improvement and settlement, though it suggests that the Indian Rupee should be restored to its value of 1870. There are several inaccuracies and fallacies; as, e.g. at p. 13 the hackneyed statement that a falling exchange is profitable to India, up to a certain point. Still the brochure should be read by all who are interested in this great question, as it is only by full and ample discussion that the public can hope for that thorough knowledge of the subject, without which all temporary shifts are but ventures in the dark.

9. *Chinese Stories*, by ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 12s. 6d.) While the publishers here give us a well-printed, well-illustrated and well-bound volume, Professor Douglas presents, in the nine tales and two poems which it contains, a delicious treat quite racy of true Chinese flavours. The selection is varied and attractive, the style excellent and full without being tediously prolix in detail, and the descriptions accurate and graphic. Prof. Douglas's Chinese think, act and live very like real Chinese. His remarks on their ways and idiosyncrasies interspersed in the tales, like the excellent introduction in which he deals with the early Chinese literature of this class, are, as might be expected from the learned Professor, the touches of a master. Different kinds of readers will be attracted by different tales in this set—only the first, we hope, of a Series. Each has its own peculiarity. Specially entertaining we found *the Twins*, *A twice married couple*, *How a Chinese B.A. was won*, and its sequel *Le Ming's Marriage*. Best of all perhaps in its quaint life-like details and its natural human pathos is *A Chinese Girl Graduate*. We cordially invite all our readers to share the pleasure we have enjoyed in the perusal of this delightful book, in which positively the only defect requiring remedy in future editions is the appearance of a very few verbal inaccuracies—e.g. "these kind."

10. *Letters from South Africa*, by "THE TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 3s.) These graphic letters, which drew so much attention when first published in *The Times*, are here reproduced in the form of a 116-page book. The first letter gives a description of the Kimberley diamond mines and the condition of its workers, both white and black, which puts the place in a most attractive light, and forms a splendid contrast to the squalor and misery of mines nearer home. From Kimberley to the Transvaal and on to Pretoria and Bloemfontein, through Basutoland and on to King William's Town and Peitermaritzburg, we are treated to the same picturesque descriptions of scenery, life, and manners; while shrewd observations on present wants and future prospects combine to present a very enjoyable book, whence

one learns much regarding a little known country and the problems in it already crying lustily for solution.

11. *The A.B.C. of Foreign Exchanges*, by GEORGE CLARE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 3s.) These lectures, delivered to the Institute of Bankers, are what they profess to be, a clear exposition of the principles of Exchange, regarding which much ignorance is found, even among many who claim to be authorities on the subject. Hence while absolutely necessary for those who enter the money market as professionals, they will be extremely valuable to the general reader; for Exchange is a matter which even the general public should now try to be practically versed in. To our readers this book will be more particularly interesting, as it concerns the practical question of Indian Exchange and currency. Not that the author condescends to give even a little space to the professional discussion of that question, the main difficulty of which lies in the determination of English financiers (idiotically supported by Secretaries of State and Governors-General) to screw the last possible farthing out of India. But the very principles which our author demonstrates clearly show that the obstacles to the rehabilitation of the Indian Exchange lie in easily removable circumstances, such as the closing of India to absurdly easy free coinage of silver, the coining of sovereigns in India, and the cessation of the sale of Council Bills in London. If you wish to see for yourself how artificial is the set made against the Indian Exchange, apply Mr. Clare's principles, as laid down in this book, to the well-known but unconsidered facts of the enormous surplus of India's exports over her imports.

12. *Four Months in Persia, and a visit to Trans-Caspia*, by C. E. BIDDULPH, M.A., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892; 3s. 6d.) This acute traveller and facile writer relates his short journey through Persia in 1891, next giving a shorter statement of what he had seen in Trans-Caspia in 1890. The book, as the author states in his short preface, is chiefly compiled from his contributions to several periodicals, including the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Among the points well brought out by our author are the inconveniences of travel in Persia, increased in his case by neglect or contempt of appliances which more careful or fastidious travellers make it a point to secure,—the glaring evils of the Persian theory and practice of governing, neither few nor small,—the scantiness of the resources of Persia, and the smallness of its population,—its want of roads and dearth of mineral wealth. He makes shrewd remarks, draws sound conclusions, and gives excellent topographical and geographical descriptions. His style is plain, flowing, humorous, and pleasant. His Review of Troops at Teheran is excellent (p. 25). His strictures on the Armenians at Julfa—equally applicable to Armenians everywhere,—show a just appreciation of the characteristics of that race. There is little to find fault with in Mr. Biddulph, except his repeated comparisons of things Persian with things Indian, which he too often concludes with hits against the native States of India, as unjust as they are out of place. *E.g.*, at p. 93 he says "Our cantonments are crowded with the warehouses of native merchants, who have taken refuge there from the lawlessness and misrule rampant on all sides when once the boundary between British and Native territory has

been overstepped." This is distinctly incorrect, now, when most Native States are as well governed as our own territories. To note a few—what fault can he find with Baroda or Bhaonagar,—Indore, Jeypore, or Mysore? Though Persia is comparatively old ground, Mr. Biddulph gives several new items, as, *e.g.*, the great Salt Plain; and his geographical and ethnological remarks are interesting. In Trans-Caspia, however, he touches a country but little known, and regarding which the desire for information is not quenched by over abundance of material. Hence the greater importance of this part of our author's book, which gives the actual state of affairs, as far as Bokhara. Mr. Biddulph declares the country incapable of acting as a base of military operation against India; but he looks habitually through a pair of strong Russophile spectacles. We recommend his book of travels as extremely interesting and pleasant to read.

13. *The Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, translated by Major C. R. CONDER. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, published by A. P. Watt, 1893; 5s.) The full historical importance of the 320 clay tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in 1887 is only now brought fully home to the general reader by Major Conder's translation. These letters addressed to 2 Egyptian Kings, by their allies and officers in Asia, under various circumstances, date from about 1480 B.C. Perhaps the deepest impression they leave on the mind is the early and persistent adoption of oriental flattery and hyperbolic exaggeration. A more important matter, however, is the direct confirmation they give to the historical narratives of Scripture, in their few points of contact. Numerous geographical identifications form another important result. A few of the letters treat of events that seem to square with the invasion of southern Palestine by the Hebrews, whom Major Conder identifies with the 'Abiri; and various Biblical names certainly occur in them. The point lies in the coincidence of these letters with the time given in Scripture. Major Conder thinks they also prove that the Hittites were Mongols, a conclusion from which many will differ. A deeper study, when Egyptologists have become more reasonable in their chronology, may yield even more important results; for this translation, though executed with Major Conder's well-known painstaking scholarship, is not, as he himself says, final. Though rather dry reading in their style and monotonous in their expressions, the importance of these ancient records should secure them the patient study of both Egyptologists and Biblical scholars. Every page is elucidated by the author with erudite notes.

14. *National Life and Character*, by C. H. PEARSON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 10s.) This bulky volume, the title of which is somewhat a misnomer, shows in every page the Professor's wide reading, deep thought, and versatile powers. Everywhere too are visible an antagonistic bias against religion and Christianity, together with assumption of principles by no means universally recognised. The learned author, with much patient investigation, reviews the present state of the world in general, as the battle-ground of the various races of mankind; and with the light of present and past history, tries to forecast the future, as to the social, religious, political and intellectual condition of the world and mankind, in some unspecified but not very remote future. His views, which are very

well stated, merit all the attention due to the writings of a deep scholar and a clever man of the world, and as such we heartily recommend them to the perusal of our readers. We disagree with him on many important points, fundamental to his views: as, *e.g.*, that Christianity is played out, that Divorce is necessary, that religion must yield its place as a motive power to lower considerations, that the Hindu is an "inferior race," that the last half century rush of the human race in so-called progress, is the measure of the future, or that the future is to be on the same lines as this past. When Professor Pearson has said his say, we are left without definite conclusions, to which a short chapter might with advantage have been devoted. Prophecies of the future are not, of course, to be judged by the same standard as the teaching of the past. All the more is it necessary to formularize what one prophecies, so as to give a picture of what the future is supposed to be. We have no such picture in these 350 pages: but we have some powerful drawing. The conclusion is characteristic of the whole: "Even so, there will still remain to us ourselves. Simply to do our work in life, and to abide the issue, if we stand erect before the eternal calm, as cheerfully as our fathers faced the eternal unrest, may be nobler training for our souls than the faith in progress."

15. *Western Australia and its Gold Fields*, by ALBERT F. CALVERT. (London: George Philip and Son, 1893; 1s.) This is a complete guide to the resources of Western Australia, the least populated, as yet, of the Australian Colonies. Beginning with a short historical sketch of its discovery, it is not till p. 22, that Mr. Calvert gets on to the gold deposits of the colony, of most of which he speaks from personal knowledge. A great part of the following 30 pages are devoted to the gold fields: and the remaining 20 to other not less important industries open to the enterprising in this colony. The vastness and comparative facility of working the deposits of gold described by Mr. Calvert make it all the more strange that they have not yet been exploited to any appreciable extent. This fact he explains by the want of capital in the colony itself and by the vexatious regulations, not to call them restrictions, which are imposed on the working of the gold fields by the Government. Our readers are not likely to join in a rush for gold in any diggings; but we are sure they will derive much pleasure and interesting information from reading this little book. It gives a "Government map" of the colony; but this is the only failure in the book. This map, as its chief defect, marks all mountains with *m*, the usual sign for towns. The ranges are not shaded off, as is generally done on maps; and one is left to conjecture whether these *m* mountains, by some freak of nature, rise up isolated and suddenly, from the plains, like so many sugar loaves on a table.

16. *The Golden Book of India*, by SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 40s.) This carefully compiled and splendidly got up volume supplies a long-felt want—that of a reliable "Debrett" or "Burke" for India; and although the first issue of such a work must necessarily contain matter for correction and amendment, we can sincerely congratulate both author and publishers on the excellent results which they have achieved. Sir Roper Lethbridge seems to anticipate

some criticism ; but he disarms much of it in his candid preface, as useful, nay necessary, as it is concise and to the point. As he himself seems to think, the work would undoubtedly be improved by a subdivision into parts, which should successively give, always in alphabetical order, the ruling chiefs separated from the courtesy and personal titles, those from the knights of our Indian orders, and those in turn from the minor honorific titles (when they are not applied to princes) of Sardar, Khan and Rao, simply or with the additions of Bahadur or Sahib. The notable and innate distinction between these classes seems to require a division of the book into so many parts. Sir Roper's remarks on the absence of any regular Heralds' College for India are valuable ; and we hope soon to see this matter, as important as it is interesting, put into competent hands : it would certainly add a good sum to the revenue. Returning to the book itself, we find it both full and complete, its lists being brought down to the latest honours conferred, in January, 1893. It seems a defect, though done intentionally, that Europeans enjoying Indian titles should be omitted from the *Golden Book of India*. In future editions, too, some biographical details of minor personages should be cut down to smaller limits, being at present out of all proportion to their importance. There is somewhat of a lack of coats of arms,—very few being given. In one of them (Murshidabad) the *cheval passant* of the shield is improperly blazoned as *regardant* in the text. We find one man's address given as "Punjab" p. 161. Some names entitled to a place on these pages are omitted. But in spite of these slight blemishes, inseparable from the preparation of so extensive a work, the book is sure to have a wide reception and to be a general favourite : even a Spaniard with his 16 quarterings is dwarfed into littleness by the side, say, of Udaipur's ancient and noble descent.

17. *Nilus, da due Signore*. (London : Truslove and Shirley.) The only defect of this small book is its smallness. It is a simple tale, on which the two authoresses have cleverly strung the account of their visit to Egypt, as far as the 2nd Cataract, under Mr. Cook's wing. The love-making of the tale is rather slow work, and not enlivening ; and it somewhat interferes with the descriptions given, of scenery and ruins. A capital ghost-story runs through the whole. Even in a tale which does not pretend to any depth, such an utter absurdity should have been avoided as that of making a Muhammadan water-carrier serve water to Muhammadans out of a pig-skin ! The book is pleasant to read, and interesting.

18. *Sir Henry Maine : his Life*, by SIR M. E. GRANT-DUFF, G.C.S.I., and *Selected Speeches and Minutes*, by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. (London : John Murray, 1892 ; 14s.) Our readers will welcome, with as great pleasure as ourselves, this goodly book, sketching the life and labours of a good and great man, whose work has left a deep and useful impress not only in India, where, as Legislative Member of Council under two Viceroy, he did so much in improving the law, but wherever the English language is spoken ; for he left behind him legal and other works, published at various times, which are of the utmost value. His talent of grasping principles and applying them to what was before him, his deep reading and versatile

powers, his clearness of idea and facility of language, his fearless criticism of what was bad and unflinching support of what was good, are all well seen in this book. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff takes the first 83 pages for his biographical memoir, which is very fully detailed, well written, and interesting. The next 217 pages give a select number of Sir Henry's speeches, which are all characteristic of the man, and though mostly on technical subjects, are, for clearness of idea and diction, of interest also to the general reader. His remarks on juries (pp. 179-192) will be found very pertinent to the present question of their restriction. His minutes, which form the remaining 133 pages of the book, are of greater variety, and show a rare grasp of circumstances and details in more general matters. We may note his comparison of the relative value of some railway lines (p. 348), his remarks on Indian Universities, and especially his scathing criticism of Mr. Caird's report made after only a four months' stay in India. Speeches and minutes both evince a knowledge of India and a breadth of treatment that show the statesman. "He seemed to see things 'in their quiddity,' and to reconstitute them from fragments with the genius of Owen or Cuvier. . . . Sir A. Lyall found in Rajputana the precise practices which Sir Henry Maine had suggested as a possible explanation of some scattered facts which he had noticed in his reading" (p. 81).

19. *The Rauzat-us-Safá : or, The Garden of Purity*, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond, by the late E. REHATSEK, and edited by F. F. ARBUTHNOT. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1893.) Part II., in 2 vols.

This work, produced under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund, gives the life of Muhammad, translated by the lamented scholar E. Rehatsek with his wonted fidelity and correctness. The historical value of such a life written in Persian in the XVth Century is very small; but it has a special merit of its own. Amid many narratives which may not stand the test of historical criticism, it exposes to the eyes of the careful reader the inner feelings and workings of the Muhammiadan mind; and it is these which the western student generally fails to grasp, and consequently finds himself out of sympathy with. It is impossible to form a correct judgment of the influence of Islam on its numerous votaries, or to gauge what they profess, feel and live for, without studying, in their own native garb, books like this now presented to the public, and others like it which will, we trust follow in rapid succession. Mr. Arbuthnot's editing seems to make an occasional slip, and it is vexing to find him call the naming of Muhammad, a "Christening." The merits of the work, however, for the purpose we have indicated, and of the translator and editor are quite sufficient to ensure for this book a welcome and careful study.

20. *The Indian Empire, its Peoples, History, and Products*, by SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 28s.) Sir W. Hunter's painstaking and carefully compiled work, which is too well known and justly appreciated to need more than a mere announcement of the fact, has now reached its third edition, and is rendered even more useful by being brought down to date, especially in the matter of the census returns of 1891-92. It in no way detracts from the general useful-

ness and accuracy of what for its size is the best History of India procurable at present, to say that there are occasional slips. *E.g.*, at p. 294 Jacobite Christians admittedly praying for the dead are erroneously said to deny Purgatory—the one supposes the other; and the King of Portugal is said to have had only a “pretended right” (p. 308) in ecclesiastical matters in India, when every tyro in Canon Law knows that it was a perfectly formed and indefeasible right, which as the *jus tertii*, not the Pope even could abolish. There seems an injustice at p. 279 in excluding Burma, when needlessly comparing Christianity and Buddhism, yet including Burma, when stating the proportionate increase of Christians since the previous census. The erudite twaddle about Josaphat = Buddha (pp. 195 to 197) has no connection with Indian history. While the actual history of India, so admirably told by Sir William, might perhaps be hunted up with labour in other works, the student who wishes to combine Historical reading with a knowledge about the peoples, religions, languages, products and statistics of India, must fall back upon this book, which should have a place in every library.

21. *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, Ph.D. (London: Asher and Co., 1893; £9.) In two 4to volumes, of which the get-up, except the binding, reflects the utmost credit on the publishers, Dr. Richter gives here the results of his 12 years' work in Cyprus. He has been a successful explorer, though as he was not rich and had often to work for others, there are accounts as vexing as they are amusing of the difficulties which he encountered. One volume contains plates giving illustrations of Dr. Richter's discoveries; but many more such are interspersed in the pages of the other volume also—forming thus one of the most profusely illustrated works that we have lately seen. In the volume containing the text—530 pages—190 are devoted to explanations of the plates. The other 340 pages treat of ancient places of worship in Kypros, of tree worship and its transition into anthropomorphic image worship, of Imageless worship and that of fabulous beings. We have received the book too late for a full review, such as its interest and importance demand: our space moreover for each review is strictly limited. Numerous elucidations are the result of the author's discoveries, not the least important of which are some bilingual inscriptions. A wide reading and deep erudition enable Dr. Richter to connect the art, worship and civilization of Kypros, which he says must have been extremely early owing to the favourable situation of the island, with Egypt, Greece, Babylon, Assyria, Syria and the yet only too little known Hittites. He traces Adonis-Thammuz and Astoreth-Aphrodite to tree worship, and finds that this and other parts throw much light on various passages of the Bible; *e.g.*, on the High places, and in 1 Kings xx. 23, on the gods of the valleys and those of the hills. The Homeric Greek gods he traces also to their Kyprian sources. It is interesting to find the Fish as a religious symbol centuries before its adoption by Christians as a representation of our Lord, from the letters of its Greek name. Dr. Richter, with much ingenuity and learning, traces the connection of Kyprian art with that of Egypt, and the East; and mentions among other things the peculiar pottery which he attributes to Kypros, but which

Father de Cara has traced to the Hittites, in mentioning whom, we may add, we have noticed among Dr. Richter's illustrations, several statues with the oblique Mongol eyes, that would show an early settlement in Syria and Asia Minor of a race to which some have traced the Hittites. Dr. Richter promises further results of his discoveries; and while we congratulate him on his splendid book, which is as interesting to the Biblical scholar as it is to the Hellenist, and especially to the Archaeologist, we shall look with eagerness for the completion of his work.

22. *Buddha Charita of Ashva Ghosha*, edited by E. B. COWELL, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 12s.) This work is known only from three copies of a manuscript which is inaccessible in Nepal. It was translated into Chinese early in the fifth century of our era, whence Professor Cowell infers that it then enjoyed a great reputation among the Buddhists of India, and that the date of its composition must be fixed at least one or two centuries earlier. A Tibetan translation, dating from the seventh or eighth century, and marked by great faithfulness to the original, gives us a valuable means of checking the modern manuscripts of the poem. A comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese versions shows that Books XV., XVI., XVII. in our Sanskrit manuscripts do not belong to the original text of the *Buddha Charita*. Professor Cowell shows that this fact is probably explained in two *Shlokas* added to the colophon of the last book, in the Cambridge manuscript: the concluding *Shloka* is:

“*Sarvatrānvi-kṣya no labdhvā chatuh-sargam cha nṛmitam,
Chaturdaśam pañcadaśam śloka-ham sapṭadaśam tathā.*”

—“Having sought everywhere and not found them, four cantos have been made by me, the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.” The date of these *Shlokas*, is A.D. 1830: and they are to be attributed, probably, to the Amṛtānanda mentioned in Rajendralāl Mitra's “Nepalese Buddhist Literature.” Only the first thirteen and part of the fourteenth books belong, therefore, to Ashvaghosha. Professor Cowell points to the fact that “a peculiar interest attaches to them for their importance in establishing Professor Buhler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric in the early centuries of our era:” thus rendering untenable the theory which brought Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya to a period only twelve centuries ago. The *Buddha Charita*, as we have seen, cannot be later than the third century of our era, and may be several centuries earlier; it, nevertheless, contains as Professor Cowell shows, the peculiar qualities of style characteristic of the poetry of the Sanskrit “Renaissance.” The parallels between Ashvaghosha and Kālidāsa (*Raghuvansha*, *Kumāra Sambhava*,) are full of interest, and form, perhaps, the most valuable part of Professor Cowell's preface. An English translation of the *Buddha Charita* will shortly appear in the “Sacred Books of the East” Series.

23. *An English-Telugu Dictionary*, by P. SANKARANARAYANA, M.A., Madras, 1891. (London: Luzac and Co.) We may say, at the outset, that this seems a thoroughly practical and accurate book, well adapted to the needs of native students, and of the few Europeans who desire to translate from English into the “Italian of India.” The printing is better than

Indian printing often is, though it still leaves much to wish for. The paging, however (between the two words "Damn" and "Damnable,") is defective, but the author is careful to point out that no matter is missed between these two words. The very long and needlessly discursive Introduction has some suggestive sentences. We learn, not without apprehension, that "we have already ceased to have our communication with friends and relations in Telugu, wherever the alternative of English is in the least possible. We have almost given up conversing in Telugu, or at all events in unmixed Telugu, whenever we meet English-knowing friends." This calls to our memory a conversation we once over-heard in a railway-station in Bengal. Said the first Babu: "*Amrā Congress-ete giyā, fighting-for-the-common-cause hoibo!*" His fellow replied: "*Ha! Amāder deshe Conshtitushun karite hoibe!*" Need we say that sentiments like this do not call up the unmixed admiration that real sturdy patriotism and self-respect might command.

24. *The "Vidyodaya":* a Sanscrit Critical Monthly. Annual subscription, 8s.; post free. Edited by PANDIT HRISHI KESH SHASTRI, and published by the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

Vidyodaya (October, 1892). The contents of this number are: (1) A part of the *Lingaviveka*, a useful list of doubtful and irregular Sanskrit Genders. (2) An instalment of the *Paribhashendushekhara*—The Moon-garland of Grammatical Technicalities. (3) The concluding thirty stanzas of *Padāravindashatakam*, a poem on the goddess Durgā's foot. (4) *Kalimāhātmyaprahasanam*, a farce on the Iron Age.

Vidyodaya (November, 1892). Contents: (1) The *Lingaviveka*, continued. (2) A part of the *Alankāra Sūtram*, a Sanskrit Ars Poetica, of the artificial school. (3) A biography of Pandit Premachandra Tarkavagisha, in Sanskrit. "As a Sanskrit journalist," says the writer, "we feel our earnest duty to give a biographical sketch in Sanskrit of the late Pandit Premachandra Tarkavāgisha." (4) *Advaitaprakaranam*, a treatise of the school of "Unity" (Adrāita) of the Vedānta.

Vidyodaya (December, 1892). Contents: *Lingaviveka*, continued. (2) *Kalimāhātmyaprahasanam*. (3) *Mahāranyaparvarekshanam*, a journey through the great Forest. (4) *Paribhashendushekhara*, continued. (5) *Alankāra Sūtram*, continued.

Vidyodaya (January, 1893). Contents: (1) *Atmatatwaviveka*, or a discourse on the existence of the soul, by Udayanacharya, with commentary. (2) A treatise on *Advaitabada* of the Vedānta Philosophy. (3) Aphorisms on Sanskrit rhetoric. (4) Rules on the use of genders in Sanskrit. (5) New Year. (6) *Kusumanjali*, or a treatise on the existence of God, with commentary.

The printing and press-work being done in India leave much to be desired; the scholarship, however, is accurate and reliable; and the whole work is a very interesting illustration of the class of studies which chiefly occupy the pandits.

25. *Adzuma; or, The Japanese Wife*, by SIR EDWIN ARNOLD. (Longmans and Co., 1893; 6s. 6d.) Sir Edwin Arnold has secured so high a place for himself as the writer of "The Light of Asia" that it would seem

to be difficult even for him to ever again reach the same heights, though his present Idyll, ending in tragedy, is as perfect in its gentleness as is his Epic in its sublimity. In the book before us the reader is transported into the midst of old Japan, and told the tale of sweet, patient, faithful Adzuma, and of her noble, loving Lord Wataru Watanabe. It is a play in four acts, and many a pretty scene fascinates the reader as he turns page upon page. I may mention the following in Act III. It is the celebration of the there popular Autumn festival, when all the folks gather under the many-coloured maple-trees.

“ The great feast in the groves of *momiji*,
Where all the city flocks to see the year
Put on its autumn dress, golden and green,
Scarlet and purple, saffron, russet, rose.”

Adzuma amongst them comes forth and thus addresses her attendants :

“ Oya ! my maids ! I gave you leave to match
Your prettiest gowns with Autumn’s dying dress,
Yet she outglories you.”

Her attendants follow her strains in praising Spring and Summer which they like best. The whole scene and many others are full of charm and delicacy, containing passages of great beauty which would be effective on the stage, on which it is to be hoped the piece will shortly appear.

The IV. Act is very touching, and centres in Adzuma’s self-sacrifice, who cuts the fatal knot of intrigues instituted for her and her husband’s destruction by the only escape possible in her eyes—namely, by skilfully contriving that she shall be murdered by mistake instead of her husband.

26. *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, by FRANCIS ELLIOT (London : John Murray), with Map and Illustrations ; 14s.

It is very much to be regretted that the idle author was not too idle to write at all, for with Mr. Murray’s own Handbook, the busy traveller to Turkey does not also want a “ Diary ” which teaches him what he has to unlearn. Arriving at Constantinople by land, the author missed the beauty of its scenery as it rises in terraces, which can only be fully enjoyed in a Kayik boat from the sea. She, apparently, put herself into the hands of a Greek interpreter, and imbibed from him all the misconceptions of ordinary Greeks regarding everything Turkish. The book has been made up by historical after-thoughts, which, however, do not correct the errors at the beginning, but there are stories of the love and murder of the late Sultan, that are sure “ to sell ” the hasty compilation to which we refer.

27. *L’Insurrection Algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons populaires Kabyles*, par RENÉ BASSET. (Louvain : J. B. Istas, 1892.) This learned Professor of the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers here gives a very interesting pamphlet of 60 pages, one-third of which is devoted to indices of French words adopted into the Kabile language, and of Berber roots, while the other two-thirds give on opposite pages the Kabyle songs with a well-executed translation into French. The part on Berber roots is of very deep philological interest. The notes added by the learned professor are characteristic of his wide reading and profound erudition.

28. *Les Bas-fonds de Constantinople*, by PAUL DE RÉGLA. (Paris : Tresse and Stock, 3rd Edition.)

This author certainly knows what he writes about. We prefer, however, his amusing account of the autonomy of the dogs, the scavengers of Stamboul, to that of the intrigues—political and social—of men, whom association with Europeans appears to have deprived of the dignity which used to accompany even Oriental vice. Those who wish to know what passes behind the scenes of the Turkish Capital, cannot do better than peruse the pages of this book. M. Paul de R  gla, however, renders justice to the “true Turk,” than whom we ourselves have seen fewer better specimens of piety, honesty and capacity for Government—witness the condition of Servia, before and after, its complete emancipation from Turkish rule.

29. *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, by CHARLES G. LELAND. (London: Fisher Unwin.)

The saying of Dionysius of Halicarnassus with reference to the Etruscans, namely that they are unlike any other nation as regards language and customs, still holds good, as far as the language is concerned; Prof. Krall's discovery, however, of an Etruscan “linnen book” folded round a mummy in an Egyptian tomb, may give reasonable hope that the time is not far distant when important clues to the ultimate decipherment of the language will be available. Old Etruria was a veritable home of augury and divination. Spirits and ghosts played a prominent *r  le* in the Etruscan religion. In the *liber linteus* we frequently meet the word “Hinthu”—a ghost—which is one of the few Etruscan words that can be translated. (See Krall, *die Etruskischen Mumienbinden des Agramer National Museums*, 1892.) It is Mr. Leland's merit to have devoted many years of untiring research to the task of throwing light on the old religion and sorcery which is still alive among the peasantry of the Tuscan mountains. The author's remarkable gift for eliciting the secrets of the “old faith” from his informants, who appear to hold it in even greater reverence than they do the saints of their churches, renders him pre-eminently successful in these and similar researches; as much of this strange traditional creed is on the verge of dying out Mr. Leland's labours were most opportune and deserve our thanks. It appears that this Etruscan witchcraft—“*stregeria*”—though less than what might be termed a faith, is certainly something more than a mere system of sorcery; Mr. Leland has even rediscovered the names of the old Etruscan gods, such as Tinia or Jupiter, Faflau or Bacchus and Terams or Tunus (Mercury) as we read them on the Etruscan mirrors, and abundant proof is produced that these ancient deities yet live in the memories of the Tuscan peasantry. The mass of material collected by the author, consisting of invocations, legends, incantations and the like, reproduced in the original Italian and in translation, is really astounding. Mr. Leland's statement that the difficulties of “extracting” witchcraft from the Italian *Strege* far surpass those he experienced in collecting “volumes of folk-lore among very reticent Red Indians and reserved Romanys” is fully credited by us; we have good reason not to doubt it.

The distinguished compiler's descriptions and quotations leave the impression of being derived from original sources and in the preparation of the work he had moreover the advantage of advice from Senatore Comp  retti, one of the greatest living Italian scholars. To judge from the

comments, notes and explanatory passages generally, Mr. Leland is thoroughly acquainted with the existing literature on the subject of Etruria, in Latin, Italian, German and English. The only thing which we do not like in the book are the illustrations of ancient monuments of figures; they are so carelessly done as actually to give the impression of being reproductions from clumsy forgeries.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of: 1. *Kosovo*, by Madame Elodie L. Mijatovich (London: W. Isbister, Ltd.). 2. *The History of Modern Serbia*, by the same authoress (London: W. Tweedie). 3. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. 4. *La Revue des Revues*, Paris. 5. *The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Sons, London). 6. *The American Journal of Philology* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Boston, U.S.). 7. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome). 8. *Lucifer* (Theosophical Publishing Company, London). 9. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh). 10. *The American Antiquarian* (S. D. Peet, Chicago, U.S.). 11. *The Review of Reviews* (London). 12. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris). 13. *Biblia* (Boston, U.S.), an American Journal of Biblical and Oriental Research. 14. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris). 15. *The Journal of the Society of Arts* (London). 16. *La Revue Générale* (Brussels). 17. *Tung Pao* (E. J. Brill, Leyden). 18. *Publications of the Geographical Society of Paris*. 19. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York, U.S.). 20. *The Journal of the United Service Association* (Simla, India). 21. *The Missionary Review of Reviews* (New York, U.S.). 22. *The Indo-Chinese Opium Question*, by R. N. Cust, LL.D. (Hertford: S. Austin and Sons).

We regret that owing to want of space we are obliged to postpone the following articles:

A. Rogers, C.S. (late of the Bombay Council): "A reply to Sir W. Wedderburn's article on 'Russianized Officialism in India.'"

F. Ongley: "The History of Pious Foundations in the Ottoman Dominions."

His Exc. Ched. Mijatovitch: "A chapter in the History of British policy in the Balkan Peninsula."

A. H. Ellis: "The Amaxosa Káfirs," and other interesting articles."

We also trust to be able to give, in an early issue, an illustrated history of the Shawl Manufacture and its Alphabets, of Græco-Buddhistic Sculptures, and of the various classes of Fakirs and other religious wanderers or squatters in India and Central Asia, as soon as the illustrations to accompany the text can be reproduced.

For several issues past we have been obliged, in order to do justice to current topics and inquiries, to increase the usual number of pages of this Review (224 to 240) to 272 pages (as in this issue). As there, however, is a limit to the space at our disposal, we are constantly compelled to postpone the publication of articles as important, if not so urgent, as those immediately published.—ED.

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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

BY GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.

THE despatch from the Government of India, dated 2 November, 1892, lately laid before Parliament, in anticipation of the debate on the "Madras and Bombay Armies Bill," indirectly opens up once more the important question of the "Defence of India."

It is therein clearly laid down that, in the event of Russia approaching closer to our Indian frontier with hostile intent, it is the deliberate opinion of our Rulers in India that we must adopt what is called a "Forward Policy."

We are to deliberately ignore the extraordinary natural strength of our North West Frontier; and, leaving it behind us, to move forward, for the fifth time, into that country which, as Dost Mahomed said, "contains only men and stones." The following extracts from the despatch in question will bear out what I have just stated.

10th Para. "The necessity confronting us of providing an efficient force for service against an European enemy *beyond* the frontier."

12th Para. "The necessity for this is now brought the more prominently before us, in view of the possibility that the next great operations our army may be called on to undertake may be against a more formidable enemy than it has ever yet encountered, and *in a rigorous climate*, in

which the inhabitants of the tropical parts of India are not adapted to serve."

25th Para. "We must therefore accept the fact that our fighting army, *so far as a great campaign beyond the North West Frontier is concerned*, must be composed mainly of the Sikh, the Punjābi, the Pathān, the Balūchi, and the Gurkha."

It is clear from the above-quoted extracts, giving expression to the opinion of the Governor General in Council, that a "Forward Policy" is looked upon, both as a political, and military, necessity, in the event of an attempt being made by Russia to occupy Afghanistan, either by conquest, or with the consent of the Amir.

The bitter experiences of all our former occupations of Afghanistan are to be ignored ; and we are to embark once more in a sea of troubles, as regards our transport and supplies : our relations with the most treacherous nation on the face of the earth ; and, the discontent of that portion of our native troops which may form our army of occupation.

And for what purpose ? If our own natural frontier presented features so weak, and so unsatisfactory, as to render any defence of it almost impossible ; and if, on the other hand, the country beyond our border contained a position, or positions, of exceptional strength, then there might be something to be said in favour of such a plan. As a fact however the very reverse is the case. We have on the North West border of India an exceptionally strong frontier, which can, I believe, be made impregnable ; whilst on the other hand Kandahar and its neighbourhood, and Kabul and its surrounding country, are exceptionally weak as defensive positions. By a "forward policy" we place our army with its back to a succession of most formidable defiles, which, in case of reverse, would most undoubtedly prove its destruction ; and which, under favourable circumstances, would cause a tremendous strain upon the transport service, and a very serious addition to the cost of the campaign. By remaining within our own border we oblige

our enemy to commit himself to those dangerous defiles, and can meet him with every chance of success, as he debouches from them, on our side, in inevitably lengthened, and straggling, array.

The strength of our North West Frontier lies, not only in the formidable obstacle which the Indus river presents to an invading force, and to the strong posts which we hold at Quetta and Peshawur; but also in the difficult nature of the country which lies between the Indus river and the Afghan frontier proper, which frontier, although not geographically correct, may fairly be represented by the line: Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar. The distance between that line and the river varies from about 300 miles to 173 miles. The main roads towards India are the Bolan, the Gomal, the Kochi, the Kuram, and the Khyber, but there are numerous alternative routes besides those above-mentioned. All however present formidable difficulties to an European force advancing with artillery and the other necessary impedimenta. Scarcely any supplies are procurable; water is often very scarce, as is also grass. Before reaching the Indus, the Sulimān range of mountains must be crossed, the heights of which vary from 7500 to 11000 feet; and then, should all these difficulties be successfully overcome, a wide, unfordable river stares an invading force in the face.

The essential condition, when a large river is taken as the line of defence, is that the defending force should have the command of both banks. This condition in the case of the Indus is satisfactorily fulfilled. We not only occupy Quetta and Peshawur, well in advance of that river, but we are also in possession of that long and narrow strip of country, 300 miles long and with an average of sixty miles in breadth, which stretches between the Suliman Mountains and the Indus, and is called Daman or the Derajāt.

The Indus river is, as I have already said, practically unfordable; as although Shah Shujah forded the river above Attock in 1809, his success was considered almost a

miracle. It could only be attempted during the months from October to March, when the river is lowest. During the remaining six months of the year the river rises rapidly, and expanding over the country in numerous parts converts it into an extensive lake. Between Mithankote and Bukkur island the inundation extends sometimes twenty miles from the western side of the river. The width of the river during its shrunken state varies from 480 to 1,600 yards, and its general velocity is about 3 miles an hour in the winter, and six miles an hour in the flood season. An invading force must therefore contemplate the necessity of bridging the Indus within the short time available for that purpose.

General von Clausewitz, the highest strategical authority of this century, says in his work "On War": "As the equipment for crossing rivers which an enemy brings with him, that is, his pontoons, are rarely sufficient for the passage of great rivers, much depends on the means to be found on the river itself, its affluents, and in the great towns adjacent, and lastly on the timber for building boats and rafts in Forests near the river. There are cases in which all these circumstances are so unfavourable, that the crossing of a river is by that means almost an impossibility." There are no great Towns; there are no Forests within 60 miles of the Indus river; and there are only a few insignificant affluents on the right bank. It would therefore be the grossest negligence on the part of the military commanders, if an enemy, arriving at the Indus, were allowed to secure a single boat available for bridging purposes.

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that an enemy *has* been able to secure the requisite number of boats and bridging material, which would enable him to bridge the Indus, let us consider the nature of the work which would then lie before him.

During the campaign in Afghanistan of 1839-40 the Indus was bridged between Sukkur and Rohree. 74 large

boats were employed ; 19 from Sukkur to the island of Bukkur ; and 55 from the island to Rohree on the left bank. These boats averaged $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons in weight on the Sukkur side ; and 17 tons in weight on the Rohree side.

The extent of river bridged was about 500 yards, the site chosen being the narrowest available part of the river, the island of Bukkur much facilitating the operation.

The Sukkur side was bridged in four days ; the Rohree side took sixteen days, but it ought to have been done in ten. It may be said therefore that the operation required fourteen days to be completed.

The river rose on the 27th January and again on 3rd February, when danger for its safety was apprehended.

The above facts taken from Hough's "Campaign in Afghanistan" and the "Professional papers of the Royal Engineers" show the difficulties that had to be faced by our Engineers, when they had peaceful possession of both banks of the Indus, a friendly population to deal with, and the unlimited resources of India to draw upon.

Without boats ; without timber ; with a hostile force on both flanks of the right bank ; and a powerful army on the left bank, ready to oppose any attempt to cross the river, what chance would an enemy have of being able to transport from one bank to the other all the men and material requisite for such a task as the invasion of India ?

If then General von Clausewitz's opinion is to be accepted, the crossing of the Indus by an enemy, in such force as to endanger the safety of India, should be considered, not as almost, but as entirely, impossible.

It may be argued however that Russia, assuming that she had full possession of Afghanistan as a base, from which she could move forward to the conquest of India, would not attempt to cross the Indus during her first move forward from that base, but would content herself with gaining possession of all the country lying between the Indus and the line Kandahar-Ghazni ; in other words, the whole country lying between the Bolan and the Kuram

passes—and from that advanced base complete her preparations for bridging the Indus, so as to enable her to move across that river immediately the state of its waters would permit of the attempt being made.

It will be necessary therefore to consider the strength of our position on the right bank of the Indus; what has already been done in the way of improving its naturally strong features? and then, what remains to be done? so that it may be made, as it is capable, the strongest military frontier in the world.

An invasion of India, such as to endanger its safety, can, I contend, only be made from the West. An advance upon India from the North, over the Hindu-Kush mountains, by the Baroghil or Dorah passes, either upon Gilgit into Kashmir; or upon Chitrál into the Peshawur valley, could only be attempted, and that with great risk, by small bodies of troops:—as the physical difficulties on that line are tremendous, and would effectually preclude the possibility of advancing in any formidable force. At the same time it seems unwise to make those routes easier by constructing military roads from our territory towards those points as is being done. There, as elsewhere, we should meet the enemy, as he debouches from the pass nearest to our own frontier.

Assuming my contention to be true that danger to India is only to be looked for from the West; it remains to be seen whether our advanced posts at Quetta and Peshawur, can effectually bar any attempt on the part of an European enemy to advance towards India from its base: Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul.

I propose to deal first with our entrenched camp at Quetta, which can exercise no influence over an advance from Kabul upon Peshawur—and which route will be considered later on.

The late Major-General Macgregor in his so-called “confidential” work, “The Defence of India—a strategical study,” lays down at page 203 six routes leading

from Kandahar to the Indus ; and five routes from Ghazni in the same direction. With regard to the routes leading from Kandahar he says "these routes have the disadvantage that they are very liable to flank attacks" ; and, with respect to the routes from Ghazni he writes—"all these roads are more or less practicable ; from the North they are not liable to flank attack, but they are from the South." This information, which can, I believe, be implicitly relied upon, is valuable, with reference to the consideration of our military position at Quetta.

The entrenched camp at Quetta is situated a mile or two in front of the Town of that name, in an excellent position, far out of reach of any other commanding ground, and dominating the valley beyond. I am quoting from General Sir Edward Hamley's lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on December 13, 1878 : "On the left of Quetta, between it and the desert, the line of hills is only passable at a single gap ; and a similar range, not passable at all, exists on the right. Tactically then, as well as strategically, for defence, as well as for offence, against either a powerful or an inferior enemy, it would appear alike advantageous ;" . . . "It appears, if the advantages are such as I have stated, that we have here the most valuable possession on which England has laid her hand for many a day. By occupying Quetta we practically close all passes to the Indus valley which issue South of Dehra Ismail Khan."

Since Sir Edward Hamley delivered this lecture, the railway has been completed to Chaman, a point on the Afghan frontier, beyond the Khojak Pass. The garrison of the entrenched position can therefore be reinforced in a very short space of time, either from Kurrachee or the Punjab, thereby increasing very largely the strength of the position ; and justifying the use of the word, which has been applied to it by those who are most competent to express such an opinion ; viz. "impregnable."

The line, being carried to a point beyond the Khojak

pass, would also facilitate any operations which it might be thought desirable to make from Quetta to oppose the debouching of an enemy's force, advancing from Kandahar.

The entrenched camp at Quetta, it will thus be seen, not only blocks directly the main roads from Kandahar to India, *via* the Bolan pass; and that leading to Karachi *via* Kelat and Sonmiani; but, by its position on the flank of the minor routes, which lead from Kandahar towards the Indus, practically blocks these also. So long therefore as we hold that important post in such force, as to render it absolutely secure against direct attack, or investment, we may confidently assume that no attempt to cross, or to bridge, the Indus river between Sukkur and Dehra Ismail Khan can possibly be made, with any chance of success, or rather, without the most serious risk to the force making the effort. Three hundred miles of our river frontier are thus practically protected by one strong post, and would only require the ordinary precaution of watching and patrolling. There is another stretch of our Indus river frontier, some hundred and ten miles long, which may be safely characterised as absolutely impassable by any invading force. I allude to that part of the river which runs between Attock and Kalabagh. The river here runs between high cliffs of slate rock, and precipitous banks, varying from 70 to 700 feet high; down a valley varying from 100 to 400 yards wide and with a velocity of current, varying from six, to about ten, miles an hour. The only portion therefore of our river frontier, which lies open to the possibility of invasion, is that lying between Kalabagh and Dehra Ismail Khan, a distance of under one hundred miles.

It being, as I have already shown, most unlikely that any of the routes leading from Kandahar to this part of our frontier would be taken by an invading army, so long as we hold the Quetta position in sufficient force; there remains therefore only the routes from Ghazni by which an invading army could advance.

The main routes from Ghazni towards India are the

Kuram valley, the Tochi and the Gomal. It is not probable that the former route would be taken by a force having Dehra Ismail Khan, or Edwardesabad, as its objective point ; the Gomal and Tochi passes being much shorter and easier. Should the enemy's main attack be upon Peshawur, it is most probable however that then some use would be made of that route, in conjunction with the one passing through the Khyber pass. There remain then practically only two routes which are likely to be taken by an enemy, advancing with the object of crossing the Indus, viz.—the Gomal, and the Tochi. The Gomal route is one of the most important trade routes on the north-west frontier. It is about 250 miles long ; comparatively easy for laden camels, and has abundant water, forage and fuel. It is scarcely probable that the enemy would venture to advance along this route with less than 40,000 to 50,000 men, and that number would be swollen no doubt by camp-followers to nearly double. The transport of such numbers along very difficult tracks, not suited to wheel carriage, would present very formidable difficulties ; as it must be remembered that all food supplies, except for animals, would have to be brought from the rear. The country, through which this route passes, is inhabited by an Afghan tribe called the Mahsûd Wazîris, who have always kept aloof from the Amir, and have denied and defied his authority. They number nearly 20,000 fighting men, and are described in official reports as the most inveterate, and the most incorrigible of all the robbers on the border.

By a little judicious diplomacy, and by the distribution of a liberal supply of rupees, it would not be difficult to induce these Mahsûd Wazîris to become our allies ; and to act, in the defence of our frontier, by attacks in the rear and on the convoys of the enemy.

Those who remember the difficulty which was felt in feeding our troops during the Abyssinian campaign, although the country through which we marched to Magdala was inhabited by friendly tribes, who sympathised heartily with

the object of the expedition, will easily appreciate the difficulties which a force, numbering some four or five times in excess of those which took part in that expedition, would experience, in advancing unopposed along this difficult route ; and how those difficulties would be intensified were the tribes inhabiting the country to prove hostile. What I have said with regard to the Gomal pass, will apply with equal force to the Tochi. In spite however of the difficulties thus pointed out, and the improbability, in my opinion, that they would ever be faced, it is absolutely necessary for the safety of our Indian Empire that the portion of our frontier under review should be made absolutely secure. This, I consider, could be done effectually by the formation of an entrenched camp at a selected point between Dehra Ismail Khan and Edwardesabad, similar to what we already possess at Quetta. There would be no necessity to occupy it in force until the necessity arose. Thanks to the wise foresight of the Government of India, a railway now runs along the left bank of the Indus from Dehra Ghazi Khan to a point not far from Kalabagh. The only vulnerable part of our frontier can therefore be reinforced at the shortest notice, and made absolutely secure, provided the above mentioned precaution is taken, and communication between the camp and the left bank of the Indus secured by means of a bridge, or by steam ferry, according to the time of year.

Having thus roughly described the naturally strong features of that portion of our frontier lying between the Bolan and Kuram passes ; and the means which, in my opinion, should be taken to render it perfectly secure against invasion ; I pass to the consideration of the extreme right of our forward defensive position, viz., the Peshawur valley.

Sir Edward Hamley, in the lecture I have already alluded to, and from which I have quoted, clearly and firmly combats the idea of taking up a defensive position beyond the Khyber pass. In summing up the arguments

which have been brought forward in favour of such a scheme, he says :

“ I think therefore there is much to be said against, nothing for, the occupation of a post beyond the Khyber, and that it would be a source, not of strength but of weakness.”

Sir Edward then lays down his alternate plan, which as he says, involves no extension of territory, no expenditure worth mention, and no increase of frontier force.

The plan in question is as follows :—

“ It consists first in blocking the mouths of the Khyber (and I may venture to add of the two other alternate routes, which both debouch into the Peshawur valley) on our side, with an entrenched camp, armed with powerful artillery, to be garrisoned by the Peshawur troops, reinforced in case of need.” This can now be easily done, as the railway crosses the Indus, and is completed to Peshawur. Sir Edward goes on to say—“ If this were suitably occupied, I cannot conceive how an enemy’s force, however superior, advancing as it must of necessity, in lengthened, even straggling, array to the mouth of the Khyber, could expect ever to issue from it.”

With such a strategical authority, speaking in such decided tones, it is clearly unnecessary, and would even be presumptuous, for me to elaborate further this part of my argument.

I venture to hope that I have shown conclusively that on the north-west frontier of India, the only one where danger of a serious invasion can possibly arise, we have such a naturally strong, offensive-defensive, position, as, when strengthened by engineering works suitable to the needs of the situation, will render an attempt to invade India so hazardous a proceeding, as to make it practically impossible.

By keeping the main bulk of our army on the left bank of the Indus, in a central position, such as the line Lahore, Jhelum, Rawal Pindi, we shall have the advantage of

what is called in strategy "Interior Lines"; whilst an enemy, advancing from Afghanistan towards our frontier must necessarily act on "Exterior Lines," unless he elected to put all his eggs into one basket, and to advance upon one only of the numerous available routes leading to the Indus. Such a plan of campaign would simplify our plan of defence; and would enormously increase the difficulties of transport, supplies and forage to our enemies. By such a plan of defence as I have sketched out, there is moreover the advantage that the whole defending force would be under the *direct* control of the Commander-in-Chief in India; who, in a central position, connected with all the advanced posts by telegraph, could issue his orders, as occasion required, and ensure the complete co-operation of all the forces under his command.

Another advantage also would be gained by a defence within our own borders. It would not be necessary to trust in our first line only the Sikh, the Punjabi, the Pathan, the Balûchi, and the Gurkha, as now contemplated by the Government of India, on the supposition of our being obliged to go beyond the frontier to meet our enemy. Our Hindustani, Madras and Bombay troops could be advantageously mixed up with those excellent fighting troops, and would, I feel sure, be able to give a good account of themselves.

No large amount of transport, moreover, would be required, as would be the case were a forward policy of defence, beyond our line of railways, to be adopted. Thus a very large diminution of expenditure would be obtained; and India would be saved from that serious drain on her transport resources, which has occurred in all our campaigns in Afghanistan, and which has so hampered the interior trade in India. Our Sepoys would also, one and all, appreciate remaining inside their own country; and recruiting, instead of being brought to a stand-still, as was the case in the last Afghan. campaign, owing to the unpopularity which an uncongenial climate and the transport to a service away from their homes produced in the minds of

our native troops, would, I feel sure, show such vitality, as would enable us, if required, to increase very largely the numbers of our native army, in the event of a war with Russia making such a step desirable. Should such a plan for the defence of India, as I have thus very imperfectly sketched out, be accepted, it would of course be necessary to take the Princes and Peoples of India into our confidence, so as to prevent, as far as possible, any idea arising in their minds that we are afraid to go forward to meet our enemy, and also to explain to them why we have determined "to speak with our enemy in the gate."

It would also be necessary to come to a clear explanation with the Amir of Kabul, and to make him understand that we have definitely abandoned all idea of entering his dominions, with an armed force, should Russia advance further towards his borders. He should be told distinctly that he must rely on his own resources in men, and not on any direct assistance from India, should his territories be invaded.

The possible occupation of Afghanistan by Russia ought not to give us any cause for anxiety, much less, alarm.

At Kandahar and Ghazni she would still be some 300 miles from the Indus river; and at Kabul she would be 175 miles from Peshawur. This zone would practically be a neutral one; as it is occupied, as I have already said, by quasi-independent tribes, very jealous of any interference; and ready to resent any encroachment on their territory. The country is quite unfit for occupation by Europeans; and would always be likely to remain as a convenient buffer between India and Afghanistan proper.

Whilst deprecating therefore any undignified alarm at the nearer approach of Russia towards India, I quite recognise the desirability of having the whole of Afghanistan between the two nations, instead of the narrower zone above alluded to, if it can be managed without our making any forward military movement to secure it. It is clear however that the Amir has no military resources at his

disposal, sufficient to prevent an occupation of his dominions by Russia ; and I am absolutely convinced that it would be a suicidal policy on the part of India, were she to pledge herself to directly assist the Amir. There remains therefore but one other alternative ; the power of diplomacy, as represented by our Foreign Office at home.

Were the English Government of the day to inform the Russian Government that any advance of troops within the frontiers of Afghanistan would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as a hostile act, which must lead to the rupture of friendly relations, and to an immediate declaration of war, I cannot but think that Russia would abandon her design, if she felt convinced that we were really in earnest. This however involves questions far beyond the scope of this paper ; and into which I have no desire to enter.

My sole object has been to try and show that, from a military point of view, there ought to be no danger to India should Russia either take forcible possession of Afghanistan ; or occupy the country with the consent of the Amir ; provided that proper precautions are taken to increase the natural strength of our frontier. Any forward movement beyond our borders, as at present contemplated by the Government of India, would, I feel sure, defeat the very object it is intended to obtain :—viz. the safety of India.

THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

BY MAJOR GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE proposed Reform of the present system of Army administration and Army organization in India, to effect which a Bill has been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, generally follows the lines of the Reform in the Civil administration of the country made half a century since, when the Governor General of India was relieved from the duty of a provincial administration. But though the Earl of Dalhousie ceased to be Governor of Bengal, the Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army still remained the Commander in Chief in India; and he has remained so to this day. The positions of the Civil Governor General and the Military Commander in Chief under the East India Company were both *Primi inter pares*. The former has been exalted into a Viceroy; but the latter, though the force of circumstances has really made him supreme over the whole Indian Army, has as yet received no official or formal warrant for his increased dignity and extended responsibilities.

It is now nearly a century and a half since a few independent companies of Sipáhi infantry were united into a battalion at Fort St. George, and called the First Carnatic Battalion. That Battalion, now the First Regiment of Madras Pioneers, is the *doyen* of our Indian Army. The experiment proved so successful that next year six more battalions were formed or newly raised; and, for a hundred years more, hardly one passed without a fresh addition to the strength of the Honourable East India Company's Native Army. The Army grew with the growth of the Empire whose history was a record of its labours and achievements. At the end of a century, it had attained to a strength of two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, armed, trained and disciplined in the European fashion.

This formidable army had grown out of the half dozen companies composed of the "miserable Kafirs of Telingana," as they were called by the Musalman warriors of India, who had been drilled to the use of foreign arms at Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast in 1745, to fit them to encounter the French Sipáhis trained under the orders of Dupleix.

The English sphere of influence in India was gradually extended over the whole interior of the country, from the three Seaports and Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. These three seats of government were at first virtually independent of each other; and until our position in India as a *de facto* sovereign power was defined in the time of Warren Hastings, the Presidency of Fort St. George had generally held the paramount position. The local governments made their own treaties and alliances, raised their own revenues, and maintained their own armies. Of these the Madras Army was the first to enter the field; and its "Telinga Sepoys," whom Clive carried with him to Calcutta in his expedition to avenge the tragedy of the Black Hole and to restore the position of the English in Bengal, formed the *nucleus* of the Bengal Army. Hence the name "Telinga" came to be applied by the Musalmans of Hindustan to all Sipáhis trained in the European fashion, whatever their nationality.

The Bombay Army was considerably the junior of the three; for though Bombay was one of the oldest English settlements, its neighbourhood to the dominions of the powerful Mahratta Confederacy long limited its territorial expansion, while Bengal and Madras were carving out provinces from the disintegrating mass of the dying Mogul Empire.

Thus three separate military establishments were formed in the three Presidencies, of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They were recruited from the territories under the sway of the governments to which they owed allegiance, as well as from the neighbouring native states; for the terms of our

service attracted the pick of the military adventurers who swarmed in India in those troublous and distracted times.

The three armies thus differed widely in composition, and also, to some extent, in the regulations which they obeyed, and in the details of their dress and equipment. When they met upon some joint expedition, they met more as the allied armies of friendly Powers, than as troops of the same State. The British officers shared the strong *esprit de corps* of their native soldiers; and Presidential jealousy almost rose to the dignity of national rivalry. And this jealousy was not purely a matter of sentiment. The "Qui-hye," the "Mull," and the "Duck"* could be readily distinguished, the one from the other, by the differences in their social customs as well as by the breed of their horses, the pattern of their tents, and the fashion of their kit. Each stoutly maintained the excellence of his own traditions, and contemned those of his rivals. The cabals and mutinies of the officers against the Government, which occasionally marred the record of the Company's Army during the first half-century of its existence, were always confined to one Presidency only.

The rivalry between the Bengal Army and the two Armies of the Minor Presidencies was, however, always keener and stronger than that between Madras and Bombay. The jealousy of the two latter was excited by the circumstance that the Bengal Army was immediately under the patronage of the Supreme Government, and was therefore supposed to be the especial object of its favour. The Commander in Chief in India was also Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army, and his *entourage*, in so far as it was composed of Company's officers, was composed of Bengal officers. The keen spirit of rivalry which animated the officers of the King's and the Company's

* Nick-names for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay officers respectively: the first from the manner of calling a servant "Koi hai?"—"Is anyone there?" the second from the favourite dish at Mess, Mulligatawny soup; and the last from the appetising condiment called a "Bombay duck."

Armies in India was imitated in the relations between the officers of the Bengal Army and their jealous compeers of Madras and Bombay. "The Bengal side of the Punkah" became a synonym in Anglo-Indian jargon for "a soft thing." The complaints of the Madras and Bombay Armies were not without foundation, and their wrongs were amply avenged. The affection of the Supreme Government for the Bengal Sipáhi became foolishly fond. Many causes have been alleged for the outbreak of the great Mutiny in 1857; but there was one first and simple cause—the maladministration of the Bengal Army.* For this its English officers were not so much to blame as the policy pursued by the Government of India, and probably first inaugurated by Lord William Bentinck. The jealousy of military despotism, natural to English Liberals, is quite out of place in dealing with an army of mercenaries, aliens, and, above all, Orientals. For years before the great Mutiny the discipline of the Bengal Army had become thoroughly rotten. Sir Charles Napier plainly perceived whither events were tending; and he sought to re-establish discipline; but he was thwarted and snubbed by Lord Dalhousie, who lived to see the ruin wrought by his own egregious folly. The too energetic hero of Meeanee was replaced by a respectable old figure-head; and the Bengal Army was allowed to drift on, into mutiny and ruin—a striking example of the fatal consequences of civilian interference with military discipline.

It is certainly a remarkable fact, that the Army under the immediate eye and charge of the Supreme Government should have dissolved itself by a general mutiny, while the Armies of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies maintained their discipline intact, and their name untarnished.

This is the strongest argument that can be adduced against the amalgamation of the Indian Armies; and it

* May we suggest that the Mutiny could not have taken place, if the European garrison of India had been maintained at its proper strength?—
ED.

naturally is the one chiefly relied upon by the opponents of the measure.

A remarkable instance of the effect of the close connection of the Supreme Government of India with one of the Presidential Armies was seen in the re-organization of the Indian Army after the suppression of the Mutiny. The old Bengal Army had dissolved itself, and a new one had taken its place, composed of hasty levies, and officered at hap-hazard from the Cadres of officers of the old Army. Its rough-and-ready organization, which had sprung out of the needs of the moment, was adopted by the Government of India ; and though any man with a knowledge of the first principles of military organization could have pointed out its obvious deficiencies, it was actually forced upon the Madras and Bombay Armies, which had not mutinied and stood in no need of re-organization. The entire system of these two Armies, which had in no way failed to answer its purpose, was completely dislocated ; and their whole machinery was thrown out of gear, to the serious detriment of their efficiency, in order that they might imitate, or perhaps that they might present no contrast to, the newly-devised organization of the Bengal Army. The main feature of the new scheme, by which the British officer is only temporarily attached to his native regiment, and obtains his promotion independently of it, though very favourable to the private interests of the officer, is inimical to the true interests of the Army, which can be best served by identifying the interests of the British officer with those of the native soldier.

The institution of the Staff Corps was no doubt a great step towards the amalgamation of the three armies, to which events had long been tending. The great combined operations of the campaigns of the Pindári war had first united the three armies for long periods in the field and in cantonments ; and, after that war, the establishment of the British Suzerainty over all Hindustan no longer suffered them to remain isolated from each other as before.

The tendency of military administration and legislation was to remove differences, and, as far as possible, to obliterate distinctions. After the Mutiny the officers of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Armies for the first time recognised a common bond of union, as officers of the one Indian Army. Since that time the process of unification has gradually and continuously gone on. The separate Army Regulations for each Presidency Army have been replaced by a volume of Indian Army Regulations. The Pay, Ordnance, and Commissariat Departments of the three Armies have been amalgamated into one. The Commander in Chief in India has claimed for himself the right of interference in the internal affairs of the lesser Armies. The Governments of the Minor Presidencies have generally ceased to interest or trouble themselves with military matters in their own governments, other than the disposal of their regulated amount of patronage and provision for the requirements of the Civil Power. These are now but occasional and trifling, since the military occupation of Civil Stations, the guard of Treasuries and Jails and a host of Police duties, formerly performed by the troops, have been swept away by the administrative reforms that followed upon the suppression of the Mutiny. The altered relations of Provincial commands to the Supreme authority have been brought about, not so much by any fixed or preconceived policy, as by changed conditions and circumstances: such as the union of all India under British Suzerainty; improved communications, railways, and telegraphs; increased facilities for simplifying and methodizing the work of administration by centralization.

Regarding the military aspects of the new arrangement, there can hardly be two views: and the strong objections to its introduction which have been made in high military circles are based on purely political grounds. The anomalous state of things, by which the passing of a subaltern officer of the Bengal Army in the vernaculars by

the Lower Standard was notified to the world in the orders by the Commander in Chief and published in the Gazette of India, while the transfer of the command of a regiment in the Madras and Bombay armies passed unnoticed and unrecorded, is finally put an end to. The Commander in Chief in India will no longer be the Commander in Chief of one of the Presidency armies.

The arguments and reasons which caused the division of the Civil administration of our Indian dominions apply equally to the military administration. The Bengal Army of to-day musters about double the number of men at which custom and convenience have fixed the limit of strength of a Continental Army Corps. This overgrown Army will now be divided into two Army Corps, the Northern—garrisoning the Punjab, and the Eastern—garrisoning Bengal and Assam. The Bombay and Madras Armies will become respectively the Western and Southern Army Corps, with but little change in their territorial distribution. But Burmah, which since our first acquisition of the Tennasserim provinces in 1827 has always been garrisoned from Madras, is for the future to form a separate military command,—probably a Division,—though the strength of the force now garrisoning that country might almost warrant the creation of a fifth Army Corps. The proximity of the Chinese Empire and the probable necessity of protecting our Siamese ally against possible French aggression do not seem to promise any great diminution of our present military force in Burmah.

The Indian Army will, under this new system, furnish the first real illustration of the formation of Army Corps in our British Empire; for the organization of our British troops in the United Kingdom in Army Corps exists only on paper, and it is extremely doubtful whether it will ever receive practical illustration. India will no longer possess three separate armies; but one Army, divided into four Corps.

These Army Corps will have a dual composition: the

British squadrons, batteries, and battalions forming part of them will be changeable constituents, their connection with the Corps only depending upon their being located within its territorial limits. This arrangement of course corresponds to the unavoidable anomaly by which these troops, while belonging to the British Regular Army, form, temporarily, part of the Indian Army. The Native troops, on the other hand, will belong permanently to their own Army Corps, and will presumably be always, in time of peace, cantoned within the limits of its territory. But such is the force of sentiment, especially in the East, that it is very doubtful whether, under the new arrangement, the old feelings of jealousy and antagonism between the native soldiers of the different Presidency Armies will not disappear altogether; and it is on this presumption that the opponents of the scheme base their principal objection to it. The tendency of natives to conglomerate and form castes according to calling is well known: and the fusion of the many and various castes in the Madras and Bombay Armies into one military corporation is a case in point. The Madrasi Musalman and Hindu Sipáhis have much more sympathy of feeling and interest with each other than with their own co-religionists in the civil ranks of life. In the old Bengal Army, Brahmins, Kshatryas, and Musalmans came to form practically one caste. The "Bhai-bandi" of a common calling and common interests often proves stronger with Orientals than the ties of race or creed.

The diversity of creed and race in our Native Indian Army is our greatest safeguard: but the diversity of the creed and race of the Pathans of Rampore, and the Poorbeas of Oude, did not prevent their uniting against us when they had once served in the ranks of the same regiment. The dangers of a Military Mutiny in India, however improbable such an event may now seem, must always be present to us, after the events of 1857: and we must confess to increasing this risk, by the abnegation of the principle indicated by the maxim "*Divide et Impera*," in

the administration of our Indian Army. Those who have studied the Oriental character will know that the danger is not chimerical : but to be fore-warned is to be fore-armed.

The best security against such a dangerous unanimity lies in the principle of Class Regiments, as they are called in the Bengal Army, meaning regiments in which all the men belong to one race or nationality. In the formation of our Indian native Army, our military forefathers proceeded on the opposite plan, that of mingling all castes and races in "mixed regiments," as the best method of guarding against united action. But under that system the Bengal Army managed to transform itself into a Class Army ; and we have no doubt but that, had equal opportunity and occasion for mutiny been presented to the Madras and Bombay Armies, their heterogeneous composition would have proved no obstacle to their combining to effect their ends. The partial mutinies which have from time to time taken place in those armies, have not been confined to any particular class. To keep the separate nationalities and races apart, in Class regiments, appears to be the best method of continuing their natural rivalries and preventing their amalgamation. *Cæteris paribus*, Class regiments will always, from a military point of view, be more efficient than mixed regiments. The Welsh, Scotch and Irish regiments in the British Army are cases in point. To those who wish to pursue the subject, the Imperial Army of Austria-Hungary, with its Class regiments of Polish Lancers, Hungarian Hussars, and Tyrolese Jägers, affords striking examples of both the advantages and disadvantages of the system of Class regiments.

Less can be said in favour of the Class Company system, which is still in force in the greater number of our Bengal regiments. We think that such troops would be less likely to stand the strain of an arduous campaign and bloody battles than even mixed regiments : and under the stress of a great disaster, a battalion of Class Companies would be very apt to resolve itself into its constituent elements. It

gives rise also to the vicious principle of promoting men, not according to their relative fitness, but according to their caste or creed : a practice which was lately forced on the Madras Army though there existed in that mixed army absolutely no warrant or occasion for its introduction ; and its observance caused much heart-burning, discontent, and jealousy among the Native ranks. This instance points to another reason alleged against the amalgamation of the three separate Armies in India.

The country is, as we all know, inhabited by many divers nations and races, differing widely from each other in their religions, habits and manners ; - as much as Russians differ from Neapolitans, or Turks from Greeks. A Sikh soldier must wear his hair long : an Afghan must not be asked to shave his beard : eating beef is a sacrilege to one man : wearing a leather chinstrap is an abomination to another. A regulation that is pleasing in the Punjab may be hateful in Madras ; and *vice versa*. There is therefore some little danger that the enforcement of a general uniformity, which is well known to be a fetish of the average military mind, may be productive of local disaffection, and may repeat the lesson of the obnoxious head-dress at Vellore, and the incident of the greased cartridge at Barrackpore.

“So great events from little causes spring.”

Hitherto the influence of the Simla Army administration upon the separate Armies of the Minor Presidencies has been, upon the whole, pernicious ; because it has been generally dictated by the acquaintance of those authorities with conditions prevailing only in the North of India, which have no analogy in the Deccan : and we fear that this disability may still continue to operate in the future. For the Commander in Chief in India, from his location with the Supreme Government, will always be more in touch with the needs and wishes of the Army Corps nearest the seat of Government, to the possible prejudice of

those more remote. But this contingency is certainly less probable under the new system than under the old, when the Commander in Chief of the Bengal Army exercised a controlling authority over the other Armies. In future the Army Chief in India will not have his hands fettered by attention to minor details.

With regard to the financial aspects of the new departure we fear that it will not result in a saving to the Indian exchequer. Though some reduction may be made on the establishments of the two Madras and Bombay Army Headquarters, yet these will be more than counter-balanced by the extra establishment of a fourth Army Corps, and by the separation of the Headquarter Staff of the Army from that of the present Bengal Army.

We hope that under its new organization the Indian Army may always preserve the high character which has made it a unique instance among mercenary armies. May it long continue to recall memories of the glories of Buxar, Koregaum and Sitabaldi—glories which it may rival, but can never hope to surpass.

We would beg leave to offer the following remarks on the above most valuable contribution, to which we venture to draw the attention of the Military Authorities in the conviction that, under any new arrangement, full justice will be done, in the distribution of patronage, to the claims of the distinguished officers of the Bombay and Madras Armies. Whilst their loyalty is as exemplary as it is historical, may we also venture to point out that what was calculated inevitably to keep them together was their FAMILY system? The wives and children of the troops of the Madras Presidency were all in Cantonments, when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, so if these troops had mutinied, they would have risked their all, but they had no desire to mutiny and no reason for it. The Mutiny became possible because the proportion of British to Native troops had been reduced by Lord Dalhousie to a dangerous extent. The whole number in India was 30,000 men, and the native army at that time was over 250,000 men strong. As a matter of fact, the discipline of the different Native Armies was very much on a par, except that there was no flogging in the native Bengal Army, and, it is said, a slackness in its system. Some of the worst corps in the Bengal army as regards discipline did *not* mutiny.—ED.

IS INDIA SAFE ?*

BY SIR LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

IT is necessary to briefly note the European situation before discussing Asiatic problems, seeing that an answer to the question of whether India is in danger from Russian aggression cannot be considered a purely Asiatic matter, or one which alone concerns the two great Empires which have now in Asia become conterminous. A war between England and Russia for the empire of Asia and more especially for the supreme prize of India, would not be an affair of a campaign ; it would continue until one or both combatants were exhausted ; and it is not likely that England would be the first to cry " Enough ! " when her persistence and success during the Napoleonic Wars are remembered and when it is considered that in those days she did not possess a quarter of her present wealth and population. It is far more likely that a gigantic struggle by Russia in Asia would unite against her those of her rivals in Europe who can never be secure until her power is reduced, and that such a war is far more likely to terminate in Russia being pushed back to the Dnieper, than in the loss by England of her position in Asia. It would be unwise for politicians in Vienna and Berlin to regard with equanimity a war between Russia and England on what they may please to call an Asiatic question, and it may be permitted for an Englishman to point out that the danger which threatens India from Russia is no more than that which threatens Central and Eastern Europe from the aggression of the same Power. The excitement which a Russian attack on India might cause among the native princes would not be so formidable as that which a hostile

* The translation of the above article appeared, in the form of a letter, in the *Deutsche Revue*. So many mistakes, unfortunately, occur in the translation that I think it advisable to publish the original, omitting the introduction which was specially intended for the German public.

movement of Russia in Western or Southern Europe would cause among the discontented Nationalities, Socialists and Anarchists who are ever threatening modern civilization, while Russian intrigues in Asia are not likely to bear more bitter fruit than those which she is ever prosecuting in the Balkan principalities and on her Western frontiers. The consciousness of a common danger would soon procure England powerful allies who, in their own interests, would join her to repulse an attack, the success of which would compromise the safety of Turkey, Austria and Germany. The struggle between England and Russia would be decided in Europe and not in Afghanistan and India. No doubt the Governments of the countries I have named would be glad to stand aloof were it possible to do so. They would gladly see the strength of Russia exhausted in a prolonged contest with England; but self-preservation will compel them to assist in reducing the power for evil of the only autocratic and irresponsible despotism in Europe, whose system of government is an anachronism in the present day and a standing menace to civilization.

We will now leave European politics and inquire what are the conditions of the problem in Asia. Without counting upon European allies, is England able successfully to repel any attack which might be made by Russia upon her Indian Empire? I would reply that England is in a position to hold her own against any attack; that her power in India has been enormously increased during recent years and that in this generation Russia could not attack her with any hope of success. Within the narrow limits of this article I can do little more than enumerate the chief points to be considered, which are four in number; namely, the sentiments of the mass of the people in British India towards the Government; the feeling of the native princes; the attitude of Afghanistan and the Amir of Kabul, and, lastly, the military and strategic measures of defence which have been lately adopted by the Indian Government.

The province of India which I know most intimately and to the Government of which I was for many years the Secretary, is the Punjab, the most important from a military point of view. If its population fairly represent the people of India, it may be said that they are sincerely loyal to the British Government and have no desire for any change. Although in this province there was a short-lived and famous monarchy, overthrown by the English in 1846, the Sikhs who founded it were but a military sect forming not more than a tenth of the Punjab population. They fought gallantly on the side of the English during the great Mutiny of 1857 and their good will has in no way grown cold. Sikhs are our best native soldiers and they have done excellent service in China, Burma, Afghanistan and Egypt. Those who have only a superficial knowledge of India fancy that the English can never be accepted by the people as the legitimate rulers of the country for the reason that they are foreigners. But India has always been governed by foreigners. The people have no other experience. No possible monarch could be chosen who would not be a foreigner to nine-tenths of the population. For it must be realized that India is but a geographical expression for an assemblage of countries, inhabited by many different races, speaking absolutely different languages; with distinct customs and religions. There is a greater difference in feeling, language and physique between a Sikh from the Punjab and a native of Bengal, than there is between a Swede and a Spaniard. There is far greater natural hostility between the Muhammadans of whom there are 57 millions, and the 215 millions of Hindus and Buddhists than can exist between any European races which all profess the same religious belief. A Muhammadan ruler of India would be far less popular than an English Viceroy: while the proud, monotheistic Muhammadans would never tolerate a government by Hindus whom they despise as idolaters. The strength of England in India is founded on religious toleration. Each person is

free to profess and practise, publicly and unmolested, what his creed enjoins; and no sect, however powerful or numerous, is permitted to interfere with the religious equality of the smallest and most obscure class. Taxation is extremely light, so much so that if a Hindu peasant abstains from intoxicating liquor and does not go to law, he may pass through life without contributing to the Imperial revenue more than a trifling duty on salt. His dress, his food, his tobacco, are all untaxed. He is as free from official interference as an Englishman. He can say and write what he likes; a liberty which is often abused. Person and property are so respected, that a man is far more safe from violence or robbery in an Indian city or the remotest Indian village, than in London or Paris or Berlin. He is educated without payment in Government schools and colleges; he is cured without payment in Government hospitals. The proprietorship in the land has been granted to him by the English, though, under native princes, he was only a tenant at will. Why should the Indian not be content? Why should he desire to turn against his benefactors? He has no feeling of nationality or patriotism; for India has never been a country or a nation in the European sense. The only desire of the people is to live in peace and security, every man enjoying the fruits of his own industry. Self government in their villages and the municipal administration of their towns, the Indians already possess. More than this they do not want; more they have never enjoyed, nor would they accept it if it were offered to them.

What I have said of the people of British India, applies still more strongly to the Native Princes, Hindu and Muhammadan, who govern an area of country of 895,000 square miles, with a population of 56 millions. It is among these that it is assumed that Russia would find her allies. The assumption is a groundless one and any invader trusting to the support of the Princes would find that he had leant upon a broken reed. In the great

Is India Safe ?

Mutiny of 1857 the Rajas had their opportunity. The Indian Empire was shaken to its very foundations, and if the princes had declared against us, the reconquest of India would have been long and difficult. But with few and unimportant exceptions, they stood loyal, even when their mutinous troops deserted them ; and many of them fought on our side throughout the campaign. What sympathy have they with Russia ? They are quite sufficiently informed to understand that they would be far worse off under Russia than they are at present : that they would enjoy less power and would be compelled to contribute a large share of their revenues to the Imperial Treasury. The Rajas are more contented now than they were at the time of the Mutiny. The English Government has formally abandoned the policy of annexation and has granted to all the princes the right of adoption on failure of male heirs. They are guaranteed, under treaty engagements, all their rights and privileges, and so long as they do not oppress their subjects too flagrantly, they are allowed full independence in the internal administration of their States. They have everything to lose by disloyalty and nothing to gain. Even if some should be so foolish as to turn against us, they would quickly be overwhelmed by the loyal princes among whom their forfeited possessions would be distributed. The hatreds and jealousies between Native States are far more bitter and deep rooted than any which are felt against the English, and the loyal princes might be left quite surely to coerce the ill disposed. It might be imagined that the Rajas viewed the English with dislike as new intruders in India who had taken from them the supremacy which they before enjoyed. This is a mistake. With the exception of the ancient Rajput princes with whom we have never quarrelled and who are our most loyal allies, the Rajas of India never enjoyed supremacy and most of them are more modern than the English themselves. Few of them have a history of more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty years.

Turning to Afghanistan a different problem is suggested. There it is impossible to predict the future with any certainty. The Afghans are a singularly fierce and treacherous race with a strong love of independence. Their obedience is never given to any master when they are strong enough to throw off his yoke. They are even impatient of the control of their tribal chiefs, and are in temper purely democratic, each man thinking himself as good as his fellows. Any foreigner, especially if he be an infidel and not a Muhammadan, is an enemy ; and England or Russia would meet with equal opposition in invading the country. But of England they have now little distrust. Our campaigns in Afghanistan left the country much richer than when we entered it. Everything required for the transport and commissariat of the army was paid for, and plundering or violence to the peaceable population was unknown. Twice have we left the country when we might have annexed it, and both the ruler and his people must have acquired confidence in the honesty and friendship of our professions.

The Amir Abdul Rahman is a man of great sagacity and courage, and although his methods of government are ferocious according to European ideas, he understands the only way to keep his turbulent subjects in order.

Towards the close of the Afghan War I was sent on a diplomatic mission to Kabul to make final arrangements for the settlement of the country after the withdrawal of the English armies, and I conducted all the negotiations which ended with the proclamation of the present Amir as ruler of Afghanistan. I was indeed the first English official to meet him and make his acquaintance, and I was much struck by his ability and energy and knowledge of the political affairs not only of Afghanistan but of Europe. He had a very keen idea of his own interests, and was not a man to be led astray by either sentiment or fanaticism. When we selected him as sovereign of Afghanistan, he had just left Russian protection, under which he had lived for many years, and had crossed the Oxus in search of adventure, encouraged thereto by his Russian hosts.

The fact of his having been a Russian pensioner did not in any way prejudice us against him ; indeed, this fact was one of the reasons for our selection, for we believed that any prince who had an intimate knowledge of Russian methods of administration would be the most careful to avoid intriguing with them. His residence at Samarkand and Tashkend must, we thought, have given him an object lesson which would be useful to him as Sovereign of Afghanistan ; a second is before him to-day in Bokhára. Twelve years have elapsed since the country was confided to him, and he has remained uniformly on friendly terms with the English Government and has accepted the position of their subsidized ally, under promise to enter into no engagements with any other Power, and so long as he maintains his promise he is guaranteed against any foreign attack. He is, indeed, a feudatory of the Empress of India ; a large part of his income is paid from the Indian Treasury, and an attack upon him by Russia would be the same as an attack upon any other portion of her Majesty's dominions.

The last point, namely the defensive preparations which have been made by the Indian Government on the North West Frontier, can only be alluded to. The subject would require a separate article. I would, however, observe, that the Indian frontier is infinitely more secure than it was ten years ago. The great entrenched camp at Quetta in Biluchistan, commanding Kandahar and connected by strategic railways with India, is complete and blocks what is probably the only practical route for a large invading force. Roads, railways and telegraphs have been multiplied along the North West Frontier, and the northern border of Kashmir, although I do not believe in the possibility of any serious attack from that direction, has been sufficiently guarded. In India itself we do not care to build fortresses, for the defence of which our army is too small. If we increased it to such an extent as to be able to hold central fortresses in time of war with large bodies of troops, the burden of

taxation upon the country would cause far more discontent than would be compensated for by the additional security. We prefer to have a small army in India which, at the present time, English and Native, with a few regiments from selected Native States, does not exceed 250,000 men. But a war with Russia for the possession of India would be one of which there would be long notice and elaborate preparation, and the Indian Army, European and Native, would be doubled in numbers before any Russian troops arrived within striking distance of India.

The Russian armies on paper look very formidable, but an attack delivered at so great a distance from the base of operations, with one toy line of railway for only a portion of the road and a country with scanty supplies and inhabited by a hostile population between Herat and Kandahar, would not be lightly regarded by any Government when they had to meet the whole power of England, on her own ground and in chosen positions, at the end of their march. To place 100,000 men on the Western borders of India, is beyond the strength of Russia in this generation. No doubt, should cause of quarrel arise between us, she would endeavour to annoy and injure us in India as far as possible, but an invasion could have no hope of success.

The quality of the Indian Native troops is little known or appreciated in Europe. Some of the fighting races, who form the largest proportion of our army, are not inferior to any soldiers in the world, when well and sufficiently led by European officers. The Sikhs and Gurkhas are, I believe, superior to Russian troops of the line. They are much of the same quality as the Turks who held the Russians at bay in the last war, and who would have beaten them single-handed had they not been betrayed by their own generals. As to the Native Indian Irregular Cavalry, although it might be increased by twenty regiments with advantage, it is infinitely superior to the Cossack regiments of Russia.

The conclusion of this brief article is, that during this generation, Russia has nothing to gain and everything to

lose by an attack on India which could not be successful. In another generation, perhaps, invasion would be more easy, but each generation must take care of itself. Our position in India becomes each day stronger with the spread of education, the increase and improvement of communications and the greater wealth and prosperity of the country. Time fights for us, rather than for Russia. It is not likely that the Indian people, when they become rich, educated and civilized, will desire to place themselves under the grinding tyranny of Russia. By that time, too, the Russian Government may have itself changed. The benevolence of some future Czar, or a revolution, born of oppression, may sweep away the present order of things and give to Russia a constitution and to her people free and representative institutions. She would then cease to be to Western Europe what the Goths and Vandals were to Ancient Rome, and would enter the ranks of civilized nations to which, at present, she cannot be said to belong.

THE AFGHAN DILEMMA.

BY "HISTORICUS."

It has often been observed that, while the English people keep a watchful and jealous eye on the internal administration of the Kingdom, and exercise no small control over taxation and State expenditure, they allow themselves to be almost entirely excluded from the conduct of their foreign affairs; whereby a few Cabinet Ministers have had it in their power, by embarking on speculative schemes of foreign policy, to involve the nation in serious disputes with other countries and render war inevitable, before the English people were acquainted with the true nature and aim of the policy pursued. In such cases the House of Commons may of course refuse supplies; but by the time Parliament and the people are informed of the full circumstances of the dispute, it is often too late to reverse the action of the Government, and the nation thus finds itself committed to war, without any clear knowledge of its necessity or justice.

This evil assumes greater proportions still, and becomes a danger to the British Constitution, when the Cabinet has the means of raising war supplies without applying for them to Parliament—when, for instance, the Indian treasury may be put into requisition and our Indian fellow-subjects be taxed, for giving effect to schemes of conquest secretly devised by the British Cabinet and entered upon without the consent of Parliament. It was through such means that the nation was twice drawn into disastrous wars with the Afgháns; and it is the same unconstitutional device that is now practised for defraying extravagant preparations for a third invasion of Afghánistán.

The plea for our aggressive action in 1838 and 1878 was that the military occupation of Afghánistán was necessary for the safety of India from a Russian attack. The hollowness of that plea has been exposed by our highest authorities.

The Duke of Wellington, at the time of the first Afghán war, characterized the Russian scare as "a political nightmare"; and in later years, Lord Lawrence, Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir William Mansfield (afterwards Lord Sandhurst) and General (now Lord) Roberts deprecated our occupying advanced posts in Afghánistán for the protection of India, and condemned that policy as being calculated, on the contrary, to weaken our means of defence against an enemy who should advance through that country. Lord Beaconsfield himself, who was responsible for the war of 1878-80, and who sought to justify it on the mystic ground of a "scientific frontier," admitted that so far as the invasion of India in that quarter was concerned, it was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it was hardly practicable. "The base of operations of any possible foe was so remote, the communications were so difficult, the aspect of the country so forbidding, that the Government had long arrived at the opinion that an invasion of the Indian Empire, by passing the mountains which form our North Western frontier, was one which we need not dread." *Speech on Lord Mayor's Day*, 1878.

On the other hand, every circumstance of the late war and of our subsequent expeditions against the border-tribes of Afghánistán, shows that the conquest of that proverbially difficult country, the subjugation of its hitherto indomitable occupants, and the military glory expected to accrue from such deeds, were the real aim and motive of the policy pursued on those occasions; and that the safety of India was a mere plea resorted to for justifying the appropriation of Indian revenue in the prosecution of Imperial schemes of conquest.

Military success invariably evokes popular applause, regardless alike of moral considerations and of the material value of a conquest; and had the late war been successful, the nation would doubtless have overlooked the fact, that no real glory can be gained by a great country when it attacks, from a selfish motive, an unoffending and avowedly weaker nation; and furthermore, that all the revenue we

could expect to raise in Afghánistán would not defray a twentieth part of the cost of holding that barren country. But the late war was not successful; its authors had entirely failed to apprehend the difficulties of the task they had undertaken, and seemed to have expected their enterprise to resolve in a military promenade, a shower of stars and ribbons and some substantial rewards for the favoured few. Events soon dispelled those visions and, after two years of warfare spent chiefly in foraging for supplies and marked by two signal defeats—namely, our hasty retreat into Sherpur before Mahomed Ján's fanatical hordes, and the disastrous battle of Maiwand lost near Kandahar—our armies evacuated Afghánistán, not only without having gained the smallest advantage to compensate for the blood and treasure expended in that war, but under conditions particularly mortifying to our national pride.

The policy which proved so disastrous, is again being pursued on the questionable argument that Russia's persistent advance towards India, calls for a corresponding movement on our part; while the arguments of the above-mentioned authorities, showing that India can be better defended on her own frontier, than by an encounter with the enemy in a difficult and hostile country like Afghánistán, far from our reserves and general resources, remain unanswered and are entirely ignored.

The revival of the "forward policy" may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the hope entertained by its promoters, of obliterating, by military success in a future campaign, the humiliating recollections of the late war. Let us see how far such an expectation is warranted, either by the costly preparations we have made, or by our achievements in recent years.

We have constructed military roads and railways which may facilitate the advance of our troops into Afghánistán; but they would not lessen the difficulties which caused our failure in the late war, seeing that these were met with only after we had penetrated into the interior of the

country, and that they arose from causes which are as powerful now as they were in 1840 and 1880—namely, the configuration and barrenness of the land, the severity of the climate in winter and summer, and the fanaticism of the inhabitants. Our preparations have also consisted of military expeditions and the distribution of money, for enforcing the submission or purchasing the neutrality of the border-tribes during the march of our troops through their mountains. The progress of all these preparations, however, has been most insignificant in comparison with the vast and complicated plan upon which they were designed. Some details of that plan will be found in Hon. G. Curzon's Chapter on the North Western Frontier of India, 1890.

Of the projected railways only one has been made, namely, the Scind-Pishin line which was afterwards extended to near Chaman. This line is now found to be quite unsuitable for military purposes in time of war, seeing that important sections of it are liable, from floods and landslips, to frequent and prolonged interruptions. In March this year the Royal Dublin Fusiliers proceeding on relief to Quetta, were detained at Sibi, in consequence of a series of landslips in the Hurnai section; and Quetta was then, as it had frequently been before, deprived of railway communication with India.*

The construction of the other projected railways has hitherto been effectually opposed by the neighbouring tribesmen; and as to our military roads, some were destroyed by the villagers, as soon as the troops sent to protect our working parties had retired, while the construction of others was interrupted, through our road-makers and their escorts being overpowered by tribal gatherings.

* Parts in the big cutting in the Hurnai line have been absolutely obliterated again and again, and every expedient failed to keep it in shape. Rails have been laid down only to disappear, and by the time one slip had been mastered, another came to destroy the work done. The Engineering Committee have now come to the conclusion that no permanent remedy can be applied which will make the railway secure from landslips. See *Pioneer*, 27 and 28 April, 1893.

Nor have our frontier expeditions been more successful : the earliest marched from Kohát in 1877 with orders "to occupy the country of the Jowákis [a section of the Adam Khel Afridis who had molested our working parties] until they tendered their absolute submission."—*Govt. Proclamation. Foreign Dept., Nov. 5, 1877.* We demanded at first 70,000 Rúpees as compensation, 10,000 Rúpees as a fine, and the surrender of four of their Chiefs. Our terms were rejected, even after we had abandoned the claim for compensation and reduced the fine to half its original amount. Fighting ensued and, at the end of three months, we retired on receiving a verbal promise that the four Chiefs, whose surrender had been refused, would be sent away from the tribal territory. In short the expedition proved a complete failure, and similar results characterized all our subsequent frontier expeditions.

In 1878 a column under Major Cavagnari made a night attack on the Othmán Khel villages, in retaliation of the maltreatment inflicted on our road-makers ; and the following year we sent troops to subjugate the Zamushts and a section of the Orakzai tribe. In 1880, 1881 and 1882 expeditions were sent against the Momands, the Mahsud Waziris and the Kabul Khel Waziris ; while a considerable force under General Wilkinson attempted the reduction of the Bozdars. In 1883 an expedition fought its way into the country of the Shiránis on the pretext of surveying the Takht-in-Sulimán mountain. In 1884 and 1885 we invaded the territories of the Chigarzaïs, Akazaïs and Parári Syads in the North, and of the Kaker and Musá Khel tribes in Southern Afghánistán. In 1886 and 1887 operations were resumed against the Akazaïs, the Shiránis and the Bozdars who had remained defiant, and an expedition was sent to reduce the Bunerwals. In June 1888 a column under Major Battye and Captain Urmston marched into the Black Mountain country, when both officers were killed in a skirmish, and our troops had to retire. The unsatisfactory result of this long series of operations induced the Government to employ larger bodies of troops ; and in October

1888 an army of 8,000 fighting men under General M'Queen, accompanied by 5,000 baggage mules and the usual complement of grooms, water carriers, ambulance porters and other camp-followers, was despatched for reducing the Black Mountain country. This force encountered very little opposition and, on its return, the General stated in his farewell orders that "the Hasanzaïs, Akazaïs and other tribes had tendered their submission, and that roads had been constructed, which would afford ample scope for the advance of our troops." The tribesmen, it was said, had promised that we should in future be free to march through their country, and construct and maintain roads. But when we attempted to avail ourselves of those promises, they were at once repudiated, and the troops and working parties we sent in 1890 had to return. Thereupon a large force was despatched in 1891 for the complete subjugation of the Black Mountain country and the capture of Hasan Ali, the Chief who had led the tribes against our men. This expedition not succeeding in its mission, an offer was made by us to Hasan Ali, that if he surrendered, he should simply be interned with an ample allowance suitable to his rank. Eventually the expedition returned without the person of the Chief; but it was said that "he was sure to come in"; and later that "if he did not come in, his actions were of little consequence, as he had lost all prestige among the mountaineers." *Pioneer*, September, 1892. Nevertheless a third expedition was sent, in 1892, to hunt down and capture the Chief. Failure was again the result, and the further intentions of the Government in the matter have not transpired.

While these unsuccessful operations were taking place in the North, we invaded the Miranzaï country where our road-makers had been dispersed: we also sent expeditions to occupy the Gumal Pass and the Zhob country beyond it, in pursuance of a project to construct a railway from our frontier station of Dehra-Ismail-Khan to Pishin, as an alternative line to the defective Scind-Pishin railway.

The first Miranzai expedition left Kohat on the 26th January 1891, arriving the next day at Gwada, the residence of Makhmudin, the Chief who had attacked our working parties. The village had been deserted, and a party was ordered in pursuit of the Chief, but could not start until the 4th of February, as frost-bite and pneumonia had attacked our soldiers, and a convoy of sick had to be escorted back to India. The pursuit after Makhmudin proved fruitless, and on the 10th a column marched through the Zara pass. The Sappers and Miners worked hard at making a road; but snow fell from noon till dark, and the march, though only five miles, occupied from 11.30 a.m. to 5 a.m. the next day, the rear-guard and commissariat stores arriving only at 1.30 p.m. The country was covered with snow, and no opposition being offered by the enemy, the expedition returned on the 1st March, leaving a garrison at Gwada.

On the 4th April our Gwada garrison was overpowered and beat a precipitate retreat, pursued by the tribesmen as far as the low hills near our frontier. Another force, composed of three columns, was organised forthwith and marched on the 17th April, taking the village of Tsalai on the same day. We had then to bivouac, as our men were completely knocked up by the intense heat and the want of water. The next morning we carried the village of Sartop, and were obliged afterwards to halt at a spring to enable our troops to get water; many had been without it for twenty-four hours and were exhausted; the young soldiers of the King's Royal Rifles, fresh to the country, suffered specially from heat and thirst. (*See Sir W. Lockhart's Despatch 8th June, 1891.*) On the 19th April our third column was attacked, but reinforcements came to its relief the next day from Sangar. In the night of the 22nd our post at Chilibagh was fired into, and on the 23rd our convoy was attacked, losing a number of men and mules. In retaliation of these attacks, our troops blew up a number of villages, when some of the Chiefs consented to our

making a road up the Samana mountain. Thereupon the Miranzaï Field Force was withdrawn and broken up on the 15th May, the casualties during the four weeks having amounted to 101.

As regards the invasion of the Zhob valley alluded to in a preceding page, an expedition was sent in 1888 to survey the Gumal pass, but its mission being frustrated by the opposition of the Makhind tribe, a considerable force, accompanied by Sir R. Sandeman as Political officer, was despatched the following year through Baluchistán, with orders to occupy the Zhob country as far as the Western extremity of the Gumal pass. This force was arrested in its march by the Kidarzais; but our Agent, who subsidised certain Chiefs in the Zhob country, succeeded in 1890 in establishing, with their consent, a British post at Apozai; and afterwards in obtaining promises from the Mahsud Waziris, the Shiránis and the Derwesh Khel of Wána, that they would keep the Gumal pass open, in consideration of certain sums of money being annually paid to them by the British Government.

The subsidised Chiefs appear so far to have maintained a friendly demeanour; but their tribesmen all along manifested their strong objection to our presence, by night-firing into the British Agent's camp, by raiding for fire-arms and by cutting off our soldiers, when they ventured a few hundred yards from their lines. These insults increased and became so intolerable in 1892, that we threatened to send a force for punishing the tribesmen, unless the Amir withdrew an officer whom he had stationed among them, and to whose influence we ascribed their increased hostility. The Amir replied that, in compliance with our wishes, he had ordered his officer to retire, pending the result of the conference we had proposed, and at which he hoped that a clear understanding would be arrived at, regarding the boundary of our Empire. This reply, conciliatory as it looks, was resented nevertheless as evasive, and was responded to by a loud threat, in the

Times of November the 2nd, that the British Government would not be lightly turned from its settled policy, and that, unless the Amir fell in with that policy, Afghánistán as a kingdom would disappear.

Now, to understand the irritation thus manifested at the Amir's reply, it is necessary to remember that the "settled policy" referred to in the *Times*, is our "forward policy" aiming at the military occupation of Afghánistán—a policy which we communicated to Abdur-Rahman substantially in the following terms:—"To preserve the integrity of your dominions, you must co-operate with us in repelling Russian attacks, and assist us meanwhile in bringing under complete and permanent control, the Afghán tribes who dwell along our frontier." In this communication we omitted defining the territories we purposed to subjugate; but our advance to New Chaman and Apozai and our reference to repelling attacks on the Northern confines of the Amir's dominions, made it clear that the best part of Afghánistán was included in our intended sphere of action. Under these circumstances, the Amir's reference to a delimitation of our boundary obviously implied a protest against our encroachments which at once accounts for the menace published in the *Times*.

Of that menace the Amir seems to have taken no direct notice; but in one of the two letters he sent by Mr. Pyne, so far as its contents have transpired, he said, regarding his dealings with the frontier tribes, something to the effect that his conduct in the matter would be ruled by the Sacred Law which commands the respect of both parties. Now, the sacred law in independent Mahomedan communities enjoins the expulsion of the "infidel," except he be a guest or a servant—an article of faith in obedience to which our "forward policy" has met with the most fanatical opposition from the Afghán tribes. The Amir's letter may therefore be construed as a disguised defiance of our threat, an interpretation which does not appear unreasonable, when we consider that, if he were to assent to our policy, his

action would certainly be repudiated by the tribes, and would involve the loss of his power and his throne, and perhaps also of his life.

Meanwhile, our threat to destroy the Kingdom of Afghánistán has drawn the attention of the world to our relations with Abdur-Rahman—a subject which had been much obscured by strategic and political controversies, but which has now assumed a definite form; and the public mind is doubtless exercised to know whether the British Government will act up to its threat, or recede from the dominative position it has taken up. To recede would of course lower its dignity and prestige in the eyes of its Indian subjects and of Asiatic nations in general; while to execute its menace would involve the British nation in a third Afghán war, with no greater justification or better chance of success, than we had in our previous Afghán wars.

In estimating the issue of a third invasion it may be useful to bear in mind that sixteen years of uninterrupted warfare against the border-tribes of Afghánistán, has not enabled us to advance our frontier a single day's march from the line it occupied in 1876; and that all we have to show for the appalling amount of blood and treasure expended during that period, consists of a defective military railway, a number of unfinished and partly-destroyed military roads, and the precarious and contested positions we have taken up at Apozai and New Chaman. It is true that we have assurances of friendship and support from tribesmen whom we enlisted in our service or subsidised on other pleas, and on whom we profess to rely as on an irregular frontier guard of our Indian Empire. (*See Hon. G. Curzon's Chapter on the N.W. Frontier of India, 1890.*) But Sir L. Griffin, than whom no man has perhaps had more opportunities of judging the Afghán character, is far from sharing Mr. Curzon's faith in the affection and trustiness of our Afghán adherents. "The Afghán," says Sir L. Griffin in the *Fortnightly* for January last, "has a very

tenacious memory for injuries, and he never fails to avenge them, should an opportunity occur. The Afgháns are fierce, bloodthirsty, fanatical and *treacherous*." This judgment is strongly confirmed by the annals of the late war; and the many injuries inflicted by us in our frontier expeditions, have no doubt remained deeply impressed in the memory of the frontier tribes, for future settlement.

An element of particular weight in the present conjuncture is the critical financial position in India, where retrenchment and additional taxation are declared to be most urgently needed, and where the situation is further aggravated by the continued decline in the value of silver, the metal in which the Indian revenue is collected. To look, in this state of things, to the Indian treasury for the means of carrying on war, would certainly be the height of imprudence.

On the other hand, to remain in our present situation in Afghánistán and await opportunities for executing the "forward policy," while a hostile population surrounds our isolated garrison at Apozai, and Afghán forces assemble in front of our railway terminus at New Chaman, may be endurable for a short time, but must eventually result in war.

The name of Lord Roberts has been mentioned in a preceding page as that of one of the great authorities who condemned the policy of 1876, involving the establishment of British garrisons in Afghánistán for meeting an eventual Russian advance through that country. An impression prevails in some circles that, whatever opinion General Roberts may have held regarding that policy at the close of the late war, his views on the subject have since been entirely modified. It becomes important, therefore, to ascertain how far such an impression is well founded, and what are his lordship's present views on the subject.

On the eve of his retirement from the command of Her Majesty's forces in India, Lord Roberts spoke in eulogistic terms of the frontier defences in India which have been constructed of late years. Before considering his remarks

on the subject, it may be well to bear in mind that the works officially designated as "frontier defences" in Northern India, belong to two distinct classes—namely, to railways and fortified posts calculated to facilitate the concentration of troops on our frontier; and to military roads and railways constructed beyond our frontier, and adapted only to the conveyance of troops into Afghánistán. The latter, it will be seen from the following quotations, are not, in Lord Roberts's opinion, necessary for the protection of India. "These defences," said his lordship at Bombay on the 7th April last, "contract the front open to an attack in the direction of Afghánistán, secure our frontier arsenals and are the main line of communications with the rear; and, in the event of our being engaged in operations on a large scale across the border, will furnish advanced bases for our field army." . . . "A multiplicity of defences beyond a certain point is a source of danger as well as a sign of weakness and timidity; and I hold that a mobile and well-equipped field army is an infinitely more important factor than the most powerful system of defences."

Nothing in these passages or in the rest of his lordship's speech expresses or implies approval of the policy requiring the settlement of British garrisons in Afghánistán, for meeting an eventual attack from Russia. That policy, therefore, remains emphatically condemned in the terms of General Roberts's despatch of May 1880, in which he said:—"The longer and more difficult the line of communication is, the more numerous and greater the obstacles which Russia would have to overcome; and far from shortening one mile of the road, I would let the web of difficulties extend to the very mouth of the Khyber."

This opinion is confirmed by the last sentences quoted from the speech at Bombay, and it moreover coincides, in a remarkable manner, with Earl Grey's opinion,* "that by creating the means of rapidly moving an overwhelming force to any point of our frontier which may be the object of attack, we might have an assurance of being able speedily

* Letter published in *Times*, March, 1887.

to destroy any hostile force that might be brought against us ; and that, if the money which has been spent in needless wars, had, on the contrary, been used in making railways along our frontiers, with two or three fortified posts where a force could be assembled in readiness to attack an enemy as soon as he appeared on our borders, perfect security might have been obtained against any attack that could possibly be made on our dominions, either by Russian troops or by Asiatics assisted and directed by Russians."

Since his return home Lord Roberts has spoken on several public occasions, and his speech at the Mansion House on the 12th June is remarkable for its significance. Referring to the organisation of the Indian Army, he said that the views he had formed during the Afghán campaign had not been materially modified by his more recent experience as Commander-in-Chief ; and his opinion on the policy best calculated to secure India against Russian aggression, seems likewise to have remained the same as it was in 1880. He accordingly urged that "the first thing was to have an efficient army, and the next, to develop a system of communication for concentrating forces along our frontier." Of our recent advance into Afghán territory, at New Chaman, Apozai, Kajuri-Kach and Bulandkhel, he refrained from expressing any approval, while his silence on the very subject whence our present differences with Abdur-Rahman have chiefly arisen, seems rather to imply an adverse opinion. Referring to our general policy towards the Afgháns, his lordship said :—"The object of the Government of India has been to enter into really cordial relations with the ruler and people of Afghánistán." A similar declaration has been made in various semi-official, *i.e.* irresponsible organs ; but coming from an officer who was, three months ago, a member of the Government of India, it cannot fail to cause surprise, when it is remembered that, only in November last, the insulting threat already mentioned was published in the *Times*. Moreover, our frontier expeditions have revealed a policy entirely at

variance with the professed desire of maintaining "really cordial relations with the people of Afghánistán."

The practical element in Lord Roberts's speech appears in its concluding sentences, where the attention of the British public is powerfully drawn to the importance of providing for "the very considerable number of soldiers which would be needed in India, in the event of a serious struggle with a civilised Power." In short, the speech is an urgent appeal to the patriotism of the British Constituencies to bear additional taxation, in order that the ever-increasing military expenditure of the Government of India, which the Indian revenue can no longer defray, may be borne by the British taxpayer.

We have also received the following letter on the above subject, so ably dealt with by "Historicus" :

The advocacy for encroachments in Lord Roberts's speech, if any, is so veiled that, if it were pointed out, the answer of Lord Roberts might be that he "advocated the extension of our influence among the tribes, not by the forcible occupation of their territory, but only by measures of conciliation and friendliness." This certainly would show a change of policy from the one recently pursued of shooting down the Hunza-Nagyris and the Chilasís, sowing discord in every direction among the Afghán and other tribes, and constructing by force military roads through their territories.

Nor is it easy to explain our, practically, converting Chitrál into a British dependency, for that country has, in point of fact, always been independent, though its late ruler, Mihtar Aman-ul-Mulk, formally *offered* allegiance to the Amir in 1874, and paid an annual tribute to Badakhshan, which has been admitted by Russia to be a province of Afghánistán. Then as regards our supposed right of forcibly occupying the Amir's territory, no stipulation to that effect exists between us. Lord Roberts says that the Amir has a right to demand such action on our part. but, far from demanding it, he opposes it, and the text of the only written engagement existing between him and our Government merely

relates to the subsidy which we pay him. This will show the vicious arguments by which that engagement is now construed into a right on our part of occupying the Amir's country against his will. An exposure of these tactics would occupy considerable space and might divert public attention from the main question, namely—whether India can best be defended against Russian aggression, by our awaiting her attack on our frontier, or by our fighting the enemy amidst the rugged mountains and hostile tribes of Afghánistán.

POLITICAL.

It seems to us to be obvious from Lord Roberts's speech at the Mansion House that he advises that the tribes beyond the Frontier should be put under our protection, even if they do not like it, and that we should recruit among them. They are further to be civilized and enriched, processes which involve considerable interference on our part. He also urges our compelling the Amir to permit the occupation by us of his northern frontier, though we will not interfere with the internal administration of his kingdom; in other words, Lord Roberts is in favour of all that is included under "a forward policy." We quote his *ipsissima verba* on the subject as reported in the *Times* of the 13th June.—ED.

"When Abdur-Rahman was placed upon the throne, an engagement was entered into by her Majesty's Government to protect Afghanistan against unprovoked foreign aggression, provided that the Amir was entirely guided by us in his foreign relations. Under this engagement it is obvious that circumstances might occur which would necessitate our affording his Highness that armed assistance which he would be within his rights in demanding, and in order that such assistance should be prompt and effective it is of the utmost importance that the population of the countries through which and in which we should have to operate should be well-disposed towards us. (Cheers.) A mountainous region inhabited by warlike and independent tribes, numbering, according to the best information we have got, not less than 200,000 fighting men, separates the valley of the Indus from the Afghan tableland, and if these tribes were to oppose our advance into Afghanistan, a large portion of our all-too-small field army would be absorbed in holding them in check, and in guarding our lines of communication. Although these tribes are troublesome and fanatical, they delight in military service, make admirable soldiers, and in many cases have shown a devoted attachment to the British officers with whom they have been associated. The present policy of the Government of India towards these tribes is to extend our influence amongst them without menacing their independence, and, by trying to civilize them and increase their prosperity, to induce them to look upon us as their friends, who will protect their interests and insure their being left in undisturbed possession of the territory they occupy. (Cheers.) As regards Afghanistan, the object of the Government of India of late years has been to enter into really cordial relations with the ruler and people of that country, and to convince Abdur-Rahman that the maintenance of an attitude of reserve and isolation on his part is incompatible with the fulfilment of our engagement with him. It is even more to his advantage than to ours that Afghanistan should be strong and independent, but it cannot be either one or the other without our assistance, an assistance which it is impossible to render without the Amir's co-operation. I much regret that the proposed mission to Abdur-Rahman did not take place, as I hoped to have been able to satisfy his Highness that, in taking such precautions as might be necessary to guard his northern frontier, the Government of India had no intention of interfering in the internal administration of his kingdom." [The italics are ours.]

M. PAUL GAULT
ON
RUSSIAN TURKISTAN.

WE have received the manuscript of this *magnum opus* on Russian Turkistan, the first chapter of which on the author's journey in Khwarezm filled two lengthy and interesting papers in the issues of the *Revue des deux Mondes* of August and September last. The remaining unpublished seven chapters extend over a thousand pages and follow the traveller through the regions of Tashkand, Samarcand, Bokhara and Ferghana and are succeeded by a History of the conquest of the Kirghiz Steppes and of their administration. They are illustrated by numerous photographs and drawings. Their importance consists not only in a piquant recital of travels, but also, and mainly, in the author's account and opinions of what the Russians significantly call their "Colony of Turkistan." The work has an immediate interest to the comparative student of the respective Russian and British systems of administration in Asia and, as M. Gault avoids politics, its publication could be undertaken with equal grace by either of the two Governments as a work of reference whether to the Russian local official or to the Indian Collector or Settlement Officer. It is certainly a conscientious study of the judicial administration, the social and religious life, the agriculture, the commerce and history of the Turkistan "Colony," truly so called, if "by this term a region is described in which the conqueror does not find either the climate or the modes of cultivation and the economic conditions of the mother-country." We will confine ourselves, at present, to translating some of the passages from M. Gault's manuscript and to rendering the general tenor of the author's observations.

One immense steppe, in which sedentary and agricultural populations are installed wherever the soil is, or can be irrigated, surrounded by other steppes traversed by

nomads—such is, as a whole, the aspect of Russian Turkistan. The oases of Tashkand, Zarafshán (Samarkand and Bokhara) Ferghana are the three principal centres of cultivation. The rest is called the “Steppe,” whether of the plain or of the mountain, and is the Nomad’s haunt. This is due to the climatic conditions of the S.E. portion of the Aralo-Caspian basin. The rare rainfalls, and annual droughts have forced the inhabitants to conduct on to their fields the water of streams, rivers, and springs, and to establish quite a system of irrigation. Some of these great irrigation canals called “*Harik*” are more than 100 versts in length (a verst = 1166·66 yards). Such is the “*Palvan-Alta Harik*” which waters Khiva. With the exception of the Khivan *Hariks*, none of these great canals “is navigable.” The irrigation by the Sarts “might be taken as a model of all the errors that it is possible to make in dealing with the supply and distribution of water.” However, such as they are, these canals permit the irrigation of the steppe, and a whole population can, thanks to this system, lead a settled life. Before the Russian conquest, a special “administration” had the supervision and maintenance of the canals. The Russians, who were little acquainted with indigenous customs, suppressed it, and evil results soon followed. The natives increased the outfalls of their canals and certain regions were changed into unhealthy and unproductive marshes. “The articles published in Russian journals allow us to hope for an early modification of this disastrous state of things.” The efforts of the Russians were above all directed towards the creation of new canals, and according to official valuations the superficial area of the irrigated land was said to have doubled since the conquest.

Passing on to the portion of the manuscript connected with the administration of this vast region, let us ask, What have the Russians done after penetrating into the country occupied by settled populations by the conquest of Tashkand in 1865 and after finishing the

conquest of the Siberian Steppes? "When the Russians conquered Tashkand, everything with them was Siberian, in their manner and system of administration." This Siberian influence has been ruinous to Turkistan. In their ignorance of the newly-conquered country, the Russian functionaries gave to these Oases of Tashkand, to this country of "sedentaries," laws made for the Kirghiz of Siberia; and a Governor of the newly-conquered territories (which formed the Governor-Generalship of Turkistan), General von Kaufmann, had every latitude for enacting such rules as might seem to him useful for the general good of the country. His successors had not this power; and the Siberian Code, slightly modified, remained in force till 1886, when Turkistan received the new Administrative Regulation, which, however, does not modify the general principles of the preceding Code. Russian influence is more and more felt in it, superseding indigenous usages and customs.

Artificially composed Cantons of 1,000 to 2,000 tents or huts, at the head of which is an elected and salaried Chief, forms the "*Volost*." The Chief of this *Volost* has, as his assistants, heads of hundred, called *Aksakal* (white-beard). A certain number of Cantons united under the orders of a Russian official is the "*Ouièsde*;" several "*Ouièsde*" form a province (*Oblaste*), administered by a general. Turkistan has three provinces (Tashkand, Samarkand, and Ferghana); a special Division—that of the Amu Daria—administers the Eastern basin of the lower Amu Daria. Bokhara and Khiva are under the government of Turkistan—of which Tashkand is the capital. The superficial area of the Russian Government of Turkistan (not including the territories of Khiva and Bokhara) is 559,740 square *versts*, with a population of 1,209,018 Nomads and 1,367,192 Sedentaries. We must briefly notice this distinction between Nomads and Sedentaries,—the two divisions which the Code of 1886 makes of the inhabitants of Turkistan.

The Nomads have merely the use of the territory over

which they wander and graze their flocks : the proprietorship belongs to the State. They pay only one tax—of 4 roubles and 60 kopeks per tent (*Kibitka*) ; but nothing is levied on the flocks. The Sedentaries have the full property of the lands, which they cultivate ; and they can accordingly make contracts of sale, etc., which, in principle, the Nomads cannot do. The Sedentaries pay a tax assessed in accordance with the aggregate produce of the soil. It is the tithe, which replaces the old Muhammadan taxes. The establishment of the tithe, the manner of its assessment, the rate to be fixed, have been the object of the labours of numerous “final land commissions” which, since 1884, have roved over Turkistan. The Russians are little satisfied with the results of these immense labours, which have also left the natives dissatisfied. These labours were about to be given up ; but we have not the space to follow the author in the examination of this grave question. Suffice it to notice that the co-existence in Turkistan of land that can be sold and of land that cannot be sold has led to inextricable complications : it is one of the least happy creations of the Regulations of 1886. It must be recognized that there are two entirely distinct peoples in Turkistan, namely the Sedentaries commonly called Sarts, and the Nomads, principally Kirghiz. The Muhammadan Sedentaries have their *Kázis* and are ruled by the *Sheria't* (religious law), whilst the Kirghiz are guided by *A'dat* (customs), and their judges are the “*Bis*.” Russia, like all other non-Mussulman powers, cannot constitute Mussulman judges. She makes over to the natives, whether Nomad or Sedentary, the election of judges (by the Code of 1886, they are nominated for 3 years in the same election which nominates the Chief of the *Volost*). The results of this measure have been disastrous, especially among the Nomads who, having no written law, are least able to resist any modifications introduced by their conquerors. This lamentable condition, already pointed out in the work of General Grodékow (“*Kirghiz et Kara-*

Khirghiz" is explained and supported by instances collected on the spot by M. Gault. The consequence of such an order of things, says our author, will be the compulsory intervention of Russia in the steppe, and the speedy and fatal Russification of these vast regions. No one, not even the Russians, can now prevent this consummation. The substitution of elected, for hereditary, *Biis*, has not only led to the decay of tribal authority and to the pauperization of the poorer members, but, through the corruption and confusion produced by popular elections, has caused the formation of an artificial class of *Biis*, against whose injustice redress is now constantly sought from the higher Russian tribunals. Let us not leave this subject without saying a few words on the religious endowments (*Vaquf*), which have similarly been alienated from the direct or traditional control of the community. "The creation of new *Vaqufs* is only possible with the sanction of the Governor-General" (which is scarcely ever given). "As for the existing *Vaqufs*, those created on landed property are divided into 2 classes: 1. the uninhabited lands remain in the possession of the persons in whose favour the endowments have been created, or of their heirs, until their line becomes extinct. Here no modification has been made in Mussulman custom. . . . Not so as regards inhabited *Vaqufs*, which, if recognized by the authorities, are transferred to the property of the holders.* This arrangement of Article 255 and according to the Code of 1886 deprives the religious institutions of their property in the soil, which property it makes over to the actual cultivator or owner. In consequence, this land falls under the ordinary law and may be sold or exchanged. On the other hand, the State hands over its rights to that very charitable or religious community, in favour of which the *Vaquf* had been created, and gives up to that community the taxes which it receives from this land," (thus breaking the link between "the pious founder" and the endowment).

* This principle is introduced gradually, as circumstances permit.

We regret that we have not the space in this issue to follow the author in his profound study of Muham-madan society in Central Asia; a few words may, however, be said about the *Isháns* (or *Pîrs* as they are more commonly known in India). "*Ishán* or *Pîr* is a Persian adept in Theology, who, having bound himself to certain outward observances, has gathered round himself a number of disciples. These *Isháns* have great influence over the people. The place in which these holy personages exercise their ministry is called *Khángáh*. At first sight, one would think it a mosque, were it not that near it is a dwelling of rammed clay, consisting of some rooms or rather cells, which the *Ishán* visits daily. This Theologian is also a recluse, who has gained the respect of his co-religionists for his learning and piety: as a theologian, he has studied religious sciences during many years; as a recluse, he leads a life of constant fasting, taking food and drink only after sunset; and he never smokes. This severe regimen does not give him a sickly air; on the contrary, I have generally seen them looking the picture of health and joyousness. One of them told me that the change of regimen in not taking any food till night was only felt for the first three or 4 months. . . . The *Ishán* forms a sort of monastic order with his disciples who have not, however, broken off all relation with their families nor changed their manner of living. They assemble for prayer and conference. . . . One cannot become an *Ishán*, by merely aspiring to the distinction. One must have means for the expenses of education which are very high, the master claiming from 1,000 to 2,000 Roubles for his instruction" (a proceeding opposed to all true Oriental practice and tradition). "A teacher of morals versed in religious science—such is, in principle, the *Ishán*; in fact, he enjoys great influence and income from his position. He is consulted as a wizard and as this brings in a good deal, he does not hesitate to practise as such. . . . The *Ishán* wears, as a distinctive sign, a *Khilat*

(robe) generally of yellow cotton : silk stuffs are prohibited to them. Some of them have a great number of disciples of much influence and large fortunes, and are venerated till their death.

“The Nomad Kirghiz who wander over the wide arid steppes are still a patriarchal community, and cannot be confounded with the Sedentary Sunni Mussulmans who live in the Oases. The Kirghiz have accepted the principal forms of the religion of Islám, but without adopting its fasts and ablutions. As constant wanderers, they are unable to erect any edifices for purposes of worship ; and their religious acts have, accordingly, an accidental character. Besides, the Mussulman prayers are in Arabic—a language of which they know nothing. . . . The Kirghiz ignores the difference between Sunnis and Shiahs. No priest teaches him the principles and practice of Islam. . . . Every *Ishán*, therefore, who visits them is received with honour and loaded with presents from those for whom he has prayed.” These *Isháns* visit the various Kirghiz tribes even as far as the Pamirs and beyond, assembling their own disciples for meditation and the solution of religious questions, and they are extremely jealous of other *Isháns* interfering with their special disciples. On this subject M. Gault gives most interesting details. He also has a very powerful sketch of the relations existing between the Chief and the poorer Kirghiz. They are gradually being reduced from loyal pastoral clansmen to starving field-hands, under the necessity which they have of adopting the religious law of Islám in place of their picturesque customary law and usages as regards marriages, births and funerals. No longer does the chief of a group of families bear the legal responsibility for the misdemeanour of his clansmen, a custom by which the general tone was maintained at a high standard. Indeed, throughout Central Asia our author has found it impossible to hear the historical, ethical and moral songs which were everywhere on the lips of the people before the foreign conquest.

As regards the Sarts, of course, they obey the general Muhammadan law and practice, with very slight modifications, though there are a few marriage and birth ceremonies which have a more ancient origin. An interesting account is given of the studies pursued in indigenous Schools and Colleges, which are now declining under Russian rule. As an indication of the thoroughness of M. Gault's work we may refer to the fact that he even gives the amount of the advances made by Russian local banks to the native Central Asian peasantry during a series of years; as also an account of the silk and other industries, and of the rise and fall of various branches of commerce.

We will finish our rapid sketch of this manuscript by quoting an interesting passage on Russian colonization in Turkistan: "In Siberia Cossacks were settled around the citadels that were constructed; and Vernii, Tokmak, Sémipalatinsk were Cossack Colonies. In Turkistan it was different. As soon as the great oasis of Tashkand was conquered, other ideas prevailed: 'we have conquered an inhabited country,' said these officers accustomed only to Siberian Steppes; 'we cannot here instal Cossack colonies, without infringing on the rights of the people. There are no free lands here as in Siberia.' Thus by an *a priori* argument of the conqueror the whole of Turkistan was deprived of Russian immigration. No Cossacks are wanted; the army administers the conquered country; it is a military territory—nothing more. This idea, that there is no free land in Turkistan for colonists, will long continue; and every attempt at colonization will be opposed by the Government, in spite of Russians arriving in the wake of troops, some as contractors, others as speculators and merchants. Ten years after the conquest, this Russian element was increased by the accession of civil and military functionaries, who, retiring on their pensions, preferred to end their days in that country rather than return to some corner in Russian Europe to live near relatives who had half forgotten them. Up to 1882, it was for-

bidden to Russians to buy any land from natives outside the limits of towns and postal stations. After that date, Russians could only purchase land from natives who could produce a full legal title to their property. Russian merchants and artizans were discouraged. Chiriaz, after receiving a Russian population, was deserted when the battalion which occupied it was sent to Samarkand. Other Russian cities could not grow, as they were surrounded by native towns (Khokand, Khojand, Ouratubéh). The Russians who lived there could not, before 1882, buy even a garden from a native, nor acquire any vested interests which would have kept them in the country. They could not even, like the natives, acquire waste lands by labour. The Slavonic population, unsupported by the Government, could only form a Russian nucleus in those localities in which, the troops being installed, there was some need for the services of outsiders. Nevertheless, colonists arrived across the Siberian steppes to this distant country, stimulated by hopes of acquiring a virgin soil, an uncultivated Eden, which a little work would fertilize. They asked for land; and the Government knew not where to instal them, for fear of encroaching on soil under native use. So they were sent to the district of Aoulié-Ata, which had no Sedentaries, and where the first Russian village was founded in 1873. . . . On the 1st January 1890, there were already 20 such villages, and others have since been created." We conclude with a brief allusion to the indigenous dependencies of Turkistan, — the Khanates of Khiva and of Bokhara. "They are to-day mere unimportant enclosures, surrounded by Russian territory." The Khan of Khiva "would not be able to resist the invitation which the Russian Governor of the Amu Daria Division might make to him of a change of climate. A Russian official, escorted by a few Cossacks, could instal himself in Khiva, and the Khivan power would cease for ever." What M. Gault says of Khiva may be equally said as regards the sentence which he pronounces upon Bokhara.

These two princes have to-day fully realized that their power has definitely declined, and that it is impossible ever even to attempt to struggle against the Russian troops. A few cannon shots would stop the Bokharian population from offering the faintest resistance. As for the Khivans, they could not even dream of an insurrection. These Khans now only await the good pleasure of the Czar, to assign to them a place of retreat in some part of the Empire, to which they might retire to end their days in peace. Russia in her conquests in Asia has never confronted a powerful empire or a redoubtable military force. Having established herself in the Steppes of Orembourg in the midst of the Kirghiz who never knew how to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbours, she had, in her fight with Khiva, rather to conquer the natural obstacles which these immense steppes, so denuded and waterless, offered to her advance. In attacking the Khanate of Khokand, which she finally destroyed in 1876, she found no martial race except in the region of Andijan, which she had twice to conquer. There were only three important revolts, which she speedily mastered. The Khanate of Bokhara was vanquished in 1868, in a single campaign, which ended by the incorporation of Samarkand into Russian territory. Finally, all the various peoples in the governorship of Turkistan, even the Sart-Kiptchaks of the Andijan region, are quiet to-day and have become fully reconciled to Russian rule. We hope in an early issue to be able to publish a translation of the detailed account given by M. Gault of the present state of the Kirghiz under the Russians.

THE FRANCO-SIAM IMPASSE.

BY RESIDENT.

THE course of events on the Mekong river excites apparently little attention in England where the importance of the issues and the possible serious consequences to British interests which may result, do not seem to be realized.

This indifference is no doubt chiefly due to the very slight knowledge which is possessed by the general public of this region, which is represented by a blank space in our maps, and also to want of information regarding the circumstances which have led to the present strained relations between France and Siam.

A slight sketch of the present situation may not therefore be out of place.

The tract of country which is the cause of the present dispute lies between the river Mekong and the range of mountains to the eastward.

The whole of this district has been in the undisputed possession of the Siamese for more than sixty years. A map prepared by M. Francis Garnier during the French expedition of 1866-68 shows this range of mountains as the boundary between Siam and Annam, and in a reissue of this map so late as 1885, the line remains unchanged.

Until quite recently Siam, has exercised but little control over these provinces, but since France assumed a protectorate over Annam the authorities in Bangkok have established special commissioners at different points along the Mekong, and have generally made some show of authority.

The French have been actively engaged for some years in surveying the country, and the result of their work has recently been published in the shape of a detailed map.

The activity which has lately been displayed by Siam in her eastern provinces has given great offence to the

authorities at Saigon, and the French colonial papers for months past have been full of complaints of encroachments by the Siamese, and loud in their demands for the annexation of the whole district on the east bank of the Mekong river.

This cry having been taken up by the Paris papers, public opinion in France has been roused, and, thus fortified, the colonial authorities have started on a career of wanton aggression against a friendly neighbour, by sending troops and occupying various posts along the Mekong river belonging to Siam.

Accounts of these operations have lately appeared in the papers in which the resistance of the semi-wild Laos inhabitants has been made much of, and, meantime, the unfortunate Siamese are threatened with a blockade of their capital, because some of their tributary states have defended themselves against invasion.

Two French gunboats are lying in the Bangkok river and a war scare has arisen to the serious detriment of the trade of the country.

The present position is, therefore, as follows: The French, without putting forward any ground for their claim, insist upon, and are virtually establishing, their frontier on the river Mekong. The Siamese, on the other hand, claim as the frontier the range of mountains to the eastward of the Mekong. In support of their contention, they point to the fact of their long and undisturbed possession of the intervening country, and to the recognition by France herself of their right to it until quite recently. They further challenge France to produce any proofs of her claims and offer to submit the whole question to arbitration, but this proposition has been refused.

A dispute such as this between a great Power and a weak one like Siam can only end in one way, and it is quite certain therefore that if the French Government decide to support their colonial officials in their course of aggression, the Siamese, either peacefully or after some

The Franco-Siam Impasse.

show of resistance, will have to give in to her powerful neighbour.

If it were certain that France meant to be satisfied with even the river Mekong as her boundary, England could hardly put forward any ground for interference as her interests would not materially be affected by this change in the map; river frontiers are, however, rarely lasting, and there is good reason to believe that France has no intention of stopping there, but that she is contemplating a further move westward to the watershed between the Menam and Mekong rivers, if not the annexation of the whole of Siam.

That this is the belief of the Siamese themselves is shown by the preparations they are making to resist an attack upon Bangkok, and private letters from the capital state that an occupation of the city is considered as more than probable.

The French have no real interests in Siam. As stated by the Hon G. Curzon in an article lately contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*. "Numerically and commercially, they are nowhere and their tongue is unknown." To quote from the same writer, one of the most striking features of Bangkok is "the prominence of English associations and ideas."

The trade of the country is entirely in the hands of the English, Germans, and Chinese, many of the latter being British subjects born in the Straits and Hong Kong, but the English monopolise three-fourths of the whole.

The regular carrying trade between Bangkok and Singapore is done by steamers belonging to Alfred Holt and Co. of Liverpool and British subjects in the Straits, whilst communication with Hong Kong is kept up by a fine line of steamers owned by the Scottish Oriental Co., all of which have been specially built for the trade.

Politically, English influence has always been supreme and the necessity that it should be so is generally recognised. In 1874 when trouble arose between the first and second

kings of Siam it was the Governor of Singapore—Sir Andrew Clarke—who was invited to settle the dispute. On this occasion, when invited by Sir Andrew to be a party to the agreement which was then made and the performance of which was guaranteed by Great Britain, M. Garnier, the French Consul, consented with great readiness, giving as his reason that France had no political interests in Siam.

Considering then the large interests which Great Britain possesses in Siam, it is impossible that we can view with indifference the present aggressive policy of France threatening as it does the independence of the country. Unless the British Government intervenes and that soon, there is every probability that we shall see before very long Siam turned into a French province and our valuable trade destroyed by protective duties.

In this matter the French will go just so far as we allow them, and, if our Government continues inactive, the fate of Siam is sealed.

To show that the interests of Great Britain in Siam are fully understood by the French, I may mention that not long ago the French Minister in Siam stated that the boundary between France and Siam would have to be settled between Paris and London.

To France therefore the present indifference of our Government to what is going on in Siam is astounding and she will not be slow to make use of the free hand thus afforded her to carry out her designs. No less surprising is it to those in this country, who are interested in Siam and who have been watching the recent course of events there, that British Government appears to continue blind to the danger which threatens that country, for no one will for one moment believe that Lord Rosebery would knowingly abandon Siam to the fate which is preparing for her.

If anything is to be done to save the country it must be done at once or France will have taken up a position in Siam from which it will not be easy to oust her.

England's course is a perfectly clear and straightforward

one. We have no desire or intention, either now or at any future time, to annex Siam, but our interests, both political and commercial, require that the independence of the country shall be upheld. Commercially, any tampering with the kingdom by France will mean the certain loss to this country of a valuable and rapidly increasing trade and, politically, since the occupation of the country by France would make our boundaries coterminous, will result in constant friction besides adding largely to the expenses of administering Burmah.

As regards British intervention in Siam, there are great difficulties in the way, more serious than anyone can appreciate who is not aware of the unsettled questions between England and France in other parts of the world. The truth is that the *impasse* has been brought about by our neglect and that our hands are not free from similar acts of high-handedness on the Shan States of the Siam-Burmese Frontier. Indeed, it is to the policy initiated by Lord Dufferin in Kashmir and Burma that we owe both the Russian and the French approaches to our Indian Empire.—Ed.

The *Bombay Gazette* thus explains the mystery of our conduct towards Siam and the easy confidence of the French: "Lord Rosebery has notified to the Government of Siam that Great Britain will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam. . . It can be easily understood that the British Government would abstain from interfering in so remote and dubious a quarrel. But in point of fact an understanding was arrived at between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Waddington some three years ago, by which on the one hand the right of India to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the North-East frontier of Siam, and claimed by the latter country, was conceded, and on the other the claim of the Empire of Annam, which is a French Protectorate, to control the Laotian country lying between the Annamese Hills parallel to the coast and the Mekong, was recognised by the British Foreign Office. This territory appears never to have been under any regular administration, either Annamese or Siamese. It is the Hinterland of Annam." It is strange that no newspaper in England should have pointed out the above significant facts.—Ed.

FRANCE AND SIAM.

BY MUANG-THAI.

SIAM has an estimated area of 280,550 square miles, which is, therefore, more than double that of Great Britain and Ireland; but, until quite recently, its whereabouts were only imperfectly known to a large majority of the English public whose interests in that country surpass those of any other Western Nation. Recent events have however brought Siam very prominently into notice, and, in addition to other questions of the day, we now have a Siamese question which looks very modern, but is not quite so modern as it looks. Take any of the handy little Atlases of which there are now so many, and you will find on the map of Indo-China, or "Further India," as some of them like to call it, the Eastern frontier between Siam and Annam running along a ridge of mountains stretching for some hundreds of miles North East and South West nearly parallel with the coast of the China Sea. This frontier line was not traced by Annamites or by Siamese; but it represents pretty fairly the dividing line which has separated Siam from Annam for at least three quarters of a century, during which period there has been no "Siamese question" as far as Europe is concerned. About a century ago there was a frontier question, and a very serious one, solved only after fierce fighting between Siam and Annam. Since then the Annamites have lived on the Eastern, and the Siamese on the Western, side of the mountain ridge already mentioned, and the frontier created by Nature has been found to be the most practical, for it has kept asunder those whose differences in race and languages and whose conflicting interests have long made them hereditary foes.

This frontier, marked physically by nature and historically by conquest, was finally accepted by both Siamese and Annamites; and it has received the most formal confirma-

tion from France as the Ruler of Cochin China and the Protector of Annam and Cambodia. In 1866, a Commission for surveying and exploring the Eastern Provinces of Indo-China was appointed by the French Government under a distinguished Captain of the French Navy, whose death, while engaged in this work, gave his appointment to Lieutenant Francis Garnier, whose name will always be justly honoured, not in France only, but also in the East, as uniting the intrepidity and gallantry of a French Officer, with a capacity for hard and difficult work far away from country and friends, very rarely found in any man. The reports of the labours of the French Commission are to be found in a quarto book of more than 600 pages, most interestingly and graphically described. The book is entitled "*Voyage et exploration en Indo-Chine effectué par une Commission Française.*" (Paris: Hachette et Cie.) Two maps are appended, one made from the most authentic sources available before the Commissioners began their work,—the other as one of the chief results of the investigations undertaken by the Commission. The second is naturally much the fuller and more complete of the two.

The most important part of these Maps, as affecting the present condition of Indo-China, is the boundary line between Siam and Annam. In both, it is substantially, but not exactly, the same. The Commissioners, at the end of their surveying expedition, drew the frontier line somewhat less favourably to Siam than they found it on the map made before their investigations began. This is the frontier line which the Siamese had always accepted as accurate,—the line drawn by the French Commission; and this is the frontier line across which M. de Lanessan, the French Governor of Indo-China, has been sending Annamite soldiers led by French Officers, without any reason given, and without the shadow of a right advanced on any ground whatever. The Leader of the French Commission made his maps not from observation only, but with the help of some historical knowledge. M. Garnier

lived long enough in the country to get from the most trustworthy sources an account of the origin of the Siamese domination. He tells us that a Laotian Kingdom had gradually been formed during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, out of an agglomerate of the many Laos tribes which were spread over a large area of Indo-China. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there seems to have been a revolution. The Laotian King was driven from his throne, and his Kingdom fell to pieces, and became the battle-field for the alternative supremacy of Siam on the West or of Annam on the East. Luang Prabang on the Upper, and Bassac on the Lower, Mekong, were the two leading Principalities of the dismembered Kingdom; and both of them, under their respective kinglets, made some attempt to preserve their independence. M. Garnier's words shall give his own account of what happened. "Les Siamois et les Annamites se hâtèrent de profiter de cette scission, et commencèrent à se disputer la suprématie de la vallée du fleuve, (*i.e.* Mekong). Vers la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle, Siam avait réussi à faire reconnaître sa suzeraineté à tout le Laos, à l'exception du royaume de Bassac qui réussit à rester complètement indépendant. La prise d'Ayuthia par les Birmans en 1767 fit croire aux populations soumises que le moment était favorable pour secouer le joug; mais la révolte, un instant victorieuse, ne tarda pas à être comprimée, et Bassac fut entraîné dans le désastre commun. . . . Depuis cette époque toute velléité d'indépendance semble avoir disparu chez les Laotiens. Répartis en un grand nombre de Provinces dont tous les gouverneurs relèvent directement de Ban Kok, ils paraissent résignés à une domination dont la moindre impatience leur a coûté de si sanglantes et de si cruelles représailles."

M. Garnier goes on to describe the difference between the Laos people and those of Cambodia, and predicts for the former that, with the qualities they possess, they will be able to achieve their independence in the future. We

cannot follow the travels of the French Commissioners through Indo-China. They were offered, and freely availed themselves of, assistance from the Siamese Government towards making their expedition both useful for the objects they had in view and as agreeable as the climate and the condition of the country permitted; and passages abound which show that Siamese supremacy was recognized as a fact on the left, quite as much as on the right, bank of the Mekong, both by the Native tribes, and by the French Commissioners. The most significant point of the historical reference to what occurred in the last Century is this, that, while Siam was in the throes of what might easily have been her death-struggle with Burmah, her bitterest foe on her Western frontier, at the moment when her capital, Ayuthia, the ruins of which still stretch far into the jungle on the banks of the Menam 100 miles above Bangkok, was taken and burnt, where colossal Statues of Buddha surrounded by massive walls of ruined and roofless temples gaze coldly and impassively down on the tropical growth that is rapid enough to blot out the very existence of the gigantic City of 150 years back,—when Siam was in the agony of such a struggle as this, there was life enough, and governing power enough in her to prevent the most distant of her Eastern Provinces from throwing off her rule and defying her Government.

The Burmese on the West after ravaging the country had to retire beyond the Salween river; and, on the East, the Annamites were kept back behind the great mountain barrier recognized by the French Commission of 1866 as the *de facto* frontier between Siam and Annam.

This is all we can give here of the geography and history taught us by M. Garnier and the French Commission. Let us remember that the geography was not manufactured, nor was the history invented, at a time of contention between Siam and Annam, to support any territorial annexation, or to back up any scheme for encroachment or conquest. It was the careful work of

patient research and investigation in the country, by an exploring and surveying party organized and sent out by the French Government; and the report which bears M. Garnier's honoured name is full from end to end of evidence that the plain facts of the case were what he tried with such conspicuous success to collect and to give to all those,—his countrymen and others,—who were interested in the future of this wonderful and interesting country. In M. Garnier the presence of those qualities distinguishing him as a scientific explorer, and the absence of those characterizing an unscrupulous politician are equally a subject for admiration and congratulation.

From M. Garnier and his work we pass to that of M. de Lanessan who was a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, and has been known for the great interest he has always taken in French Colonial Policy, and for the book published by him in 1886 entitled "*L'Expansion Coloniale de la France*": this book ranges over the French possessions in Northern, Western, and Eastern Africa, in India and Oceania, in Indo-China, and in America, and contains a large amount of information, and, perhaps, a larger amount still of imagination, dealing with facts and figures as they are, and as they may become, under the fostering care of French Statesmanship abroad, supported by the French Government at home. We leave, with M. Garnier, the atmosphere of science and research, and we descend into that of politics and diplomacy, as soon as we find ourselves in the company of M. de Lanessan.

The great interest of M. de Lanessan's book, over and above the information it contains, lies in the fact that the Author has been selected for the highly responsible position of French Governor of Indo-China. It is this which invests his opinions, and his ambitions with such importance at this moment, when the affairs of Indo-China are in the balance, and the action of French Agents out there is being watched from day to day. We shall not do any wrong to M. de Lanessan if we describe the policy, as set

out in his own book, to be the acquisition by France, for political and commercial purposes, of the whole of Eastern Siam, including the valley of the Mekong and of the chief rivers which run into it, together with the principalities of Luang Prabang in the North and of Bassac in the South, which we have already mentioned, and of the Laotian tribes between them. It is true that, in his less ambitious moments, M. de Lanessan seems to stop short at the River Mekong as a minimum of French advance ; but, from a general study of the section of his book devoted to "La France en Indo-Chine," it is evident that he is perfectly ready to cross the Mekong anywhere that may be convenient, and plant the French flag in the heart of Siam, if only he is allowed to do so by the Siamese, and is encouraged by his own countrymen.

It is almost superfluous to say that to a gentleman with the ambitious temperament of M. de Lanessan M. Garnier's geography presents no difficulties, and his history scruples are so slight that a single sentence is sufficient to dispose of them, a sentence which it is well to reproduce verbatim as being thoroughly characteristic of M. de Lanessan's political methods in dealing with Eastern Countries :

"Ainsi qu'on peut le voir plus haut dans l'exposé de la géographie politique du Mékong, les Annamites ont jadis occupé tout le territoire qui s'étend entre les côtes de la Mer de Chine et le Mékong, qui dans cette partie de son cours, se rapproche beaucoup de la mer. *Ils n'ont été refoulés jusque dans la chaîne de montagnes de l'Annam que par la violence, et depuis une cinquantaine d'années seulement ; jamais il ne se sont inclinés que devant la force, soient qu'ils aient été chassés des bords du Grand Fleuve (Mekong) par les armées Siamoises, soient qu'ils aient reculé devant les Hordes des Hô ou autres pillards descendus de la Chine.*" The words in italics show the limits of M. de Lanessan's justice towards Siam, when it comes to the question as to what shall be the frontier of France in Indo-China. He does not recoil for a moment

before his own admission that Siam has conquered this country and held it for half a century. France has a perfect right to instigate the Annamites to invade these provinces, and start again the old territorial feud between Siam and Annam, which, since the wars of the last century had been dormant. It is quite true that M. de Lanessan goes on to describe those who live to the East of the Mekong River as robber-bands that have to be reduced to order, but the maintenance of law and order is a strange excuse for invasion and encroachment on the territory of a friendly State.

Let us follow M. de Lanessan's ambitions as they affect the more Southern Provinces of Indo-China. In the year 1867 a Treaty was made between France and Siam, by which Siam gave up her rights to the suzerainty of Cambodia, over which France established her control; and, in return, the provinces of Battambang and Angkor were to belong permanently to Siam. This was a bargain most displeasing to M. de Lanessan. He speaks of it as a bit of silly or ignorant diplomacy, inexplicable by the principles of common-sense; but he suggests that there is an easy way out of it. "*Ajoutons, du reste, que le Traité de 1867 doit être considéré comme n'existant plus depuis la signature de notre nouveau traité avec le Roi de Cambodge,*" the Treaty that is of 1884. In other words, a treaty signed by France and Siam may be cancelled by a subsequent Treaty between France and Cambodia, to which Siam was not a Party! M. de Lanessan appears to hold Treaties as cheap as the geography and history of his fellow-countryman M. Garnier.

France now is supposed to claim the Mékong as a "scientific frontier" for her colonial protectorates or possessions in Indo-China; but, as has already been said, M. de Lanessan will not be stopped by the Mekong River whenever he desires to cross it. He speaks of the mountainous and desert region separating the river Se-Moun, a Western tributary of the Mekong, as the "natural limit of the French Indo-Chinese Empire on the Siamese side"; and he adds

these words : “ Cette frontière montagneuse doit être considérée par la France comme la limite naturelle de son Empire Indo-Chinois du côté du Siam. *Ayant repris les Provinces du Grand Lac qui dépendaient autre fois du Cambodge, le bassin du Mékong et celui du Sé-Moun, nous devrions nous attacher à respecter, et à protéger au besoin l'indépendance du Siam.* Les deux villes les plus importantes du bassin du Sé-Moun sont celles d'Oubone et de Korât.” The town of Korat is much nearer in distance to Bangkok than it is to the Mekong. It is in the very heart of Siam, and has always been known as thoroughly Siamese. Its advantage as a French possession is fully described by M. de Lanessan ; but it is needless to say that no time is wasted by raising the question whether the French have any right whatever to go there and annex the territory and the towns belonging to a friendly neighbour with whom France for many years has been in Treaty relations. The Mekong River was described as the “ scientific frontier ” ; but as M. de Lanessan goes on, he improves upon that, and includes the whole of the basin of the Mekong and its tributaries within the “ natural frontier ” of the French Indo-Chinese Empire, — the “ natural ” desire to increase one's own wealth being stronger than any “ scientific ” theory about respecting the property belonging to others. M. de Lanessan's picture of France in the attitude of “ Protector ” of the remains of Siam, which she has mutilated and torn limb from limb, is one, the humour of which will be fully appreciated by those most concerned. There is a cool cynicism in the masterly touches of the words, — “ Nous devrions nous attacher à respecter, et à protéger au besoin ” — which is inimitable. But it is only a general study of the whole of M. de Lanessan's work on the French annexation of Indo-China that can give a true idea of his utter disregard of political morality. Pages and pages are devoted to an elaborate description of the wealth, actual and prospective, of large tracts of the country, followed by pages more indicating the best and easiest way for France to get hold of them.

The new roads and canals are to be made not for the purpose of the internal commerce of the country so much as to get that of other neighbouring countries. "Par cette route nous pourrions détourner vers l'Annam central une grande partie du commerce du Mékong moyen et du Siam supérieur qui se porte aujourd'hui vers Korât et de là vers Bangkok." The whole of the resources of Indo-China are to be artificially drained down to the French possessions in the South East away from Siam, away from Burma, so that the French Colonies may get a monopoly of all of them.

The Mekong River and valley are wanted to connect Tonquin with Cochin China. Half way between the two there is a high plateau, healthy and fertile. This will come in usefully. The great lake in Cambodia which teems with fish and is a trade centre for all that District is now partly Siamese and partly Cambodian. M. de Lanessan has a "natural," and apparently also a "scientific," desire for the whole of it, as well as for the Provinces which border the Lake.

The short sketch we have been able to give here of M. de Lanessan's book is enough to show that it is the prophecy as well as the explanation of his present policy in his dealings with Siam. He has never made any formal claim to the territory he is annexing. This would be impossible, for there is not a shred of evidence on which he could found any such claim; and, as we have seen, the admissions he makes in his own book render any such claim futile and absurd. The policy foreshadowed in the book, and now being carried into execution, is encroachment without any claim being made, any reason being given, any explanation being offered. It is an encroachment which has interrupted the pending friendly negotiations between Siam and France. It is perhaps more "scientific" to invade and occupy territory about which the stronger Power is negotiating with the weaker, and to continue the negotiations after this little *entr'acte* is finished.

But how does this policy commend itself to the tens of thousands of fair-minded peace-loving Frenchmen who wish the names of their Statesmen to be honoured and respected all over the world? Nothing but the absolute ignorance by Frenchmen at home of what is going on in Indo-China makes this policy possible. The more manly and courageous of the French newspapers are already beginning to reveal the true state of the facts; and when the French public are told the truth, we shall see whether those who use the power of France to take by force the territory of weaker nations which they dare not attempt to claim by right, will be honoured by Frenchmen at home and maintained in positions which they turn to such purposes as this.

Great European Powers who have colonial possessions in the East can adopt two courses of policy in dealing with Orientals. They can offer the great advantages which Western organization, experience, capital, and skill combine to produce, both for the Power that sells and the Power that buys these highly valuable commodities; or they can force, at the point of the bayonet, themselves, and those in their pay, and their methods of administration upon a people who are too weak to resist them, but who appreciate the different methods of treatment as keenly as any people in the world.

One thing is certain that the seeds of violent and unjust aggression will never produce the harvest of prosperity and peaceful progress. Surely there has been proof enough, without adding to it, that Easterns do not easily forget what oppression teaches them, that time and opportunity come at last to those who know how to wait, and that there is no race of men who have learnt better how to wait than Orientals.

THE "HOME CHARGES" OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA :

THEIR NATURE AND INCIDENCE.

BY W. MARTIN WOOD.

THE term "Home Charges" reminds one of the remote period—recently illustrated in Mr. Bernard Quaritch's reprint from the "First Letter Book of the East India Company"—when almost the only connection between the United Kingdom and India was through the small group of merchants trading to the East Indies, who derived only indirect political support and sanction through their Charters, granted by the Crown mainly for its own profit. The phrase is one that would naturally arise in course of the traders' correspondence, chiefly relating to the disbursements of office expenses, salaries, and the fitting out of their vessels. It was not until 1765 that this head of account clearly began to include a political element, as we may presently explain. But the survival of this old trade term is very convenient, as it now serves to mark off distinctly those payments due in London to, and by the Secretary of State, debited to, or levied from, the current revenues of India—from those other disbursements and receipts which usually balance each other, being the proceeds of or repayments of loans or railway capital; and which, until the results of those transactions assume some definitive shape, relate only to the "Ways and Means" or current cash transactions of the year. These two sets of payments—one temporary, deferred or formal; the other direct, real and inexorable—are both combined on the usual parliamentary paper entitled—"Home Accounts of the Government of India," so that it is not easy at first sight to distinguish between the two groups. This, however, is done for us in the highly useful "Explanatory Memorandum" that has been issued by the Under-Secretary of State during the last few years. Take, for instance, that

for 1892 : on page 14 is the following heading—"Home Charges : . . . an Analysis of the net Expenditure on England charged on the Revenue of the year, with the Exchange added." This paper, which could easily be issued within a fortnight after receipt of the Finance Minister's Statement at the end of March, is too often delayed until the very eve of the Indian Minister's exposition, drifted to the fag end of the Session, so that the usefulness of the Memorandum is thereby much lessened. The excuse for that delay is plausible, but insufficient. It is that in the many weeks that elapse between the arrival of the Statement from India and its exposition in the House, many minor revisions of the figures come forward by letter or telegram which it is convenient to embody in the Explanatory Memorandum. But this could easily be provided for by the issue of a half sheet at the latest date giving those minor revisions, which members could easily apply to the Memorandum if they had it in their hands during April. Here it may be well to recall what is the statutory requirement as to the presentation of the Indian accounts to Parliament. It is comprised in Sec. 53 of the Act of 1858 "for the better Government of India"—what in a political and financial sense forms the Anglo-Indian Constitution—and runs thus : "the Secretary of State in Council shall, within the first fourteen days during which Parliament may be sitting next after the First Day of May, lay before both Houses of Parliament an account of the financial year preceding the last completed of the Annual Produce of the Revenues of India, distinguishing the same under their respective heads thereof," etc. : "together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, also the amount of the Debt chargeable on the revenues of India," etc. Here, in passing, we may remark an ambiguity in the expression "the last financial year" : it is the *forthcoming* or *current* financial year that is meant, and such estimate is always given, being indeed *the* subject-matter on which it is sought to obtain the judgment of Parliament. As to this statutory

requirement for presentation, within the first fourteen days of May, it is one that has been frequently neglected or evaded by the Statement being *sub silentio* placed on the table "in dummy." Since attention was called to the matter by the late Mr. Bradlaugh two or three years ago the publication of the Account has been in, or near the prescribed period.

Now, to revert to our special subject that of the Home Charges: that list (which is not an "analysis") on page 14 of the 1892 Memorandum gives fifteen chief heads of account, but these we need not set out here. They are under three divisions—the Accounts closed for 1890-1; the Revised Estimate for 1891-2; and the Budget Estimate for 1892-3; thus affording convenient comparison, so far, of past, present, and future. As to "analysis" of these heads of account, the industrious Members of Parliament who desire to do justice to Indian affairs, must go to the detailed figures which will be found with tolerable explicitness in the full collection of the Financial Statements that are always available. Here one can only deal with the large figures. For instance the total charges, expressed in sterling, stand in the Memorandum estimate at £15,749,600; though according to the Finance Minister (parag. 35) the amount has been £16,563,600; but he explains (which we need not go into) that this does not mean any "permanent increase in the Home Charges." This may be so; but as Sir David Barbour proceeds to remark (parag. 93) that the Secretary of State will draw for £18,700,000 during 1893-4 the pressure on India will be all that more for the present. And as the withdrawal from India to obtain that 15½ millions for the year just past was estimated at Rx 23,624,400 (and has been more) the drawings at the estimated rate for the current year must creep up towards thirty millions of Rx. It is the rupee demand on India that indicates the pinching of the shoe, and means so much more produce to be drawn from the impoverished country to keep up what we are pleased to call our Government of India.

Now let us take note of the principal items that go to make up this enormous charge levied on the Indian peoples, the whole of which is expended in this country, going to increase its wages fund, its profits, and its capital. By far the largest of all is that under "Army" and it may be well to set out the subdivisions (we take the Budget Estimates for 1892-3) thus, numbering them for convenience of reference and comment :—

	£	Exchange : Rx.	Equivalent of Sterling payments: Rx.
1. Home Charges of British } Forces serving in India }	772,000	386,000	1,158,000
2. Troop Service and Transport	233,600	116,800	350,400
3. Other Charges	18,000	9,000	27,000
4. Military Stores	1,040,600	520,300	1,560,900
5. Special Defence Works ...	229,000	114,500	343,600
6. Furlough, Military	303,000	151,500	454,500
7. Non-Effective Charges ditto.	2,807,100	1,403,600	4,210,700
8. Marine Stores	72,100	36,100	108,200
9. H.M. Ships in Indian Seas...	49,600	22,100	66,400
10. Indian Government Defence } Vessels, etc. }	56,000	28,000	84,000
	<hr/> £5,581,000	<hr/> 2,787,900	<hr/> 8,363,700

Thus it will be seen that these Army charges on Indian account—which in 1873-4, Lord Northbrook's time, were only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions—absorb much more than one-third of the whole expenditure in England debited to India. In that year 1873-4 the outlay in this country had already been swollen by the costly Amalgamation policy and by the increase of the "Non-effective" item. As to the broad question whether, first, as a matter of political equity, these $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, being on behalf of the Empire as a whole, should not be largely shared by the Imperial Treasury; and, second, as a matter of financial justice these payments, constituting a direct addition to the income of the United Kingdom, should not be met by some substantial payment from its revenues, this we must leave for the present. It is as to the way in which the large details of these charges are made up that the palpable iniquity of their being

entirely levied from the impoverished people of India most plainly comes out. The task has, fortunately, been partly discharged by the Earl of Northbrook in his valuable speech to his peers on May 15. Though his lordship remarked that he did "not wish to pose as an authority," he is really one of the best possible authorities there can be on the subject. He has followed it closely for twenty years past, both outside and inside, first as Governor-General of India, when he sedulously devoted his efforts to secure true economy in this and all other branches of financial administration; and, secondly, as Chairman of a Standing Committee or Commission appointed by the Treasury to regulate the rates of the effective charges as against the continual encroachments of the War Office. Let us glance at the history of these stealthy encroachments which have swollen effective and non-effective charges alike.

By way of striking contrast we refer to 1822, when the East India Company agreed to pay £60,000 a year under the head of non-effective, and the Minister of the day owned that the Company "behaved exceedingly handsomely in the matter." It was in 1861 (after the Amalgamation be it noted) that the basis of the present gross abuses was laid. The rate of charge was then agreed upon at "£10 for effective men in India" and at £3 10s. per man "for the whole non-effective." Even then the sturdy Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, protested, as pertinently quoted by Lord Northbrook, thus—"It would be clearly understood the present temporary arrangement was not to be regarded as an admission that it was one that India could be justly called upon to pay when the benefit to England of the employment of the army in India was taken into consideration." Let this latter clause be reserved for future remark, for it bears on the fact that the depôts of British regiments serving in India which constitute a considerable portion of the English and Irish garrisons are charged on the revenues of India. This

comes under our item 1; and as Lord Northbrook said "every single farthing of the (British soldier's) expenses from the time he recruits until the time he goes out is paid by India"—though, while at the depôt, he is only effective so far as English service is concerned. But it is in the non-effective charge (on item 7) that the greatest increase and abuses have arisen. This extra cupidity on the part of the War Office and Treasury began in 1870, when, as his lordship remarked, "a most complicated and extraordinary plan was hit upon under which, year by year, the actual pension India was supposed to be called upon to pay was capitalised and the actual value was paid annually." Since then this imposition has gone on by leaps and bounds, until from a quarter of a million in 1870 the non-effective charge has become nearly three millions, as shown in our item 7. And the plea on which the surcharge has been imposed is worst of all. It seems that Lord Kimberley did timidly protest at a later period, 1881, when its effect began to be severely felt; he said "A part of the increase was incurred owing to measures carried into effect by the English Government for purposes unconnected with India, such as the abolition of the purchase system and compulsory retirement of officers." Here we may remark in passing that many other changes indicating the cost of the British soldier "unconnected with India" have largely increased the cost to that country without either its government or people having had a word to say to those charges—as shown by General Chesney and other speakers in a recent debate. The Earl of Ripon as Governor-General renewed the protest against these growing factitious charges; in a Minute of his quoted by Lord Northbrook, he said—"The argument (against these extra levies by the home departments) as regards the abolition of the purchase system appears to be particularly strong. It certainly appears to me exceedingly unjust that the Indian revenue should be called upon to bear any charge in order to get rid of this peculiarly

English matter." As to "justice," this is only a pious opinion that does not affect the methods of the spending departments at home; their habitual motto is—"make India pay." Though occasionally when a conscientious man, such as the late Earl of Derby, has happened to be at the Treasury some qualms have arisen; and he from his earliest connection with these matters did what he could to check that traditional system of imposition on India. Lord Northbrook, in summing up his own experience in regard to this dismal and unworthy pressure on the weak by the strong, said—"the result was that after fourteen years' work the main contention had not been considered, but was altogether put on one side . . . the main question after twenty years has been utterly and entirely ignored, and the difficulties remain." Therefore his lordship gave up the unavailing struggle, he resigned his place on the Commission and has now delivered his soul in open day.

As to the other items, we may just notice the Naval and Transport charges, amounting to nearly £350,000 per annum. The whole cost of troops proceeding to, and returning from, India is borne from leaving Portsmouth to their return; though the least would be to expect the British Treasury to sustain the cost for their coming home, seeing that the troops are available at every point on their return voyage. Since that injudicious measure, the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1863-6, the Indian revenues have been a resource for the patronage and extraneous expenditure of the Admiralty to the extent of hundreds of thousands. As we are constantly told that our Navy is for the defence of British commerce all over the world, it seems a shabby course to squeeze India's revenues on that behalf when the Colonies are let off so lightly in that respect.

II. The next item which challenges attention is one that is more frequently forced on public notice—as

in the recent pertinent interpellation by Lord Stanley of Alderley regarding the (duplicate) Secretary of State's salary — the India Office, its Establishment, and several charges under its manipulation. The totals, as shown in the Budget Estimates for 1892-3, are £192,600, resulting in a charge on India of Rx 285,900. The chief heads as set out are these (we number them on from the former list) :—

	£	Exchange : Rx.	Equivalent to Rx.
11. Salaries of Establishment ...	136,400	68,200	204,600
12. Auditors' Department ...	6,800	3,400	10,200
13. Stores Department ...	25,900	12,900	38,800
14. Stationery, postage, telegrams and other charges }	21,500	10,800	32,300

Before commenting on these current items that arise year by year, it is well to take note of the cost of the India Office building itself. When our foreign friends are shown the grand quadrangle of public offices south of Downing Street and west of Parliament Street, they willingly admit that the pile is imposing and that the outlay on it was worthy of a wealthy nation. But there is an important qualification before this compliment can be freely accepted. The whole cost of the south-west portion of the quadrangle was charged on and paid for by the people of India, whilst for the opposite portion, that on the north-east, consisting of the offices in which the business of our Colonial empire is conducted, not a shilling was contributed by the Colonists, as the construction and maintenance of their head offices was, in their opinion, an Imperial charge. No doubt it is ; but our control of India is equally, if not far more of an Imperial character. India is held in the hollow of our hand, its people have no voice here ; so we drew on their revenues year by year for the construction of their head-office as we call it, and the money was paid without any murmurings to speak of. About the time that the India Office was finished and the whole pile complete, our Ministry of the period had a mind to give a grand

reception to H.I.M. the Sultan of Turkey; when this quadrangle was covered over, and such a spectacle was presented that made one of our inspired statesmen of the time exclaim, "Why, this is like Belshazzar's Feast!" But, as a foreign cynic remarked, this *mot* might prove ominous, seeing that the £10,000 spent on that reception was all charged on the distant and silent Indian people.*

Now let us look into some of the details of that total current charge for the India Office already shown as £192,600 or 28½ lakhs of rupees in the budget for the year just closed. There is an apparent discrepancy between that figure and those shown in the more complete "Home Accounts of the Government of India" dated as "ordered by Parliament May 12th, 1893," wherein (table 10) the "India Office" and "Salaries," etc., are entered as £194,181 and £151,152 respectively. This difference may be partly explained by two sums under the vague title of "Contingencies," £11,900 and £13,400, being entered in one group and not under the other—the latter sum being debited to the Store Dépôt, of which more presently. The most interesting item in the India Office list is the cost of that great luminary the Secretary of State and his satellites, amounting to £25,300, or, say, three and a half lakhs of rupees—as this constellation consists of seventeen, including thirteen members of Council, that comes to nearly £1,400 a piece. But there is to the line "Members of Council at £1,200 each" a weighty foot-note, which, as it may be said to shed lustre on the whole group, must be transcribed here, thus—"Five also receive Indian Civil Service Annuities of £1,000 each; one, an Indian Judicial Pension of £1,500 a year; two, Indian Military

* In the yearly charges there are levied, through and for the British Foreign Office, two items so utterly inequitable that they ought long since to have been wiped off, and should be abolished even in the present Session: these are—"Political charges—Persian Mission" £7,000 = Rx 10,500; and "Diplomatic and Consular Establishment in China"—£12,500 = Rx 18,700. We have no more right to make the people of India pay these exactions year after year, than to expect them to pay our Foreign Office charges in Morocco or Chili.

Pay at 25s. a day and Colonel's Allowance £668 12s. a year each ; one, Indian Military Retired Pay at £1 a day ; and two, Pay in respect of service in the British Army." Now it must be owned these figures carry quite an Imperial ring with them : and it is comforting to the British citizen to consider that this liberal outlay of other peoples' money forms a substantial addition to the income of this great Metropolis. But other reflections will arise : for instance, though these double-shorted salaries—to say nothing of the lordly £5,000 for the Chief—may not be at an excessive rate considering the experience and talent thus secured for the service of the Empire, might not half the men suffice for the work to be done ? It is true that the eight or nine thousand a year (say a lakh of rupees) that could thus be saved is only a trifling sum compared with the huge impositions on India already described under Army Charges ; but even this odd lakh serves, on one hand, to suggest many others that await the pruning knife, and, on the other, what a godsend to many a struggling college or starved civil department in India would be a few thousand *pukha* rupees judiciously dispensed, instead of the same remitted *kutchha* rupees being squandered on luxuries here.

Ex uno disce omnes. The fifty-two clerks of sorts under the head of "Correspondence" cost £32,525, even more than the chief galaxy aforesaid ; but it may be presumed we have real working men here seeing that the six chief Secretaries at £1,200 a year are included. To them also is assigned a foot-note indicating, in case of three of them, double that income. As to the details of this huge establishment, its special assistants, its supernumeraries, its superannuations, its messengers, housemaids, or charwomen, and its "Contingencies" galore, all that jungle we must leave to be pruned or cleared by some painstaking administrative reformer, as, for instance, Sir Charles Trevelyan once was. Meantime such minor questions will arise as to why £1,000 should be spent on a Consulting Officer for Indian Troop ships, while only £400 (now raised to £800) should be

granted for the valuable service of "Cataloguing the Records of the India Office"; why "six hired writers" should have four guineas a week while "nine lady typists" should be pinched on 14s. to 30s. a week, and, above all, why that glorified Treasury clerk, Sir Algernon West, should be drawing £800 (say 12,000 rupees) from the revenues of India?

But it is the Stores Department, with its establishment of 280 all told—including its Director-General and Senior Clerks costing £6,500 a year—that has long needed, but as yet obstinately defies, the hand of the reformer. The demand against that nest of barnacles which has come from all classes in India for years past is—"Ah, reform it altogether." It is regarded as combining all the faults of expensiveness, circumlocution, delay, and waste. Its cost is entered at £40,300 with £13,400 for "Contingencies" (say nearly eight lakhs of rupees); that last figure includes such items as "Travelling Expenses" £4,500, and £1,000 to the Inland Revenue Office for "Superintending" the supply of stamps for India. It is not so much on the cost of this department that stress is laid; but when it is considered that it has sole control over purchases that amount to a million or two per annum there is no wonder that, from the Indian side, the Stores Department of the India Office is a byword of dislike and suspicion. About ten years ago, when Sir Evelyn Baring was Finance Minister, strong representations were made urging that greater economy and facility would be attained by much more largely contracting for, or otherwise purchasing "Stores" in India where they are to be used. Some little way was made in that direction, but the obstinate resistance of the India Office to that wholesome and business-like reform has been pertinaciously maintained. The Indian Chambers of Commerce and mercantile firms which could supply on the spot iron and other European materials, have remonstrated again and again. Native Indian associations, that are manfully striving to extend the scope of indigenous

production, have pleaded to be heard as against this incubus of the Stores Department, but as yet almost in vain; though all the Indian administrations would gladly support the policy of local purchases if permitted by the Charles Street bureau.

III. It is not practicable, within our limits, to deal in due proportion with the ramifications of this subject which has such vital bearing on the financial and material condition of India: but just a word must be said on that sterling Debt, the annual charge for which stands (1892-3) at £2,416,000 = Rx 3,624,000. It is said that India could not borrow anywhere so cheaply as in England—a truism the bearing of which our official financiers frequently fail to appreciate. But there is a previous question—how was the debt built up, and on which Treasury should its chief incidence equitably fall? That is an essentially historical question the facts of which have been greatly obscured. For those whose duty it is to study it—and no one without that course can understand the present material and monetary *ill-condition* of India—we would refer to a masterly essay by the late Robert Knight (*Journal of the East India Association*, Vol. II., Part 3),* in which are shown the enormous sums drawn from Bengal during the first fifty years of our rule, the vast amounts expended from Indian resources on English wars of conquest against the Dutch and French, and the terribly accumulated pressure thus iniquitously inflicted on India which indeed, though in more specious form, *is still going on*.

IV. As to the broad politico-financial questions that underly this subject of India's Home Charges we can only here sum them up with severe brevity—premising that the pith of the whole matter is comprised in the quotation from Sir George Wingate in the April number of this Review, p. 506. By far the larger part of this sixteen

* See also Vol. V., Part 2, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on the *Commerce of India*, with the debate thereon, presided over by Sir Bartle Frere. See also "India's Unadjusted Trade Balance," *Political Science Quarterly*, Dec., 1887.

millions and more, all of which is drawn from India, represents the cost of maintaining our control over that country ; that control has resulted in millions on millions of pecuniary profit to this United Kingdom, and in political prestige the value of which few, except impartial Continental statesmen and economists, can realize : therefore some substantial share in that cost should be borne by the Treasury of this Kingdom. This is the political equity of the matter. But as to the financial effect on the two countries of this inexorable annual withdrawal from India, this is a question that comes under the head of ordinary fairness and enlightened prudence. India is a poor country—scores of millions of its people can scarcely obtain the bare necessities of existence—England is one of the wealthiest nations on the face of the earth. It is an axiom of economics that revenue drawn from a subject country and spent in the dominant country reduces prices, profits and industrial funds, also prevents growth of capital in the former, and increases all those factors in the latter country, in both cases in more than arithmetical proportion.* England by defraying some appreciable portion of these annual millions of disbursement would greatly check their destructive effect on India, and, by *pro tanto* relieving the intolerable pressure on the dependent country, might secure the perpetuation of that control which is, or should be, a mutual benefit to both. Finally : India is weak, but England is strong ; yet we dare not charge our colonies with the cost of the Colonial Office nor with any appreciable share for their naval and military defence, every shilling of which and more also is, in the case of India, paid by the dependent country. Why, then, should we not take counsel, of justice and prudence alike, in this great imperial matter, and by granting this boon to the peoples of our grand Indian Empire, weld them to us for ever ?

* See concluding section of J. S. Mill's chapter on "Distribution of the Precious Metals."

The following telegram appears in the *Times* of June 15th :
 " Indian Opinion on Home Charges." " The feeling on the subject of home charges is gaining strength rapidly, and there seems to be little doubt that all classes of the community will soon join in demanding a *strict and impartial inquiry into*—(1) *the excessive cost of the India Office establishment* (2) *the working of the Store Purchase Department* (3) *the contributions levied on the Indian Treasury, by the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office.* It is universally felt that India has been treated very unfairly, and the questions asked in Parliament are watched with keen interest. *Any attempt to stifle or delay inquiry will cause much bitterness and discontent.*"

In connexion with the above subject, "an Anglo-Indian official" comments as follows :

THE HOME CHARGES AND LORD NORTHBROOK.

On the 15th February last, Lord Stanley of Alderley elicited a discussion in the House of Lords on the double salary of Lord Kimberley. Lord Northbrook then considered that the Government and people of India had much to complain of the manner in which the India Office dealt with the Home Charges, and shortly after he gave notice of a motion "to call attention to the Home Charges of the Government of India in relation to the condition of the Finances of India: and to move for papers." This was understood at the time to mean that the India Office would be overhauled and both in official and public opinion in India, this intention was hailed with satisfaction as indicating Lord Northbrook's continued strong interest in the country of which he had been Viceroy. For some reason or other the motion was delayed and delayed, till, to the disappointment of Lord Northbrook's admirers, the subject discussed on the 15th May in the House of Lords, was not the India Office at all, but the supposed struggle of the India Office against the unjust impositions of the War Office and the

Treasury. Although this grievance may be the greatest of all and it was, undoubtedly, tactical to combine with the Secretary of State for India against the common adversary, yet, to judge from the tone of the Indian Press and from the letters that have reached me, it is generally felt that the whole venue of the question, as started by Lord Stanley of Alderley, has been changed by Lord Northbrook and that we are as far from an open investigation into the Home Charges of the India Office, including its relations to the War Office and Treasury, as we were before. To this feeling, the telegram in the *Times* of June 15th, gives utterance and even the Indian official world, judging by the *Pioneer*, does not seem to bear out Lord Northbrook's statement on the 15th May that the facts were *not* so "alarming" as he had supposed from the remarks in the Press or to justify his restricting the discussion to the Military Charges. We certainly think that an explanation is required as to why the *whole* subject of Home Charges was not threshed out in the House of Lords, when such a favourable opportunity presented itself which may not soon again occur. Indeed, the last phase of the subject is that, on the 16th June, Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a question by Mr. D. H. Macfarlane, said that "he could not consent to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question of the Home Charges paid out of the revenues of India," though, on the 19th, nothing daunted, Mr. Macfarlane gave notice that "on the introduction of the Indian Budget he would move that in the opinion of the House it was desirable, with a view to an equitable adjustment of military and other charges made in this country and payable out of the revenue of India, that a Committee or Commission should be appointed to consider and report on the subject."

INDIANS IN ENGLAND AND THE INDIA CIVIL SERVICE.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

IN the recent parliamentary Debate on holding the competitive Examination for the India Civil Service simultaneously in England and in India, it has been assumed, both by the advocates and the opponents of the proposed measure, that it was to the advantage of that service or to that of good government, if natives of India came to this country. The advocates of a proposal, which has stolen a march on Parliament, suggest that candidates in India, who have been successful at "the first" or "competitive" Examination should prepare themselves during 3 years in England for the "final" or special Pass Examination of the successful or "selected" Candidates. The opponents urge that intending Candidates for the *first* Examination, in which most must fail, should already come to England in order to become acquainted with the institutions of this country. Both parties to the discussion, therefore, seem to take it for granted that a residence in this country is almost an unmixed blessing. From this coincidence it may be inferred that they alike represent the English, rather than the native, view of the question—in other words, that both desire the denationalization of Indians and that the question is merely one between Englishmen and anglicized Indians. That the latter must succeed in a struggle on such common ground is certain, for they offer to bring the additional sacrifice of coming to England for three years in order to learn to govern India, whereas the English "selected" Candidate does not prepare himself *in* India, during the probationary period, for his future work in that country. A native by birth or color, if English in everything else, endowed with more memory and more painstaking than his whiter rival, will always, in the judgment of the British public, have, *cæteris paribus*, a better chance and a greater claim to govern his own country than an Englishman.

The question of the rule of India is intimately connected with the constitution of the Civil Service and is, therefore, one of vital importance not only to England but also to the true culture of India. I consider the latter to be the more important consideration. I advisedly use the word "culture" instead of "civilization," as a long residence in India and the active part which I have taken in "native" movements have convinced me that India is being ruined by the aping of English manners and ideas of government. This ruin will be accelerated by the increased importation, under little, if any, supervision, of natives of India into this country.

The "native" rule which Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji M.P. would seem desirous of substituting for that of the present Anglo-Indian officials, is the infinitely more "foreign" rule of denationalized natives who have lost touch with their fellow-countrymen.

That this is not an overcharged statement may be inferred from the comments of the most popular Bengali newspaper upon the results of the Calcutta elections: "Look at the situation! Under the elective system three excommunicated Hindus who have visited England will be returned to the Bengal Council and be recognised as representatives of the country. Whose representatives are they except those of a handful of men? They have no sympathy with natives; nor is it possible that they should have, for in their education, training, manners, and customs they are the refuse of the English." There is, of course, more sympathy between an Englishman of good birth and a high-caste native who respects himself than between a high-caste native and an out-caste fellow-countryman, even if the latter call himself a "native" reformer.

Again, an English gentleman by birth in an official position in India, and no other should occupy one, is infinitely more regardful of the feelings and rights of all classes of natives, than a native of a low class in a position of authority in which he can show his power or spite. It may

be said that some of the cleverest Englishmen in the Civil Service belong to the lower classes, but moving in the generally higher atmosphere of their colleagues makes the vulgar assume a virtue though they have it not, and there is no doubt, that the most revolutionary measures in India which are shaking our rule have been advocated by such Englishmen. But the case is very different when the *whole* of a *native* ruling class is to be composed by men, who, rightly or wrongly, have bidden defiance to what the mass of their community and its natural leaders think respectable or wise and whose success hitherto in any one of the professions, where they have not been complete failures, does not come near the eminence and usefulness in them of those who have never studied in England at all.

There is no native barrister, who is a legal luminary like Mandlik, no statesman like Salar Jang or Madhava Rao or Dinkar Rao, no scholars like Nyayaratna or Rajendralala, all pillars of learning, of their people and of our Government. Indeed, there is not one of the new school who is equal to a thoroughly good Māulvi or Pandit in mental depth and strength, or who can compare with the native physicians or engineers, who have been trained by either the English or the native systems *in* India, whilst all enjoy better health and are less slaves to feverish and weakening ambitions. The immediate result of compelling natives of India to come to England will be to eliminate the governing Class or the Class that has vested interests and sympathies in India. In more senses than one, pious and aristocratic Hindu communities will be handed over to outcastes. This will not affect the Muhammadan youths to the same extent, as they could, if they only chose, maintain their religion in this country, but, on the other hand, they are, with a few admirable exceptions, even less a law unto themselves than Hindus of the better castes. By the force of social and political associations, which I need not discuss here, it is a tendency of all English reforms, including Missionary efforts, to, unintentionally, increase the influence or number of Muhammadans, who, being accustomed to traditions

of rule, would, no doubt, take the lead in the proposed new departure of the Civil Service, were their means equal to their aspirations. They are, however, themselves their worst enemies, and I have often had occasion to mourn over the premature falling-off of promising Muhammadans. That they are only a fifth of the Indian population, is no objection, except from an elector's point of view, considering that minorities must ever rule, and that we ourselves are a minority in India, that is even more "microscopic" than the anglicized natives, who are certain to get into power, in spite of Lord Dufferin's epigrammatic appellation.

The fault is with us. From the day that a native lands in England everything conspires to spoil him. I have seen an Ex-Viceroy and an Ex-Governor visit an Indian Club in this country and ask four young natives who tilted their chairs against a table, instead of rising in Indian, if not English, politeness, what was their opinion on some political subject of the day! I have known the mainstay of that Club, an Englishman of position, maintain that it was wise to "let young men sow their wild oats," as if this should be done at the expense of English or Indian purity. There is not a man or a woman or a Society, brought in contact with a young Indian, that does not think more of pleasing him than of his parents, people and future in India. Instead of placing a Palace at the disposal of an Indian Prince, all the kindness that a Secretary of State can show him, is to invite him to dinner, in other words, to spoil his caste and alienate him from his subjects. One Chief was heard to say "What could I do? out of fear I ate"; another, less scrupulous, is always yearning "to go *home*, in order to be out of the way of niggers"; a third, a worthy, though not high-caste, prince, visits Europe year after year, as if even European ruling sovereigns ever left their countries for any length of time. This cannot continue with impunity. Instead of, at least, learning their language, not to speak of the innumerable lessons of grandeur, devotion and chivalry of Indian History and customs, we confound natives with suggestions

of reforms, to which our prestige, not their suitability, gives weight. Descending still lower, we sometimes, alas, find hospitality dispensed on the common ground of dissipation, which a shining light among Radicals, explained as deserving encouragement "for," he said, "if they learn to despise our civilization, they will strike for their freedom." Even marriages between Englishwomen and Indians, of whatever rank, fill one with misgivings and are not likely to lead to happiness in the new surroundings. It is not English life that will suffer by these alliances; it is the native that will be destroyed, after he has lost his caste or religion, his source of hope and courage in adversity and of goodness in prosperity, for in the death of his national associations he too, by an inevitable law of nature, must perish in successively weakened generations.

In my humble opinion, we do not require "competitive" Examinations at all for India, but the generous and regular promotion of distinguished native public servants, now in the grades of what were called the "uncovenanted" services, to the higher posts of the Civil Service. An *honest* trial should also be given to the Statutory Native Civil Service, in which I have known most distinguished men.* Above all, the Military profession should be open to the scions of native noble families. If Russia can trust entire Muhammadan regiments to Muhammadan generals, we can even more afford to do so, especially after the outburst of loyalty which has, practically, placed the troops of native States at our disposal. The proper course is to divide the number of Civil Service appointments which form the subject of Examinations or of nomination between England and India.† If we are to have competitive Examinations in India instead of tests suitable to the requirements of the various parts of that Continent, let us have them simultaneously in England and in various Indian Centres and not *compel* the successful or "selected" Indian Candidate

* Careful nomination, followed by the strictest "Pass" Examination, in both general and special subjects, is what I venture to suggest.

† See "concluding remarks" on pages 103 to 105.

to spend his probation in England or send the English Candidate to India, which would be far more sensible. If, however, Indian Candidates, who have passed a competitive or other test, are to study in England for their final Examination, then let arrangements be made, both as regards their passage to and from this country and their stay in it, such as shall not lead to their denationalization, or to their loss of caste or of religion. That this *can* be done, in exceptional cases, has been proved and it only depends on the good will of the India Office and of the Indian Authorities to convert the exception into the rule.

The following papers, of which the first was circulated by the Indian Government in 1867 in connexion with the Gilchrist Scholarships, still show what steps may be adopted to meet the so-called spirit of the age, the requirements of good government, and the claims of the native nobility, and gentry and those of existing native officials :

THE DANGERS OF SENDING NATIVE YOUTHS TO
EUROPE.*

It is singular that a measure, for which, perhaps more than for any other, Sir John Lawrence's reign will be remembered, should have received so little critical treatment by the Indian Press. The *Hindu Patriot* was, probably, loudest in the expression of satisfaction ; other journals had misgivings, but none, I believe, pointed out that His Excellency's proposal was likely to injure the very cause which, on the eve of leaving for England, he had so generously espoused. I have often advocated the policy of sending Native Officials of rank, ability and proved trustworthiness to England, and I believe that the late proposal regarding the Uncovenanted Leave Rules which allow only three years' leave in India, has been specially designed in order to induce them to visit Europe by the bait of an additional three years' leave. Had Native Officials been sent home at the expense of Government, the result must have been a satisfactory one, as their experience in Europe could, on their return to duty, have at once been utilized by the State, which knew their worth before it sent them on their travels. But to send youths home can, at the best, be only a doubtful *experiment*, and it is because I fear that *it will cause a reaction* against native interests that I now venture to point out some of its dangers.

There seems to be no reason why one portion of Her Majesty's subjects should, more than any other, be educated at the public expense for professions and Government service. It may be said that India has the

* The subject matter of this paper was submitted to Government, through Sir H. S. Maine, D.C.L., by the author, Dr. Leitner.

wealth, if not the enterprise, to send nine of her sons annually to Europe for professional or "official" ambition ; it may be threatened that *English* candidates will clamour against a one-sided bestowal of public patronage, and force Government either to retrace its steps or involve itself in greater expense ; and it may be finally urged that the *selection* of any candidate is against the present system of *competition*.

It is in vain to hope that these Native youths will, as a rule, prefer professions, with the single exception, in some cases, of the legal one, to Government service. If they qualify themselves to be Engineers or Surgeons, it will be with the view of competing for Government posts in those departments.

There is nothing to prevent Natives *now* from availing themselves of the Medical and Engineering Colleges which India already provides, and there is no reason why some title, equivalent to that of "Barrister," should not be conferred by the Indian Inns of Court that might be founded. It is just because *professions* have yet to be created among the Natives, at any rate, of Upper India that they, without the prospect of Government employ, do not attract many students in this country. Even superior minds have been known to prefer fixed to precarious incomes, and it is scarcely likely that even the few "professional" Native students will prefer, especially under the pressure of their relatives in India, private practice on their return home to the chance of successfully competing for a Government appointment.

It is to be presumed that there will be numerous failures among the Native competitors for public appointments, especially in the Indian Civil Service, to which their attention will, in the majority of cases, be directed. This will be a very probable result, especially if the marking of the Civil Service Commissioners for oriental languages is not raised to, what it should be, 750 marks for Arabic and Sanskrit in the "Competitive Examination."* These failures may throw discredit on the generous measure about to be carried out, and will certainly cause disappointment to the unsuccessful candidates, for whom, probably, Government may have to provide appointments in, what is now called, the Uncovenanted Service.

Some of the moral and political effects of the proposal in question cannot be contemplated without apprehension. Familiarity with our vice-stained classes in England will cause contempt for our civilization, which the Native students on their return to India will not be slow to show. 'The youthful mind is the slave of appearances. The numerous Turkish youths, although belonging to a race as vigorous and honest as any in India, who have been trained in Europe, have, in the majority of cases, returned to their country with only a taste for champagne, kid gloves, and oaths, a use of the small talk of infidelity, and an unmistakable tendency to libertinage.

* In 1867 the Anjuman-i-Panjab addressed the Civil Service Commissioners on the subject of the reduction of the marks given to Arabic and Sanskrit from 500 to 375. Since then I am glad to see that the marks have again been raised to 500, though justice will only be rendered to these subjects when their marking is made precisely identical with that for Latin and Greek.

It would be sanguine to hope more from Indian youths, and I apprehend that even the best of them will be so much spoilt by the petting which they will receive at home, as to fret under subordination and imaginary slights on their return to India.

The great objection, however, to the proposal is, that it will not allay the irritation which has been expressed, in the name of the more intelligent and ambitious Natives, by the British Indian Associations of this country and England. It is always doubtful whether, in the case of alien and conquered races, any half-measure between total exclusion and general admission to higher office is, if practicable, wise or generous. In this case it is certain that the clamour for the total abolition of race distinctions will grow, rather than decrease, at this first instalment of Government concessions. This is perhaps only what should be, and it is probable that all the services must be eventually thrown open to all subjects of Her Majesty.

The concession is not a simple and intelligible, but a complicated and conditional one, and as such will create dissent, confusion, and apprehension in the Native mind. The Natives will say that Government is only liberal when it can denationalize them. Indeed, it is the expectation of some such result that will induce many Europeans to support "the proposal." But the majority of Natives, who are too bigoted to let their sons leave their country, will say—why have a competition *in our case* for a *competitive* examination, or why have a *selection* for a competition? (of course, those chiefs or gentlemen whose sons are not selected will be in a state of discontent). Why alienate Natives, even for a time, from the country in the government of which they are to take a share, and are Englishmen sent to other countries to learn to rule their own? etc., etc.

Finally, after a great deal of bitterness and misconception of the generosity of Government, the course will have to be taken, which might be adopted *now* without the slightest cost to Government, *viz.*, a certain number of appointments will be thrown open for competition *in this country* [India].

The vitality of outside agitation on this subject would then be destroyed, or, should it still continue, would have to narrow itself to a clamour about the *number* of those appointments. To this the Government will always be able to reply effectually, by referring to the necessary standard of qualification, the claims of the different provinces of India, the productions of the candidates and other facts that do not introduce race opposition.

In thus expressing my opinion, I trust I shall not be deemed blind to the many advantages to be derived by a Native from residence in England, or that I am actuated by anything but the sincerest affection for the Natives of this country. It is only because the concession referred to will not achieve all it intends, and will not prevent the eventual course that must soon be adopted, that I have ventured to express my dissent from a measure whose generosity and felicity of conception are worthy of the great Government from which it has emanated.

Should the measure in question be after all carried into effect, I trust that the Native students will not be relegated to country Colleges or

Universities. London, in or near which they should reside, alone of all cities in the world, gives a conception of size, diversity, and immensity, which would not be lost on the Native mind. In London are found the best teachers on all subjects; there are hospitals on a large scale; the great Courts of Law; the National and Indian Museums and Libraries; our Houses of Parliament; the great learned Societies; Engineering Workshops; vast Mercantile and Industrial Establishments, etc., etc.; in fact, all that, *under proper guidance*, can impress the Native student with the grandeur of our civilization. . . .

In Oxford and Cambridge, mainly institutions for instruction in Classics and Mathematics, subjects to acquire which Natives are not sent home presumably, the new students would wander about under the impression, however possibly incorrect, of not being properly taught. Whatever the respect with which we might be inclined to regard these Universities, we cannot deny that, for the purpose in question they are thoroughly unsuited. . . . I think you will agree with me that, after every due praise has been given to these institutions, no town in England can in its complete and manifold advantages compete with London. If the students are placed in charge of a tutor,—who will control their conduct and direct their studies, who will honor them even in their prejudices, and yet instil into them lessons of progress and high-mindedness, who acquainted with Oriental customs and languages and an admirer of what is true and beautiful in Oriental literature, will, through the comparative method, develop an enthusiasm for European civilization and science in his Native pupils, and yet be free from national and religious bias,—I am sure that, the purposes of discipline being thus secured, no field provides such special opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge of every kind as London.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

At a numerously attended meeting of the *Anjuman-i-Panjab* held on the 30th August 1876, my paper on the "Civil Service," which had already been submitted to Government, received the general approval. It referred to the difficulties connected with the Scheme of sending native youths to England. On this it was argued with some force that, rather than give umbrage to English candidates, the generous travelling and subsistence allowance to native students should be foregone, although it was to be borne in mind that English candidates were not, like their native colleagues, compelled to go to a distant country in order to pass their Examinations. On the whole, the *Anjuman* considered it more satisfactory to all, to have a number of Civil appointments *competed* for in India and to send the *selected* candidates for their two years' additional preparation to Europe.* All agreed that these native youths should be in charge of a tutor, of special fitness for the task, and who would be directly responsible to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for India. It was also suggested that a Section might be founded in connexion with the Educational Departments

* Indians in England object to all supervision, but as prospective Civilians and going straight from India to a special Institute in England, they would readily comply with the demands of discipline.

among the "First Arts' men" of the Calcutta University, with the view of giving the necessary special training for the Civil Service. But, in the meanwhile, it was to consider existing interests and to remodel the Competitive Examination so as to suit both English and Indian candidates.

It is, therefore, necessary that the grievances of native officials should be taken into immediate consideration, and a Scheme for the reconstruction of the "Competitive Examination" be suggested for the adoption of the Civil Service Commissioners. In this, as in all similar matters, the *Anjuman-i-Panjab* claims nothing for the native to which his qualifications and the exigencies of State Service might not be deemed to entitle him, or which does not form part of a policy which is equally generous to both European and Native aspirants for public employment.

A SCHEME FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

(Of this scheme I can only, in this place, give a rough outline.)

The "Covenanted" Civil Services to be entered, 1st: by examination [not necessarily, or everywhere, "competitive"], and 2nd: in the course of regular promotion from a lower grade.

1st: *By Examination.*

The scheme of the Civil Service Commissioners, especially as regards "selected" candidates, to be generally adhered to,* but the "competitive" examination to be modified in the following manner:

(*Optional Subjects.*)

		Maximum marks.
Language, Literature, and History of England	...	1,000
English Composition	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	...	750
" " " Rome	...	750
Arabic Language and Literature	...	750
Sanscrit " "	...	750
Language, Literature, and History of France	...	375
" " " Germany	...	375
" " " Italy	...	375
Hindustani Language and History of India	...	375
Persian Language and Literature	...	375
Mathematics	...	1,250
The Science of Language (Philology)	...	750

* Candidates for the Indian Civil Service have to pass *two* examinations in England before they are sent out to India. The first is called the "Competitive" Examination, held, once every year, at which any British subject, under a certain age and of good character, can compete, taking his choice of one or more among a certain List of branches of general knowledge, to which certain marks are allotted. The marks obtained by a candidate are totalled up and a certain number of candidates, corresponding to the number of vacancies in appointments for the year in India, who obtain the *highest* marks among their fellow-competitors, are said to "pass." The men who have thus "passed" become now "selected" candidates, and as such have to study and pass in certain *prescribed* subjects, fitting them for their career in India. In the second Examination, *all* the candidates who come up to a certain standard may pass and be appointed.

Natural Sciences (any three of the following subjects) :

Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Electricity, Chemistry, etc.	750*
<i>Mental and Moral Science</i> (including <i>Indian Logic</i>)...	500

No marks to count, unless a candidate has obtained one-fourth at least of the number of maximum marks allotted to the subject or subjects which he may take up.

The advantage of this scheme is that, whilst being essentially fair to English students, it gives a chance to Indian candidates, and that it can be extended with ease to this country, should it be finally decided to throw a number of appointments open for public competition in India. A glance at the following may show the fairness of the scheme :

Mathematics	1,250	} Equal chances for both English and Indian students.
Natural Sciences	750	
Mental and Moral Science	500	
The Science of Language (Comparative Grammar, etc.)	750	
Latin	750	} The "Classics" of an English man.
Greek	750	
Arabic	750	} The "Classics" of an Indian.
Sanscrit	750	

An equally high standard to be insisted upon in both European and Oriental Classics.

French	575	} Modern literary languages for an Englishman.
German	375	
Italian	375	
Hindustani	375	} Modern literary languages for an Indian.
Persian	375	

Here the English candidate has a slight advantage over the Indian by having one more modern language, but this, I fear, cannot be helped.

English Language, Literature, History, and Composition	1,500	} Here the highest inducement is held out, and most wisely, for proficiency in the most useful subject for both the Native and the Englishman.

The Indian student will thus be able to rely on his Sanscrit and Arabic *versus* the Latin and Greek of his English competitor, though, even then, the chances will not be quite in favour of the Indian student, as it is rare that a Hindu knows Arabic, or a Mussulman Sanscrit, whilst an English Classic knows both Latin and Greek, and has thus a maximum of 1,500 marks to the other's 750.

Against the English candidate's French, German, and Italian, the Indian has his Hindustani and Persian; whilst with regard to English and "scientific" subjects generally, both sets of candidates are offered the same chance in examination. The introduction of "the science of language"

* The unaccountable increase of marks for that subject from its former amount of 500 to, I believe, 1,250 marks, is, I consider an exaggerated concession to the recent clamour in favour of an "*useful*" education, and must encourage cramming in those subjects.

(Comparative Grammar, Philology) is, I consider, a step in the right direction, because it recognises a science which has special interest for "Indo-European" scholars and officials. But the great recommendation of the suggested scheme for the "competitive examination" is that it will induce English candidates to pay greater attention than they have given hitherto to the subject of Oriental languages [both classical and modern], and thus increase the number of those officers, who alone have influence with the masses of his country, because they understand their languages and customs, and have a respect for their literatures.*

The second means, by which I suggest that the Covenanted Civil Service should be entered, is

By regular promotion from lower grades.

I may state here that naturally the great personal interest which is felt in this matter induces native officials to lay greater stress on it than on admission by examination. There are men amongst them who have been 10 to 20 years in the service, and yet see no prospect of promotion. They suggest that :

1. The present rates of pay per mensem in the different grades of Extra Assistant Commissioner be raised as follows :

3rd Grade of Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 250 to 300.

2nd Grade Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 400 to 500.

1st Grade of Extra Assistant Commissioner from Rs. 600 to 700 per mensem with annual further increase.

(The Panjab Government have lately increased these salaries.)

2. That Extra Assistant Commissioners be appointed, either by selection or competitive examination, and that Tahsildars, after certain length of service be promoted to Extra Assistant Commissionerships.

3. That the principle of graduated increase of pay, depending on every year of service, be conceded.

4. That an allowance be made to those who pass certain examinations, and receive "full powers."

The rates of annual increase of salary and the progress of promotion by seniority are suggested in the following list :

Rates of Pay and Promotion by Seniority

<i>Tahsildar</i>	...	1st	year	...	Rs.
					125 per mensem.
"	...	2nd	"	...	135 "
"	...	3rd	"	...	145 "
"	...	4th	"	...	155 "

* A security of one thousand pounds sterling is required in England from the candidates for the Indian Civil Service, as some guarantee for their honesty, when members of that service. Were this principle applied to candidates in India, it might take the form of an equivalent security in land, for the landed interest is what is most solid and respectable in this country, whilst a mere money security might possibly be subscribed for by the members of a caste wishing to push one of their number into a position, in which he would be useful, if not bound, to them.

				Rs.
<i>Tahsildar</i>	...	5th*	year	... 165 per mensem.
"	...	6th	"	... 200 "
"	...	7th	"	... 210 "
"	...	8th	"	... 220 "
"	...	9th	"	... 230 "
"	...	10th†	"	... 240 "
<i>Extra Assist. Comr.</i>	...	11th	or 1st year	... 300 "
"	"	12th	or 2nd	" ... 320 "
"	"	13th	or 3rd	" ... 340 "
"	"	14th	or 4th	" ... 360 "
"	"	15th†	or 5th	" ... 380 "
(<i>Second Class</i>)	...	16th	or 6th	" ... 500 "
"	...	17th	or 7th	" ... 530 "
"	...	18th	or 8th	" ... 560 "
"	...	19th	or 9th	" ... 590 "
"	...	20th†	or 10th	" ... 620 "
(<i>First Class</i>)	...	21st	or 11th	" ... 700 "
"	...	22nd	or 12th	" ... 730 "
"	...	23rd	or 13th	" ... 760 "
"	...	24th	or 14th	" ... 790 "
"	...	25th	or 15th	" ... 820 "
<i>Assistant Comr.</i>	...	26th	or 16th	" ... 900 "

I think that there is nothing extravagant in the above proposal, especially if a good class of men, possessing the necessary attainments, is secured for the service. A Tahsildar might thus hope to become an Assistant Commissioner after 25 years' service, and an Extra Assistant Commissioner hope to be similarly promoted after 15 years' service.† Their usefulness, after so many years of tried and approved service and of experience of the people, would—especially if they had passed the necessary linguistic and legal examinations satisfactorily—be, at least, as great to the State, as that of a young civilian of one or two years' standing.§

Reverting to the subject of the "Competitive Indian Civil Service Examination," it seems to be a question well deserving of consideration, whether a certain number of marks should not be allotted to those candidates who, previous to offering themselves for the Indian Civil Service, had satisfactorily passed examinations in Law, Medicine, Engineering, etc., etc., as these attainments, having a scientific basis, together with a practical application, exercise the candidate's mind in caution and precision, and render its possessor doubly valuable as a public servant. The adoption of this suggestion would also have the advantage of enabling a number of candidates, whose previously professional training would, under the present

* It is considered advisable that there should be grades among the Tahsildars as with the Extra Assistant Commissioners. [This has since been conceded.]

† The salary would stop at this amount till there was a vacancy in the superior grade.

‡ More rapid promotion *by merit* or the favour of a superior would, of course, not be prevented by the above mere *seniority* scheme.

§ The List of appointments to which a Naib Tahsildar, Tahsildar or Extra Assistant Commissioner can now rise, is omitted in this reprint, as not essential; suffice it to say that the appointments rise through 14 grades from Rs. 30 p.m. to Rs. 800, and that mere length of service in any grade does not entitle to promotion.

system, be thrown away, to come forward. This measure would also strengthen the principle of every educated, and otherwise, fit subject of Her Majesty having a right to compete for public appointments. The age, too, of admission to the competitive examination might, to the great benefit of the State, be raised from 21 to, at least, what it formerly was, 25 years of age. It is undoubted that the first competition civilians were superior men, and it is questioned whether the last few batches are equal to their predecessors. Whatever be the case, the proposition, that it is better to have men as Judicial and Executive Officers than youths, would certainly commend itself to most minds; and it would not be outweighed by the consideration that immaturity and ignorance of the world, rather than self-interest and the official safe-guards of discipline, ensure intelligent subordination such as is required in a public servant. The convenience of the examiners and the ill-founded assumption of the fatality of the Indian climate on a difference of a few years are, of course, as nothing when urged against any measure which tends to ensure a more perfect administration of the country.

With regard to "selected candidates," the present system seems to be a very good one, as far as I have been able to judge, but it seems to me a *sine quâ non* condition that their instruction in Indian Law, Literature and History should contain special and exhaustive accounts of the *social and religious habits and prejudices* of the Natives of the different parts of India.

In conclusion, I must apologize for the dogmatic tone into which I have in two or three places been led in the course of the preceding remarks. My experience of the Indian Civil Service Examinations extends from 1858 to 1864, during which time 40 of my pupils succeeded in passing them. I can, therefore, only lay claim to a personal knowledge of the system as it existed during the above period, but I have kept myself, through information obtained from friends and papers, somewhat *au courant* of the effect of the modifications, especially as regards the examinations of "selected" Candidates, that have since been introduced. These modifications do not, as far as I know, affect the principles which I have ventured to discuss in this paper.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In my humble opinion, the time has arrived when the question of dividing the Imperial Indian Civil Service appointments between natives of All-England and of India must be faced. I would assign half the vacant appointments to Non-Indians and the other half, chiefly in the judicial line, to Indians. To the first half, I would admit all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, even if they should belong to Colonies that may have an exclusive local Civil Service, for this would be, practically, only equivalent to the Provincial or native uncovenanted Service of India. The second half I would

allot to three categories of natives of India (to include, of course, Europeans born in India):—one third by nomination, plus a departmental or educational test, to natives of position or of special distinction—one third by the promotion of distinguished native public Servants in the present provincial or so-called “uncovenanted” grades and the last third as follows: one half to Graduates of Indian Universities, who are supposed to be men of good moral character, by such examination as would suit the various localities to which they may be posted, not excluding tests of physical fitness (such as riding):—to the second half I would admit native pleaders and barristers who have distinguished themselves at their local bar, (*all* native Civilians giving a guarantee in landed property equivalent to the security of £1,000 required from the English “selected” Candidate). Assuming, *e.g.*, the number of vacancies to be thrown open yearly to new admissions to be 60, 30 would go to All-England, except India, and 30 to India. Of these 30, 10 would be allotted by nomination to a revived and improved Statutory Native Nobility Service, 10 to meritorious native Extra-Assistant Commissioners (or to officers holding equivalent posts in the various provinces), 5 to native Graduates and 5 to members of the Native Bar. Personally, I disapprove of so-called literary Competitive Examinations for any position of rule, for they only test one, and that not the highest, capacity of the mind, namely, that of memory and the ability of expressing its obviously undigested results by written or oral answers within a given range. I need not point out that of these answers, those orally made, are a better indication to real knowledge and ability than written ones. At all events, this is the conclusion to which I have come after examining thousands of Candidates, especially in India, and supervising the examinations of many more thousands. Indeed, were our oral tests equal to those in Germany, no mere smatterer could pass and the fear of an inundation of India by what is implied in the term of “Bengali Babus” would have no *raison d’être*.

If the examinations to be held simultaneously in various centres of England and in India are to be the same and by written papers only, their value will be small as tests of

memory and still smaller as tests of special fitness for service in the various provinces of India. They will, further, be affected by the trickery, confusion, personations, postal delays and substitutions, etc., to which examinations by papers only are liable. Of course, these remarks would also apply, to a certain extent, to examinations held simultaneously in various parts of England. It is merely the inconvenience of dispensing an honest, careful and responsible patronage that has driven us into "competitive" examinations for the public service.

"Pass" examinations, not to speak of professional tests, however strict, are on a different footing and may be made a much higher test of knowledge and of intellectual attainments than any competitive scramble. For instance, a trained physician, lawyer, engineer, etc., knows a great deal more and that more thoroughly, than an ordinary Competition-wallah. I submit that I may be permitted to speak with some authority on the subject, as so many of my pupils have occupied distinguished positions on the Lists, not to mention their subsequent eminence in the Service. Still, with every deference to that Service, I hold that the first qualification for rule is good birth and governing associations *plus* a *special* training for the post to be occupied. Merit, too, may be equal, or even superior, to heredity, if it proves itself in the struggle of life. To give place and power in India to British youths merely because they have passed a competitive examination in certain literary subjects, is an anomaly of foreign conquest. I have pointed out in another paper how Military men and members of the Diplomatic and other services, that receive far less pay than the present Indian Civil Service, may be secured for India. They are recruited more from our ruling, than our money-seeking, classes, and, therefore, offer a better material than a scratch-crowd at a competitive examination, for the government of India. The future Civilian will have to serve for honour rather than pay. If India is to be kept for the British Crown and for the best demands of modern, as well as of her ancient, culture, it must be on the basis of her indigenous sacred associations and by the combined government of specially trained English and native gentlemen.

THE CAPABILITIES OF EASTERN IBEA.

BY FRANCIS PARRY, F.R.G.S.

THE annals of our colonial enterprise show that sentiment and the pursuit of an ideal have greatly aided in creating an enthusiasm which has carried us away from home-scenes and brought us into contact with distant places and people. Imagination delights in building up fair structures, at times ignoring the practical view, which is the stout frame-work on which they should rest, if they are to become permanent as the base of new social conditions. But when the first vivacious hopeful spirit has been checked, there has succeeded a period of hesitation; after which has come the more practical stage. It is in this last that, slowly though surely, the true colonising instinct produces a plodding and earnest determination to develop the untouched natural resources of the more or less savage countries into which we had entered.

Even in our day, with the long roll of the nation's colonial history before us, and with a world-wide experience to refer to, idealism, an unfit guide, persists in leading the way. Gordon dreamt of our undisputed sway and a speedy change to a civilised condition, in the second generation after he had assumed the government of the Soudan; Emin Pasha's countrymen thought to acquire his central province; and some of this idealistic temperament seems to have animated the administrators of our territory in East Africa, though with them the enthusiastic period is past, hesitation is apparent, and before long the dull monotony of a methodical system of development must be adopted.

As in colonizing Africa we are on equal terms with and compete against another nation, a comparison of the respective modes of initiation may be useful; for each party in his interested sphere drifted into the acquisition of magnificent possessions with unprecedented rapidity and under the most exceptional circumstances.

The enthusiasm of Dr. Carl Peters, though that of a novice, led Germany into the, to her, new policy of establishing colonies. He took up the treaty drafted by us and accepted by the Sultan of Zanzibar, which Lord Derby as Secretary of State for Foreign affairs had declined to endorse. Fired by his zeal a band of men were brought together, ignorant of colonial life but inoculated with his imaginative spirit, and stirred by his bright sketches of the future prospects of settlers. The foundation of colonial enterprise was laid. Thus his countrymen, careful students and exhaustive thinkers, were carried out of their usual vein of thought, the analysis of substantial facts, to follow the ideal. Nevertheless their plans were fairly well laid. The adventurers encountered a series of disasters mainly resulting from want of consideration for native usages ; but being now relieved of the burden of administering the affairs of the interested sphere, they are on the high road to affluence ; because from the outset special attention had been given to reproductive works, and capital has been available for the reclamation of land and the establishment of plantations,—no dependence being placed upon the native proprietors. Nor did they hope to convert the growers of useful products to new methods, or expect them to plant extensively for supplying foreign markets with which they were unacquainted.

Here they showed an excellent judgment ; for the experienced foreigner in every country (China and Japan excepted) knows how slow the natives are to understand the requirements of trade with countries differing from their own, or its expansive nature ; and, how, in introducing among people but a little above the condition of savages, alien methods, implements, and instruction, strict supervision is requisite to ensure success.

The Imperial British East Africa Company's territory was acquired shortly after Germany had obtained a hold upon the coast, and they took possession of a district rich in possibilities, placed under the control of a council that

had been disappointed in their desire to hold the country to the south, placed in friendly proximity to Zanzibar. Yet they resolved, partly for their own advantage partly in a patriotic spirit tinged with philanthropy, to take up the government of the Mombasa district with its "hinterland." Thus they would command the main route from the coast to the valuable though distant lands of Uganda and Unyoro, the Equatorial province, and the head of the Nile.

These benevolent sentiments of the council were not evanescent. They gave early attention to social matters, and dealt with questions which most men would have postponed. The best record of a young administration is theirs, in that the manumission of slaves by the Slave Emancipation Decree was one of their first acts.

Of this it may be said that the experiment has given us knowledge without any disastrous consequences ; still it is by no means satisfactory to learn that the freed negro, in his own country, cannot be relied upon as an agricultural labourer. An effort, therefore, is being made to procure Indian and Persian immigration for the low lands, the region of cotton, rubber, oil-seeds, and sugar. This will be followed, in due time, by an influx of Europeans, with a higher culture and a more robust character and physique, to occupy the highlands, as coffee-planters. These will form a centre of life and energy, peopled with an industrious community directed by intelligent seekers of good fortune from England and other countries. That the direction and development of these our new possessions will call for the introduction of a strong European social force, was recognised by the late Sir Bartle Frere, who said—"Throughout the greater part of Equatorial Africa the work of civilisation has to be done almost as completely *ab initio* as when mankind were first dispersed after the confusion of tongues ; bonds of union have to be sought, and communities knitted together ; life and property have yet to be made secure ; letters and all but the rudimentary arts are still to be learnt."

This being the state of affairs it is remarkable that little endeavour has been made to attract, that potent factor in the world's progress, the capitalist. In no marked degree have the capabilities of the country been set forth, neither has much information been given in the public journals, inviting settlers to occupy the healthier part of Eastern Ibea. We possess no data of any practical value as to the extent, quality or cost of the magnificent uncultivated tracts that may become mines of wealth to their occupiers ; for the country promises even better results than Ceylon.

The Germans have already procured five hundred coolies from Sumatra and Singapore ; and capital is not wanting to extend the plantation projects in their hill country. The need of bringing in good plantation hands dispels the fair illusion of the slave emancipator. But practically, necessity having caused the introduction of those who bring knowledge and intelligence in their train, the work of instructing the negro in an improved method of cultivation has begun, which compensates for the expense of bringing in new labour.

Administrators and military men, who formed a majority in the English council at the outset, have, as a rule, an unfortunate inclination to disparage commercial effort, although their very existence is a consequence of its growth and they are members of services framed to protect the interests and guard the wealth which furnish the emoluments they receive.

The absence of a broad and enterprising spirit has been detrimental to the company. They would be king-makers rather than commercial men, leaving more substantial foundation work to take care of itself. The first care should have been to attract the English capitalist by a subject lesson of money laid out returning a fair return. This has not been done. Upon this neglect they are stranded, having unproductive outgoings which exhaust the treasury, while they hope in vain to create traders out of savage races, who, in the highest stage of their development, are without commercial instincts.

Information given by them in London to persons turning their attention to East Africa as an outlet for our teeming population, is not of a practical character. Inquiries as to its resources are answered in a frank, unembellished manner not calculated to inspire the applicant with any desire to prosecute the matter. One is merely told that "In tradal matters almost nothing has been done ; and our knowledge of what the country will produce has hardly reached the phase of experiment."

The present dilemma is no doubt the result of having put the wrong element to the front when taking possession of the district. An extensive survey with the formation of military posts to an interior which must be a self-supporting and separate government from that of the coast though it may be allied with it ; the making of a military road which takes a bee-line across the territory without diverging towards fertile lands or visiting the important Kenia country ; and the improvement of a port ;—these are the main works that have been done, while planting in the rich lowlands has been neglected.

The regulations connected with the town and port of Mombasa have been carefully arranged. Piers, jetties, beacons, mooring buoys, and lights show an endeavour to make the place attractive and to facilitate the entrance of all sorts of sailing craft. Their convenient lading and unlading are specially provided for. The making of a port of call easy of access is not, however, in itself an inducement to ship-owners to send vessels there, unless quantities of produce await shipment to foreign countries.

Behind this well ordered town is a huge tract of fertile country, of great capabilities which are not being utilised. Here money might have been advantageously laid out. The fifty miles of railway, had they been directed towards Makongeni, would have struck a rich district. As it is, they lead to nowhere in particular ; and Mombasa, with its one or two respectable buildings, resembles a place boomed in the United States or on the Mexican frontier, which did

not catch the popular idea, made one convulsive effort for existence, and expired, there being no reasonable foundation for its origin.

This lack of *raison d'être* hardly exists in the Mombasa case ; for if nothing more important gives it an interest in our eyes, is it not through this port that we reach Uganda, seven hundred miles distant ?

By no means abandon Uganda ; but see to it also that a practical and sustained effort to improve the route is made, by altering, if needs be, the line now indicated on the map. Seek to prepare a way of better communication with the Kikuyin district and the mountainous region of Kenia, where Europeans can find a climate like their own,—temperate, and healthy. There is no imperative necessity that this line of railway should take the shortest route to Uganda. Some interest has been aroused for the establishment of European settlements in Central Africa, by a work entitled “Freeland,” written in Vienna by Dr. Hertzka, which has passed through six editions and has been translated into English. It is the social scheme of Mr. Bellamy’s book “Looking Backward,” wrought out and theoretically applied to our day, the author having chosen as the supposed site of a new inland town the slopes of Kenia. The narrative form being essential to his mode of promulgating the new theory, a district was chosen of a romantic character with scenery diversified by wood, water, a rolling plain, and adjacent mountains. It was a happy inspiration that led to the choice of this region for the probable scene of European activity, as it is, no doubt, destined to be a centre of importance in connection with the progress of civilisation in those regions :—perhaps a sanatorium, a military station, and the seat of the government.

Deploring the meagreness of information on the resources of the country a mode of making it more attractive is devised, by proving it to be analogous in its rich lands to countries that have acquired wealth and general prosperity during the century.

When a paper was read by Captain Lugard on November 3, 1892, before the Royal Geographical Society, a map was distributed which gave the boundaries of the Imperial British East African possession. They were there, for the first time, designated as IBEA,—a name composed of the initials of the words forming the title of the company, who by this means perpetuate the fact of their having been its earliest administrators.

Ibea has no gold-fields ; that is, placer mining in dry river-beds does not exist, and there is but one gold-bearing quartz reef known, said to be on the right bank of the Nile below Lado. Yet the Gosha district, or the Somali country watered by the Juba river, may prove to be productive ; for antiquarians have endeavoured to show that thence went some of the precious metal into the land of the Pharaohs.

Things as good as gold, the country will send forth ; and had the major portion of the £190,000,000 subscribed by us to limited liability companies during the year 1890 been employed, instead of mining and other speculative schemes, in the development of East Africa, more especially in connexion with plantations, capital, skilled labour, and good management combined with the well understood benefits of a virgin soil would have demonstrated that wealth existed in the country, if patient effort were exerted to obtaining it.

The Germans, when entering upon the administration of their district, began simultaneously with the exercise of official duties to attend to the cultivation of the land, on an extensive scale. At the date of the massacres of 1889 they had produce prepared for exportation. Probably it will not be until these people, hitherto called by us “no colonists,” have demonstrated what can be profitably done by the sale of African plantation produce at remunerative prices in their markets, that we shall comprehend the full value of the arable and forest lands around us, in eastern Ibea, and that they afford a wide field for the safe employment of capital.

The neighbouring country under their control yields tobacco, suitable for exportation, which has been classified, valued, and sold as of a quality equal to the best brought from Sumatra, that is, not native grown or cured, but of the planter's growth,—picked, dried and packed under special supervision. It is grown in the vicinity of Mombasa ; and is frequently alluded to by the expert, Mr. Fitzgerald, in his reports to the company, on the lands put under cultivation by the Swahilis. To improve its quality superior seed has been here and there distributed, with advice as to the best mode of rearing the plant. But who that has any experience of the ways of the uneducated Africans can anticipate that they will bring, to the seat of trade, a well prepared article, in such a quantity and quality as will enable the merchant to vie with the experience and skill of the planters of Sumatra, Cuba, and Vera Cruz ? Mercantile affairs are the life of a new colony and require an administration possessed of trained ability, large capital, and a spirit of enterprise bold enough to enter upon the production of the principal staple commodities on a grand scale. Thus an emporium of commerce may be sustained by the creation of a stream of full supply ; while an attempt to gather in a mixed, variable product from many small sources only results in an endless amount of inspection, and, in the main, is not worth the doing.

We must not despise the day of small things ; greater may follow. Nevertheless, to be informed by telegram, after two years' cultivation of the ground-nut, that "a remarkable progress has been made and 104 bags are ready for shipment," does not impress one with an idea of effort ; and it is clear that capital and skilled labour are wanting ; the right use of both is intelligently brought into operation by the Germans who since capital increased at Berlin have done great things.

Our company, as a trading corporation, has not given due attention to some other things that could be produced in quantity, the various aids to their successful cultivation

being at hand. One of these staples, cotton, is indigenous ; but better sorts exist, and the Germans have introduced the superior seed of the Texas and Sea Island descriptions, with the satisfactory result of having had a good report of the quality of their first crop, of which specimens had been sent to Europe. Already several hundred bales have been shipped from Zanzibar, a promise of a supply which may, in a measure, as time rolls on, make the Elberfeld manufacturers independent of other countries for the raw material they need. The choice of seed is of paramount importance, the long fibre sort of the state of Louisiana taking the highest place, and as the low lands of the New Orleans district bear a great resemblance to the fifty miles' stretch into the interior coast-lands of Ibea, there is excellent reason to suppose that this region, described in several places as "remarkably rich with an almost total absence of stones in the soil," should be suitable for the extensive cultivation of the finest cotton, for which there may be a market in many places.

The natives have little intention or inclination to do more work than will provide for their immediate wants. The necessity for introducing an organized system under European management is therefore apparent. Even the Arab proprietors of "shambas" cannot be relied on as producers, as they grow mainly for home consumption, and will not contribute much to swell the volume of the foreign trade, and they are feeling the change wrought by the giving of freedom to the slaves. These hindrances notwithstanding, the cotton crop may become important in a district so favourable to its growth ; and it is to be hoped that as thousands of bales of it cumber the wharves of New Orleans, so Mombasa may one day rival her in that respect.

But these favourable prospects of future cotton plantations are surpassed in brilliancy by the promise given in the steady advance of another sort of cultivation, not as yet, however, by ourselves, but in connection with which the

English once accumulated wealth. Always supposing our capacity to be at least on a par with that of the Teutons, what they have already accomplished to the southward may be taken as an earnest of what our countrymen could do in this new country.

Since the blight destroyed the Ceylon coffee plantations all hope of a restoration of the trade in the article from the island has been abandoned ; and so far as we are concerned almost nothing has been done to open up fresh sources of supply. Consequently, England has been driven out of her important and lucrative position as a grower ; and having created no similar enterprise, we are obtaining from a foreign country what is needed to fill the gap in our warehouses ; and gold is leaving us in payment for these imports.

While we have been inert, our neighbours on the Zanzibar coast have been active in utilizing the means at their command by taking up forest lands, and bringing in field hands accustomed to plantation work, as Europeans require it to be done. And there is every reason to expect that a marketable article will have been brought forward within the space of two years from the present time, which will be profitably sold and for which the demand will increase in Europe.

The German coffee plantations consist of half a million of thriving young plants, situated on the rising ground of the district of Magila, near the mountains of Usambara. They are under the management of a planter trained in Ceylon, who is enthusiastic as to the future as he considers the soil to be excellent and quite equal to any he has had experience of elsewhere. Therefore, extensions have been arranged for ; and as the likelihood of success is undoubted, further enterprise is to run parallel with this. A contract has been made for the construction of a railway to the hills, so that the first crop will be carried to the port of Tanga by the best possible transport. The delay attending the progress of plantations to maturity may deter those who are

in haste to be rich from becoming interested in them. When once fairly established, however, they are kept in order with a moderate annual expenditure, and continue productive during thirty years.

Most of the coffee now received in England and North America is grown and shipped from a country that has much in common with Ibea. A comparison with it may draw attention, by the similarity, to the possible like capabilities of the virgin soil of the new forest highlands above the fifty mile cotton district, alluded to as the coast land.

The northern part of South America is exceedingly fertile ; and in addition to the growth of cereals and other necessities of the population, the exported produce is large. Englishmen are apt to forget the existence in S. America of large communities, industrious, commercial, and ambitious. They have amassed wealth and are no longer young colonies. In common with our own colonial possessions, they compete with us for a share in the commerce of the world and the carrying trade inseparable from it. These matters are now and then thrust upon our notice, as when on the failure of coffee from Ceylon, our need was met by the increased export from Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity.

Brazil has plantations of coffee of unsurpassed extent ; and their yield is so abundant that it gives to the civilized world two-thirds of its whole supply. This should be interesting to us, considering the geographical position and physical conditions of the country, in connection with its powers of production. Through it the line of the equator runs, which followed across the sea, through western and central Africa bisects Ibea. Thus we find ourselves in the same latitude, with physical conditions somewhat alike. At any rate it abounds in slopes and highlands which are said to be extremely fertile, with the much prized forest where the soil is invariably impregnated with rich fertilizing material. The marauding Arabs care for none of these things. Yet we blindly adopt their so-called caravan-routes

—which are really slave-routes, and not trade-routes—leading directly to a shipping resort and the slave ships. We fail to see that they were useful only to the detestable traffickers in human beings who had nothing to do with ordinary commerce. To hold to these routes will be a grave error; for, in all probability, exploration off the beaten path will disclose fertile districts away from it with a considerable population settled on productive lands, capable, under improved tillage, of being made even more productive. Should this be so, why not abandon the old route from Mombasa to the interior as soon as may be? Why not take an alternative route touching populous districts and reaching lands suitable for our planters?

We ought to be able to compete with the Brazilians; and we can do so if we provide transport. Their trade, though hampered by the abolition of slavery, had no drawback, as state-aided immigration brought labourers from Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain, to the number of 188,000 in the year 1891, for work on the coffee growing estates. On reference to the statistics of coffee, which as a possible future product of East Africa, is more particularly interesting to us:—the yield, owing to an extension of the plantations brought about by the encouraging increase of the foreign demand after the failure of the Ceylon crop, was more than doubled between the seasons 1887-1888 and 1891-1892: this is about the period during which the new plantations would reach maturity. This demonstrates the certainty attending this cultivation in the hands of experienced proprietors.

The Santo Paulo railway, which carries the major part of this crop, has, for some years past, paid 14 per cent. to the shareholders.

The movement of this commercial staple affords employment to thousands of men, as may be understood from its bulk in packages,—consisting during the last season of the large total of 8,000,000 bags. When we consider the labour required to gather, house, sort and pick the berry, the rates

paid for railway carriage ; the amount of tonnage freight it gives to steamers ; and the commissions gained by merchants, bankers and brokers, its importance is not over-rated.

The producers in Brazil have made handsome fortunes of late years, their profit averaging at least thirty per cent. upon the outlay. At a moderate estimate, the value of the quantity enumerated is given as £26,000,000, although some state that the last crop brought £35,000,000 into Brazil.

The reports of the Imperial British East African Co. note the existence of india rubber on their coast lands, and state that it resembles the kinds in Brazil, and that the climate and the soil should favour its production on an extended scale. This information should have been accompanied by more data useful to those who might plant, for as yet everything collected has been taken from the forest jungles. But the important article of coffee is not brought prominently forward in the reports, probably, because the inspection of land has been confined to the coast district and has not been carried out beyond fifty miles from Mombasa. That is just about where undulating land begins, leading to the higher slopes and forest tracts. Coffee is indigenous in this part of the world, though little used by the natives. Stanley noticed that they chewed the raw berry ; and Captain Dundas, R.N., states that when on an exploring expedition up the river Juba, he observed that it was eaten, fried in *ghee*.

The risk attending the employment of capital in the introduction of coffee-planting into Eastern Ibea is reduced to a minimum. Forest lands containing the essential fertilisers are there ; the climate is suitable ; the zone is identical with the productive land of Brazil. Labourers are not wanting, of varied temperament ; men like those of the Watoro on the north bank of the Sabaki river are said to be capable field hands ;—these and the Wakambi and Giriama are peaceful and agricultural people.

With regard to the utilisation of forest lands, the Ceylon planter will have none other, and those of the region under consideration present excellent features. The report already quoted says: "Singwaia to Arbagowndi.—The road strikes inland through forest-soil, very rich, heavy, black loam. In about half an hour the forest ceases, and we come upon an extensive area of open very flat country; the path, greatly overgrown, now passes through what was originally forest and is now a succession of extensive 'shambas' and the richest and most fertile country imaginable. Soil exceedingly rich and, where no cultivation exists, the country is overgrown with a high rich grass fully six to seven feet high."

In the month of September, 1891, Captain Dundas partly explored the lower lands of the Kenia mountain slopes; and he describes the Wathaka country as "a beautiful, fertile, highland district, a land of numerous villages, fine pastures, and well-tended plantations."

The Mbé tribe, not far distant, "possess cattle, sheep, and goats." Food was cheap and abundant, the country being almost entirely given over to cultivation, for which it is better adapted than for cattle-grazing. To the south was the great mountain range of Mumoni (with the darkly-wooded river flowing along its base,—the rolling fertile country of Mbé), which intersected the country with numerous beautifully clear streams, coursing down the valleys between the slopes. The Kikuyn country is equally attractive. According to the same explorer, it is "a densely populated district, the villages lying on the slopes of the hills, which were a mass of luxuriant crops, beautiful trees, and sparkling streams flowing southward."*

From this account of more than one highland district it is abundantly evident that there is within four hundred miles of Mombasa a region of unusual fertility, at an altitude suitable for the cultivation of coffee, and attractive

* In many respects it resembles Magila, the seat of the German plantation colony where we have placed the Universities Mission station.

because of its healthiness and abundant water-supply. It cannot be utilised by our countrymen until means of transport are provided ; and it will not be connected with the advancing civilisation of Africa for a lengthy period unless the line of the proposed railway is taken further north. Such a route would avoid the Msai people of predatory habits holding to "a divine right to all cattle," which does not promise that they will readily adopt industrial pursuits or become useful as consumers of our imported goods. These assuredly will more likely be taken in the thriving villages of Kikuyn.

Everything so far tends to indicate a good result for labour bestowed on the fertile lands situated on the north bank of the Sabaki river. Consequently the question arises,—“ Has the line of the proposed railway been taken along the south bank because it is the most direct route to the interior ?” Hardly another reason of any worth can be urged for adopting this old slave route.

An alternative route, on the north bank, would pass through a richer country, lead up to the desirable highlands of Kenia, and be further removed from the turbulent and predatory Masai tribe. Although a less direct road to Uganda, it would meet every military requirement. The detour northwards might strike even the trade route from the interior to the head of the Tana river. As the country is opened out, it will probably be discovered that the land beyond the distance of three hundred miles from the coast will not be taken up by planters and settlers to any considerable extent, because too far from a port. The Kikuyn district will be the one preferred as it is equal in fertility to places further inland, is advantageous as a depôt for supplies from England, and has an excellent position, in being able to despatch produce to the coast at a moiety of the expense falling on the producers in Uganda.

That Uganda, except aided by a good Nile transport, could compete with Eastern Ibea in the profitable export of bulky commercial staples, seems impossible. The distance

from the coast and the mountain barrier place the former country at a disadvantage, even though a railway be constructed to it from Mombasa. Ivory alone would find its way to the port. An import trade then is all that is foreseen for the lake district ; and this might exist even if the railway were taken no further than the pass of the mountains ; for there the bales being divided into carriers' packages, the descent with the cotton fabrics to the westward lower lands would be effected without difficulty. A frontier station or terminus at this point would be of strategic importance ; and native troops, not of the neighbouring tribes, and under European command, might occupy cantonments there. Moreover, this curtailment of the railroad scheme would lessen its expense ; and should therefore recommend itself to her Majesty's Government.

Confidence in the future of Eastern Ibea ought to be increased by the fact that as an agricultural country its almost unsurpassed natural resources are still untouched, at a time when progress is the order of the day. Having all the capabilities of Brazil, it will develop rapidly ; but the first impulse will have birth with the establishment of the railroad, with branching highways to help it, and the introduction of carriage other than that of burdens borne on the head.

The flourishing condition of the Brazilian coffee planters has been the result of twenty years' work. Our new territory may be a lucrative field for mercantile enterprise, based not on what the people will consume, but on what the country will produce ; for, as the negroes' wants are for the most part supplied at home at the present time, education and civilisation can operate but slowly in creating a taste for the manufactures of other countries.*

* Facts taken from the history of tea-planting in British India illustrate the progress attending cultivation managed by our own people. Until the year 1868, the enterprise was held in check by a deficiency of suitable transport ; and we received thence 8,000,000 lbs. When railway extension and river steamer communication aided, the trade augmented : the receipts into this country for the year ending 31st Dec. 1891, were 110,000,000 lb., representing 110,000 tons of cargo brought in English vessels.

In the plantation ground, the people of Ibea will find suitable employment. As in Ceylon the exports to Great Britain not the imports were the source of wealth, so it would seem that the same conditions will, in the Imperial British East Africa Company's career, afford them an abundantly good trading result if only the incubus of a too weighty administration be placed on other shoulders.

In voting supplies for the development of Ibea Parliament would occupy no singular position. One of the peaceful artifices of the age, adopted by foreign governments, is to spend public money for wresting both our internal and external commerce from us.

The name of "the old country," once employed in a filial sense, is becoming one of derision in its application to England, as descriptive of an inactivity which leads to even further evils; for as the affairs of a country never actually halt, we are either progressing, or retrogressing. At any rate, our position is that our commercial supremacy is assailed by an encroachment maintained by funds provided from the public treasuries of France, Germany, Brazil, the United States, and the British Colonies, which support steamers by subsidies, manufactures by export bounties, planters by state-aided immigration, colonies by paying the charges of administration, landowners by guaranteeing railways and canals.

These build upon lines which we cannot afford to neglect. The proof of the excellence of their methods is that they are ahead of us, and that we are likely to be beaten in the race for prosperity.

THE POSITION OF CANADA.

BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE evolution of a new nationality is usually a slow, if not painful process. But in the case of Canada, external events and internal movements have created within the quarter of a century since the union of its Provinces what is to-day practically a British nation. The Constitution of Great Britain, composed as it is, of a great mass of historic precedent and unwritten laws, has been the product of centuries of strife and struggle. That of the United States is the result of over a hundred years of experiment, stern experience, and even Civil War. The Australian Colonies, after fifty years of a more or less formative process, are now gradually approximating towards national unity and a common constitution. The Dominion has, on the other hand, been exceptionally fortunate ; and, benefiting by the example of the great country with which it is connected politically and by that of the powerful Republic upon its southern frontier, has endeavoured to combine—and to a certain extent it has succeeded—the wisdom of both, in the development of a new nation in North America and the addition of another great State to the ever-widening circle of the British Empire.

Of course, this growth has not been altogether an easy one. The Colonies of which Canada is now composed, with some later exceptions, were born amid scenes of warfare and nursed in conditions of doubt and danger. All through their history as struggling Provinces they were subjected to the threats and bluster of the United States ; and had it not been for British connexion, absorption in the Republic would long since have taken place. But if Great Britain preserved the independence of the youthful Colonies ; if she enabled them to develop internal liberty and constitutional government ; if she fostered in many

ways their internal welfare ; she also made serious mistakes which in some cases have sown the seeds of present and future trouble. It was natural that the reaction following upon the loss of the thirteen Colonies, should have caused a change in the National method of governing Dependencies ; but it was lamentable that so many British statesmen and writers, up to within a decade of the present day, should have united in deprecating Colonial union ; in minimising the importance of Colonies to the mother-country ; and in urging separation and Colonial independence as the future, natural, and inevitable course. In the case of Canada, as we know, some theorists like Mr. Bright and Prof. Goldwin Smith, went so far as to urge its union with a foreign, and sometimes hostile power—the United States.

Now, when this particular school of thought has almost died out in Great Britain, it is found to have developed in the more progressive Colonies, and to be the main obstacle in the way of a closer and more beneficial union. Expressions of carelessness as to the maintenance of Canadian connection with the Empire, uttered over a prolonged series of years, produced naturally a considerable degree of actual indifference as to Canadian treaty rights and land-ownership, in North America. Hence the blunders of diplomacy which lost to British America the State of Maine and sacrificed its interests upon several other occasions. Hence, also the evolution of a party in Canada, and in other portions of the Empire, which claims that, as Britain appears not to have greatly cared for Colonial interests in the past, it is not necessary for the great Colonies to especially guard British interests in the present. Thus the Manchester School in England, though itself almost dead, leaves a direct heir and successor in the external States of the Empire. It is much to the credit of the British Conservative party that this Anti-Colonial sentiment was largely confined to the Liberal ranks ; and it emphatically marks the strange irony of fate that to-day, when Liberal and

Imperialist leaders like Lord Rosebery, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Playfair, Mr. Bryce or Lord Brassey, turn to Canada, they find that the Liberal leaders there have adopted, in part at least, the principles advocated by the British party not very many years ago;—in fact are now wearing their cast-off garments.

But with all the carelessness or ignorance which the mother-country may have exhibited, during the past century, in matters affecting the distant, and then comparatively insignificant Colonies, it is none the less evident, that the Dominion of Canada owes its present existence and maintenance as a rising and vigorous national entity, to the prestige and protection of Great Britain. Especially was this the case in those early days when the United States could have crushed the Provinces like so many egg-shells; but they did not think the matter worth a war with the Empire, after the experience of encountering British troops and Canadian volunteers in 1812. And in the present day British Connexion is becoming equally important, when American jealousy of Canadian development in trade and commerce, in railway and water communication, would place an independent Canada in very considerable danger of being either ignominiously “snuffed out” or of being compelled to assume the rôle of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, or that of the gallant Poles under Kosciusko. The attempt to maintain our independence might in the long run be successful; for Canadians possess many of the best qualities of their British ancestry, and the French-Canadians have all the daring and brilliancy of their fore-fathers; but the sacrifice would be tremendous. It will never have to be risked, if the people are true to British Union and to the best interests of their new nationality.

To an Englishman this phrase, “Canadian nationality,” may seem an odd one, unless used in the sense of separation from Great Britain. It represents something distinct, of course; and yet there is nothing in it antagonistic to the idea of British nationality. Scotchmen or Irishmen or Eng-

lishmen may consider themselves of different nationalities, and each is proud of his country's history and his ancestral home. Yet all are British in allegiance, and in unity of aspiration and power, or at least they should be. So it is with Canadians, who, as a people, are loyal to Imperial unity and yet are anxious to build up a Canadian nation upon this Continent. Undoubtedly the phrase is sometimes used in a disloyal and separated sense; but it is equally certain that if steps are taken in time, to guide this Canadian sentiment in the true direction, the result will not be the disintegration of the Empire, but its closer Union; not a separate nationality, but a distinct British-Canadian nation, standing shoulder to shoulder in the world's future history together with a British Australia, a British South Africa and a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. To achieve this great end, however, British citizenship must become full, free, and equal, to subjects abroad as well as at home—Imperial Federation must become in some way a fact; and though it may not be immediately practicable in any complete form, that noble ideal should be the recognised future towards which all parts of the Empire should strive, steadily and persistently. And toward this end, all the Constitutions and commercial arrangements of Great and Greater Britain should be gradually and carefully moulded.

But to return to Canada in particular. Dowered by the mother-country with an immense heritage, and joined subsequently by all that great country between the Lakes and the Pacific Ocean, the Dominion started in 1867, with a complete Federal system, founded, as far as possible, upon the best principles of the British and American Constitutions. Its territory is larger than that of the United States and constitutes one-third that of the whole British Empire. It possesses the greatest extent of coast-line, the most important coal-measures, the most varied distribution of valuable minerals, the greatest extent of lake and river navigation, the widest extent of coniferous forest, the most

extensive and valuable salt and fresh water fisheries, the largest and most fertile tracts of arable and pastoral lands, and the greatest wheat-areas, of any country upon the face of the globe. These statements may appear exaggerated ; but they truthfully depict, and only partially, the real resources and riches of the Dominion, undeveloped though they yet be. Following the evolution of the Eastern Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island into a Confederated State, came the gradual absorption of the great North-West, from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, and the formation of a strong, and, in spite of occasional Provincial jealousies and disagreements, a united people and country.

Partly as a result of political or national necessities ; partly as a product of economic requirements, there followed the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the creation of the National Policy of Protection. It was concerning the former possibility that William H. Seward, the well-known Secretary of State under President Lincoln, wrote in words which to-day ring with a truly prophetic sound :

“ Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus from a mere Colonial dependency it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary ; and in vain would the United States, attempt to be her rival ; for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce bestows.”

To-day, the Canadian Pacific Company has connected the most distant Provinces of Canada by an iron band, and possesses a system of 5,400 miles of railway ; it has opened up the magnificent North-West from which last year came a surplus of 20,000,000 bushels of the finest wheat in the world ; it has ploughed through the yawning chasms and mighty ranges of the Rocky Mountains ; and by means of steamship lines brought the furthest East into connexion with the Canadian and American West ; incidentally providing Great Britain with a war-chain round the world and an alternative route to Asia. So great an undertaking, however, required capital ; and the condition of the country's

finances prior to 1879, when the new Protectionist and Conservative Ministry of Sir John Macdonald inaugurated a different state of affairs, was certainly not flourishing enough to warrant any heavy national outlay. For some years, in fact, there had been a considerable deficit between ordinary income and expenditure. But after the "N. P.," as it was popularly called, had come into effect, and the higher duties, coupled with returning prosperity amongst the people, had produced a yearly increasing revenue, the Government was enabled to take up the project in earnest ; and in 1880, a Company or Syndicate was organised and granted 25,000,000 acres of land together with a \$25,000,000 subsidy ; in addition to this about 700 miles of railway costing over \$30,000,000 were transferred to the Syndicate. Other advances were made from time to time, but in most cases were temporary loans which have since been paid as they matured and sometimes even earlier. The road as a whole is estimated to have cost \$287,000,000, though only about \$90,000,000 of this sum has been contributed by the Canadian people, or added to the national indebtedness. This result was undoubtedly largely aided by the national credit having been pledged to the success of the great and difficult undertaking, thus enabling the Company to procure capital upon easier terms, and with facilities which could only be given by a powerful and friendly Government. And the work was well and speedily performed. Within a few years, and at least six years before the time promised to the Dominion Government, the Company had built the greatest railway in the world and conquered some of the most difficult engineering problems ever put by nature in the way of human enterprise.

As a consequence of the closer relations created between the Provinces by the Continental Highway ; through the careful protection afforded to native industries ; and the development of internal trade by the checking of unfair and ruinous American competition in the Canadian home market, the progress of the country has been most marked. Production of every kind has been promoted ; the people

of the most distant Provinces have been united in the bonds of trade and travel, politics and intercourse; the different portions of the Dominion have been made interdependent, instead of being left to lean upon neighbouring parts of the United States for commerce and interchange; external trade has developed enormously and prices have steadily maintained to the consumer a lower level than in the neighbouring Republic. In view therefore of these facts, it may not be uninteresting to add a brief sketch of Canadian fiscal history to the ever-active discussion of tariffs and tariff questions. Canadians have experienced the preferential trade and cramped conditions of the old Colonial regime which fell, upon the abolition of the Corn-Laws, in 1846. They know how valuable that preference in the British market was in itself, but how restricted its benefits proved through the Navigation laws and the peculiarly narrow ideas which then prevailed concerning the Colonies and Colonial requirements or resources. But they also felt the ill-effects of the sudden abrogation of such long-continued fiscal arrangements; and the severe depression and hard times following upon the development of Sir Robert Peel's policy, caused, in 1849, the flickering Annexation agitation of which so much has been said from time to time, and of which so little is really known.

Since that period three distinct lines of fiscal action have been tried by the people of British North America,—Limited Reciprocity with the United States, a Revenue Tariff, and moderate Protective duties. From 1855 to 1866 the Reciprocity agreement was in force; and, as a result of the rise in agricultural prices following upon the Crimean War and maintained by the American Civil War, the arrangement is claimed by the present advocates of unlimited Reciprocity, or complete free-trade with the United States, to have been productive of great prosperity and of considerable expansion in trade. The claim is undoubtedly true as to the condition of affairs during that particular period, but the cause lay not so much in the mere admission of farm products upon

a mutually free basis—manufactures were not included—as in the external events referred to. After the abrogation of the Treaty by the Americans owing to the violent Anti-British feeling aroused during the war, the Confederation of the Provinces was formed; partly as a consequence of the financial distress and commercial depression caused by the sudden and unfriendly action of the United States; partly as a visible and effective reply to the then widespread belief in the Republic that it would coerce the disunited and presumably helpless Provinces into annexation; and generally, as a protective measure, and decided step in the path of progress and nationality. The Government constituted in 1867 to carry on the affairs of the new Dominion—with Sir John Macdonald at its head—did not propose or contemplate absolute protection. But it was found that the average duty of 15 per cent., first imposed by the Hon. A. T. (now Sir Alexander) Galt, when Finance Minister of the United Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in 1859, was really a sufficient protection as matters then stood, and was productive of a reasonable degree of progress, prosperity and national revenue.

But by 1873, when the Liberals under Mr. Mackenzie came into office upon a local issue, external circumstances had entirely changed, and in the previous year, the Conservative Finance-Minister had fore-shadowed the necessity of having higher duties. It was then that the industries of the United States had commenced to recover from the paralysis into which they had been thrown by the Civil War, and, benefiting by a protective tariff three times higher than the duties levied in Canada, they were soon enabled to supply their own local market and to turn their attention to capturing that of the Dominion which lay so invitingly open to external competition. Increased production in the neighbouring Republic resulted therefore in what was termed “slaughtering goods” in Canada; and the industries of the Dominion were thus destroyed one by one through the unfair competition of larger manufacturing

concerns, greater centres of population and a far greater command of capital. Nor was the Canadian consumer benefited by obtaining cheaper goods. As soon as a certain line of manufacture—stoves for instance—had been compelled to give way to the cheaper American product, and this had become a practical monopoly, the prices were raised to the same level which had meantime prevailed in the States. Sir R. J. Cartwright, Finance Minister under Mr. Mackenzie, made a feeble attempt to grapple with the problem by a uniform increase in the duties, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without however any protective result being visible, even incidentally. After that effort (1874) the tariff was let severely alone, so far as any endeavour to check American competition was concerned. And this in spite of the most disastrous depression and pronounced popular discontent.

It was, therefore, not a matter for surprise, that Sir John Macdonald should have swept the country, in 1878, upon a platform of moderate protection and, in the year following, succeeded in establishing the system known in the pages of contemporary history and in current politics, as the National Policy. Since then, and through the turmoil of three general Elections it has been steadily maintained in principle, with occasional deviations in detail. The average of the duties as imposed upon all imports from external sources is about 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, or only thirteen per cent. higher than that in force during the Revenue tariff period of 1867-1879. Yet the ensuing development has been marvellous. The soup-kitchens provided for starving labourers without work, have disappeared from the cities of Canada; the endless voices of distress and the wail of the working-man unable to obtain employment are no longer heard in the land; factories began at once to rise all over the country and to establish themselves in a manner they have since been able to maintain; Manitoba and the North-West Territories commenced a wonderful career of progress; confidence was restored; American competition checked; and the credit of the country raised in the money markets

of the world, whilst a redundant revenue, with surpluses in place of deficits, became assured. To-day, the depression existing amongst British and American farmers has only touched the fringe of Canadian prosperity. It has had a limited effect, of course, and the lower prices for wheat, and one or two other products, have caused a feeling of discontent amongst a section of the farming community; but like the Canadian depression, the area of discontent is very small as was thoroughly proved by the result of recent bye-elections. Where it does exist, the sentiment is mainly confined to adherents of the party of pessimism—the Liberal Opposition—which has been so long out of office that some of its leaders have become unduly and unpatriotically despondent.

A few illustrations of the general progress made by the Dominion, as embodied in the following table, will be interesting, and at the same time will reveal some of the reasons upon which the Conservative party in Canada base their support of the present protective policy :

	1878.	1892.
Miles of Railway ...	6,143	15,000
Tons of Shipping employed ..	23,102,551	43,802,384
Letters and Post-Cards ...	50,840,000	123,665,000
Dominion Note Circulation ...	\$9,420,127	\$17,214,953
Deposits in banks ...	\$88,995,127	\$211,881,822
Money-Orders issued ...	\$7,130,000	\$12,825,701
Bank Note Circulation ...	\$20,215,020	\$33,788,578
Fire Insurance ...	\$409,819,000	\$759,502,000
Life Insurance ...	\$84,151,000	\$261,475,000
Exports of Cattle ...	\$1,152,000	\$7,748,000
„ Cheese ...	\$3,997,000	\$11,652,000
Total Export of Farm products ...	\$32,028,000	\$50,706,000
Export of Home Manufactures ...	\$17,780,000	\$26,843,000
Consumption of tea (lbs.) ...	11,019,000	22,593,000
„ Coffee (lbs.) ...	1,881,000	46,322,000
„ Sugar (lbs.) (about) ...	100,000,000	345,000,000
Import of raw Cotton (lbs.) ...	8,011,000	46,000,000
Consumption of coal (tons) ...	1,665,000	5,885,000
Total trade ...	\$172,405,000	\$241,000,000

These figures clearly demonstrate a steady growth of popular comfort, a large increase in every branch of

national trade and industry, a marked addition to individual consumption of articles such as tea, coffee, and sugar, which the protection tariff has enabled the Government to make free to all. This development is all the more striking as the population has only increased half a million during the last ten years—1881 to 1891—whilst during the same period the capital invested in manufactures has risen from \$165,000,000 to \$353,000,000. It must be evident therefore after the most superficial examination of these statistics, to all who possess the most elementary knowledge of Canada and its past progress, or present prospects, that the Dominion now takes by right the most prominent place amongst the rising, united, and youthful communities of the world. Hope has hitherto been the motto of the vast majority of its people; faith in their country the inspiring motive to action. It goes without saying, however, that there are men who cannot see, or else wilfully fail to comprehend this development. Unfortunately there have been, through all these years, party leaders who were willing to preach persistent pessimism, to grossly magnify obstacles, to minimize progress, and, wherever possible, to hamper efforts. Confederation was carried in spite of some of these men; the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed in the teeth of most strenuous and continued opposition from others; the National Policy has been most unscrupulously attacked and the country vilified; while British connexion and Canadian independence of the United States are maintained to-day in face of the persistent action, hostile or insidious, of men who call themselves Canadians and British subjects.

Of this discontented and pessimistic section, Mr. Erastus Wiman, a New York millionaire, supposed to have been born in Canada, is the American leader, Mr. Goldwin Smith the literary exponent, and Sir Richard Cartwright the political head. In the columns of the *New York Sun*, a rabid Anti-British paper which delights in wholesale misrepresentation and abuse of Great Britain, Prof. Goldwin

Smith recently stated, under his own signature, that the Liberal party in Canada is an American party, and the Conservative a British one. True as it may be regarding the latter, this allegation of the now active advocate of Annexation, is untrue so far as it concerns the rank and file of the Liberal party in Canada. They are being educated in that direction by leaders like Cartwright, Laurier, Mercier or Edgar; but the seed has not yet sprouted sufficiently to permit of anyone in position taking off the mask and declaring publicly for annexation or even immediate independence. To teach steadily, year in and year out, that Canada's natural market is in the United States; that geographically and commercially the country is completely dependent upon its neighbour; that the Dominion cannot prosper without American good-will—which she has never yet had; that closer trade relations are necessary even at the expense of discrimination in tariffs against the Mother-Country or of separation from the Empire if they cannot be otherwise obtained; and that the present independent fiscal and national development of Canada, apart from the United States, is suicidal to the interests of our people—such an educational campaign must have its effect in time, and especially when it includes a steady misrepresentation of British sentiment, a specimen of which may be found in the constant quotation of the utterances of English Statesmen who have been dead for years, and whose views are now as obsolete as the rites of the Druids.

Of the three men described as leaders in this American campaign, Mr. Goldwin Smith is easily first. He is first in the vindictiveness with which he pursues the Loyalist and British leaders in Canada, as at one time he pursued Lord Beaconsfield; first in the influence which he obtains in Britain and the United States by a steady succession of magazine articles, newspaper letters, published lectures, and widely circulated pamphlets; first in the ability with which he distorts history, twists political action, and mis-

represents the position and prospects of the Dominion ; first also in the unique position of posing at the heart of the Empire as an Imperial Unionist, and working in Canada as President of the Continental Union Club of Toronto, and the avowed advocate of the immediate Separation of Canada from Britain in order that it may enter the American Union. It is necessary to speak plainly in this connexion. While Mr. Goldwin Smith may command a facile and brilliant pen, and be admired for his abilities, it must be remembered that he is now actively engineering a movement which, if successful, would disrupt the British Empire, and if unsuccessful, as it must be, may easily result in bloodshed and Civil War. In Canada he has little real influence, no respectable following, and literally no popularity. But in the United States he is spoken of and written about as a great, representative Canadian ; and in England certain circles still regard him as the staunch opponent of Imperial disintegration and the advocate of Imperial unity, because of his stand upon the Home Rule Question. It is as difficult to understand his complex and curious character as it is to comprehend the contradictory opinions which he presents. For instance, a few years ago, Professor Smith wrote in the *Bystander*, a well-known publication of his, as follows :

“A national conflict every four years for the Presidency and the enormous patronage that is now annexed to it, must bring everything that is bad in the nation to the top, and will end in the domination of scoundrels. The moral atmosphere is darkened with calumny, bribery and corruption, and all their fatal effects upon national character. How can the political character of any nation withstand for ever the virus of evil passion and corruption which these vast faction fights infuse?”

Yet the author of these and many similar words is striving with all his power to merge the British institutions, law and order of Canada, into a country which he thus describes, and which, within a very few months, has seen the Homestead riots, the Idaho State Militia called out to suppress a miners' rebellion, the terrible spectacle of the people of Texas turning out in thousands to help burn and torture a

negro to death, and the State of Kansas in a condition of Civil War over the claims of rival legislatures. But enough of Mr. Goldwin Smith. Canadians have certainly heard too much of him and his most injurious and disgraceful views, though Englishmen have hardly yet learned to appreciate the harm which his beautiful literary style has enabled him to inflict upon this loyal but distant portion of the Empire. Hence this somewhat lengthy reference to Disraeli's "Oxford Professor." But the policy of the Liberal party cannot be fully comprehended without some acquaintance with the sentiments and personality of its other leaders. Of Sir Richard Cartwright it is unnecessary to say much. Ambitious, but unpopular; an able speaker, but sarcastic to a degree which makes more enemies than the best of policies could make friends; a one-time Conservative, but alleged to have changed his politics because Sir John Macdonald would not give him the Finance Ministership in 1871; bearing an Imperial title, but advocating, since 1887, a clear-cut American and anti-British policy—he is a curious combination of rare ability and of qualities which would prevent any man from being a successful politician, to say nothing of attaining the higher position of statesman. Mr. Wiman is a clever man who has succeeded in making Americans think that in some way or another he will be able to effect a Commercial Union of Canada with the United States as a preliminary to Political Union.

Such are the men now controlling the policy of the Liberal party in Canada. The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the nominal leader, is a man widely esteemed for his personal qualities and grace of manner and speech, but one who is entirely under the control of the stronger minds of his party. When Count Mercier, a man of strong will and much vigour of character, managed the affairs of Quebec Province as its Premier; his machinery in local elections was used to assist Mr. Laurier in Dominion contests; his supporters were Mr. Laurier's; and his opinions as a rule

were the same as those of his National Leader. So when the crash came and the grossest corruption was proved against the Mercier Ministry, it was very difficult to say where the line was to be drawn between the two leaders, although everyone was prepared to admit the personal purity of Mr. Laurier. So, in 1887, the Dominion Leader was averse to accepting or touching the policy of American free-trade, Commercial Union, Unrestricted Reciprocity, or whatever it might be called, which Mr. Wiman was busily propagating. But Sir Richard Cartwright thought he saw in the proposal a chance of success for their party; and not many weeks after Mr. Laurier had been speaking at Somerset, Quebec, in favour of the closer trade connexion of Canada and the Empire, Sir Richard boldly proclaimed at Ingersoll, Ontario, the very antitheses of this idea,—closer trade relations with the States and at Great Britain's expense, if need be. Soon afterwards the party was apparently forced into adopting a policy which has only resulted in yearly increasing disaster to it and to the hopes of its leaders.

It is true that some headway was made at first. People hardly understood that the new policy meant discrimination against British goods in favour of American, a uniform Customs tariff with the United States, and a probable pooling of the revenues of Canada and the States, together with a Dominion tariff controlled practically at Washington instead of Ottawa. And the pressure—more apparent than real—of the McKinley bill which came into force in October, 1890, also had an effect for the time being upon the farmer. So that in the elections which were brought on early in 1891, the chances were favourable to the Liberals, who had been working hard during the past four years; while the Conservatives had been resting more or less upon their oars, and thinking of their past victories under the Grand Old Man of Canada, Sir John Macdonald. And his personality was really the rock upon which the hopes of disloyalty and the labours of Americanized agitators were

finally broken. The Premier was ill, too feeble by far to manage a General Election, but he saw with the eye of an experienced Commander that to delay action much longer would be dangerous, if not fatal. At a moment, therefore, when three of the Liberal leaders were in the United States, before the McKinley bill had created the discontent which the Opposition hoped would follow upon the shutting of Canadian eggs, horses and barley out of the American market, before the Opposition was fully organised,—the House of Commons was dissolved, and the battle commenced. Sir John Macdonald, against his physician's express warning that it would wear out his already enfeebled frame, threw himself into the conflict as of old, and soon created that confidence in his followers which can only be compared to the enthusiasm which men like Richard Cœur de Lion or Henry of Navarre raised in the hearts of their countrymen when leading them to battle. He issued the famous manifesto which will last for all time in the memories of Canadians, declaring that the struggle was one for national autonomy, and that as for him "a British subject he was born, a British subject he would die." The election was won, and the Premier returned to Ottawa, after having made numberless speeches to enthusiastic audiences—on one day speaking five times. But he returned to die. In the bright days of June the old statesman passed away amid scenes of heartfelt sorrow, which are rare indeed in this practical age. For nearly fifty years he had been a Canadian leader, and for at least half that time Canada's greatest and most popular man.

But his policy still lives. Bye-elections which followed doubled the Conservative majority; and to-day Sir John Thompson leads a large and united party. Differences may exist upon details. One member may not like the duty upon coal-oil, another thinks the duty upon binder-twine might be dispensed with; but upon the broad general principle and policy of Canada for Canadians as against the talk of American union and Continental policies; of Canada

within the British Empire; of Canada for home products and manufactures so far as may be found beneficial; of Canada as a great British State; the Conservative party and the majority of the people are united, and will, I believe, remain so. To ensure that the maintenance of British connexion may remain an all-important consideration in the heart of the Canadian voter, it is necessary for the Mother-Country to aid, in every way possible, those who have taken up Sir John Macdonald's work—without having his unequalled personality and magnetism. If that is done, time will slowly but surely evolve that closer commercial, defensive and national union which should be included in the phrase, "Imperial Federation," as applied to the great self-governing States of the Empire, and which should be the one aim of British citizens all over the world.

Toronto, Canada.

Since this was set up, the Liberal Leader has formulated his policy as one of (1) Reform of the Customs Tariff in the direction of Free Trade rather than of Protection, (2) Reform of Land Grants in favour of settlers as against speculators, (3) Loyalty to England, but (4) with a staunch support for Canadian interests whenever they chance to clash with those of Great Britain, (5) Reciprocity with the United States, (6) Repeal of the Franchise Act.—ED.

THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA

(THE CYAMBA OF MARCO POLO, NOW ANNAM OR
COCHIN CHINA).

BY COMMANDANT E. AYMONIER.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient kingdom of "Cyamba, which Messire Marco Polo visited about 1280 A.D.," is known to us through three series of accounts, clear in details if not very great in bulk :-

I. The ancient Chinese Annals and Historians, cited in the "Notes Historiques sur la nation Annamite" of the learned French Missionary, Father Legrand de la Liraye, who died at Saigon about 1874, give us a very clear idea of the relations between China and the kingdom of Cyamba, between the IVth and Xth Centuries, A.D.

II. From the Xth Century, when the Giao Tchi attained their liberty, the "Histoire de l'Annam" of Mr. Petrus Truong Vinh Ky, a Cochin Chinese scholar, helps us, through Annamite annals, to a knowledge of the progressive encroachment on Cyamba by her turbulent neighbours. French writers on this historical subject have done little but copy these two authors, who alone were lucky enough to reach inedited (original) sources of information. Among the works at secondhand, several are not without merit; and we may mention with praise: "*L'Histoire de l'Annam*," by the Abbé Launay,—"*L'Annam et le Cambodge*" by the Abbé Bouillevaux —"*Le Ciampa*" by the same; and Francis Garnier's "*Relation de l'Exploration du Mekong*." Though the last wrote too early in the day to unravel the entangled threads of ancient Indo-Chinese Histories, yet he has borrowed from Chinese authors some very useful information.

III. A third source of information has been recently opened to us, by the inscriptions discovered during my scientific mission to Indo-China. These bilingual documents give us details regarding the religion, civilization and political organization of a kingdom which has itself disappeared.

Of these inscriptions, those in Sanskrit have been analyzed by M. Bergaigne in the January 1888 issue of the *Journal de la Société Asiatique de Paris*; while in its issue of January 1891, I have tried to handle those in Tchame or vernacular tongue. These studies and explorations explain and I hope justify my attempt to add another stone to the historical edifice of French Cochin China. I think that drawing now on the three sources which I have indicated, we have sufficient

* A paper read on September 9th, 1891, before the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London, to which Commandant E. Aymonier, Principal of the Colonial School at Paris, was the Delegate of the French Government.

materials to trace with certainty Marco Polo's historical sketch of Cyamba. The grand lines of that sketch are not likely to be weakened by future discoveries in Chinese literature, or in the inscriptions still remaining unnoticed in Central and Northern Annam.

We know now that the natives gave to their country the name of Tchampa (Campa) the derivation and appearance of which are assuredly Indian; and from this name come the various renderings given by European authors: Ciampa, Cyanba, Tsciampa, Tchampa, Tjampa, etc. To this day the last descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Tchampa call themselves Tchames (Cam).

Ancient Chinese historians call this country Lin-Y = "The wild forests." The Annamites pronounced these two ideographs *Lam-Ap*, which are said to be but two transcriptions of one and the same expression. Later on, the Annamites, (Chinese in their civilization and writing, but in continual touch with Tchampa), transcribed this name very closely by the characters *Chiem Ba*. With our present knowledge, it would be a gross mistake to say that Tchampa was derived from *Chiem Ba*: the reverse is the case. The Annamites shortened the name of the capital to Chiem Thanh, and spoke of the country and its people as Chiem, Shiem, Xiem, Siem. This has led Father Legrand de la Liraye into a mistake. Deceived by an apparent similarity in the names, the learned missionary, in his "*Notes Historiques*," has sometimes mistaken the Tchames for the Siamese. The latter were distant from Tchampa, and were long subject to Cambodia; and their historical achievements are of comparatively recent date.

The Southern Chinese also called Tchampa, *Tcheng Tching*, or *Co-Tcheng Tching*, which the Europeans have changed into Cochin China; and by this name they have long called Tchampa. In our days the name of Cochin China tends to extend itself to the south-west, and to be applied to the country situated on the delta of the Mékong in ancient Cambodia; while Tchampa itself, a narrow and difficult strip of country, enclosed between the mountains and the sea, and curved like an S extending over 10 degrees of latitude between French Cochin China on the South, and Tonkin on the North, tends more and more to take the name of Annam, properly so called.

A short digression on Annam and on the Annamites will not here be out of place.

Before the Christian era, when Tchampa embraced the whole coast from Saigon to the present province of Canton, the name of Annam was unknown. Then, in Southern China, or in the North of present Tonquin, in the mountainous regions separating the river of Canton from the waters of the Red River, there probably dwelt tribes which from time immemorial were under Chinese influence. This was the country, these the men called *Giao Tchi*: "The bifurcated toes" according to some, or as I think, "The separated plants," "the diverging slopes." The people of Giao Tchi, conquered in the IInd Century B.C. by the Chinese, accepted the language, writing and civilization of the Celestial Empire. The conquerors gave, later on, to the land they held the name of *Annam*, "the peaceful south." This race has since then been called the people of *Annam*, or "An-

namites." The Annamites, therefore, as far as we can trace their past, are not known by any Ethnic name. They have preserved the memory of names given by the Chinese, which they have appropriated. Its Southern neighbours,—the men of that Tchampa which they were afterwards to conquer little by little, gave them, as far as I know, two names: the popular name of *Jock* (pronounced *Djoeuk*) and the literary name of *Yvan* or *Yvon* (pronounced *Yoo-ōne*) which was gradually popularized, and became even more common than *Djoeuk*. Both names survive in the language of the present Tchames, and are applied to the Annamites. The more generally used word *Yvon* has, however, passed also into the language of the neighbouring people, especially of the Cambodians. *Yvon*, therefore, is the name given to the Annamites throughout Indo-China, except in Annam itself.

Whence did this name come?

According to the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa, it is the Sanskrit *Yavana*, the name used by the Indians for the Greeks, or "Ionians." Let me quote two passages from Victor Duruy's *Histoire des Grecs* (Vol. I., p. 57): "Since the XIth Century B.C. the Hebrews knew the name of the children of *Javan* (Ionians) who inhabit the coasts and islands of the Great Sea; and this name is found also in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty." And further on (p. 64, note): "By a strange chance, this ancient name of Ionians of which the Athenians were ashamed when Aristophanes called them by it in derision, is actually that by which the Turks call the Greeks of the independent kingdom, *Yunân*: their name for the Greek Raïas, or subjects, is *Roumis*. The Arabs have never called them anything except *Yunân*."

This word *Yvon*, of which the origin is so remote, and the relationship so distant, requires perhaps some further observations. It bears a singular resemblance to the Chinese *Yuan*, *Juan*, or *Jouan*, which the Annamites pronounce *Nguyên*—more strictly *Ngwiên*. Now *Nguyên* is a very common family name among the Annamites, who might be called, *par excellence*, the tribe of "Nguyên," as the Israelites have been called the children of Juda or of Levi. "Nguyên" is the name of the present Annamite dynasty; and the Abbé Launay tells us that the late King, Tu Duc, was called by the Chinese Jouan Fou Tchen.

The ancestors of the present Yuons occupied, as I said, the country of Giao Tchi, on the Southern frontier of China. Conquered in the IIInd century B.C. and gradually assimilated, they advanced southward, led by Chinese Governors, absorbing or driving back the other races, and little by little colonizing Tonquin. So, about the middle of the IVth Century, the Celestial Empire unexpectedly found itself in contact with the Tchames, who, according to Father Legrand de la Liraye, "had occupied formerly almost all the coast from Cape St. James, up to Canton, on which too they have left the beautiful towers which we now see."

Whether politically united into one government, or forming a confederation, it is now certain that at this remote epoch Tchampa was entirely penetrated with Brahmanism. This is placed beyond all doubt by the Sanskrit inscription in the village of Vo Can, near Nha Trang, in the

province of Khanh Hoa—one of the most anciently known, dating at least from the III^d Century, though no divine name is now legible on it. It treats of a pious endowment by a prince called Mararajâ. Indian civilization had, therefore, a very ancient hold on the oriental coast of Indo-China. Not more so, however, than we had already reason to believe; for, as Barth and Bergaigne have remarked, in the middle of the II^d Century A.D., Ptolemy gives Indian geographical names all over these coasts.

On this small field, then, two very different civilizations met in a bloody encounter, which struggle continued, with occasional truces, a merciless strife for 1,100 years, (IV to XV Century of our era). On the one side the Tchames defended their hearths and homes; on the other, the Chinese followed up their first decisive blows down to the Xth Century. From this last date, the Annamites, freed from the Chinese yoke but become quite Chinese themselves, and now established firmly in Tonquin determined to entirely dismember Tchampa, which had already been much weakened. Once they had conquered it, they assimilated or pitilessly hunted down the last remains of the Tchames; and this continued till the recent French conquest of the country.

The history of Tchampa, therefore, may be divided into three clearly distinct but unequal periods;—the struggles with the Chinese, IVth to Xth Centuries;—the struggles with the Annamites, Xth to XVth Centuries;—and its gradual extinction, XVth to XIXth Centuries.

II.

THE STRUGGLES WITH CHINA—IVTH TO XTH CENTURIES.

AFTER Tan had conquered the Empire, he recalled the troops from the country of the Giao Tchi. Then an officer, the Tich-Su of Giao, called Dao Hoang, addressed to him the following petition:—

“Very far, beyond Giao, many thousands of *li* ($1\text{ li} = 600\text{ metres} = 656\frac{1}{3}\text{ yds.}$) lies Lam Ap, the chief of which, Pham Hung, is always engaged in plundering and calls himself a King. This people is continually making incursions into our territory, and, when united together with Pho Nam (Cambodia) constitutes a vast multitude. When attacked, they retire and hide themselves in inaccessible places. In the time of the Ngô (the dynasty preceding Tan), these people of Lam Ap made their submission, but only the better to plunder the inhabitants and to slay their chiefs. Sent among them to hold them in restraint, I have spent there over 10 years. They always remained concealed and unseen, in their caves and hiding places. I had with me 8,000 men, the greater part of whom have perished of privations and sickness. I have only some 2,400 odd left. Now that the four seas enjoy perfect peace, it is necessary to think of sending reinforcements; but as I am an official of a past government, what I say is of no importance.”

The Emperor Tan followed this advice, says Father Legrand de la Liraye; for, since the year 318, the affairs of the Government of Giao were in a most miserable state. The wildest anarchy reigned on the southern

frontiers of the Empire, and the incursions of the Lam Ap had become daily more troublesome, according to the Chinese officials. In 353, a prince of the imperial house of Tan, called Nguyễn Phu, then Governor of Giao, carried the war into Lam Ap, and seized over 50 cities or forts. We may conclude that this first invasion was made in the valley of the Red River, with the result of conquering definitely for the Chinese and Annamites, the coast of Tonquin, such as it had been formed by the alluvia of that epoch.

A Chinese note informs us that Lam Ap belonged to the province of Nhat Nam (Canton), bounded on the east by the sea, on the west by Trao Khué, extending in the south to Tchan Lap (Cambodia), and joining on to Annam, through Hoan Ch'u or Xu Nghê. In the south, this country was called Tha-bê, in the north O-ly.

In 399, Pham Ho Dat, King of Lam Ap, invading the coasts of Tonquin and Canton, was driven back by Do Vien, the Chinese Governor of Giao. In 413, renewing his incursions on the coast of Canton, Pham Ho Dat was again driven back, pursued, captured and beheaded, by Hué Do, the son and successor of Do Vien. Two years later, a new king of Lam Ap, to revenge his predecessor, invaded Tonquin and plundered the coast, but was driven off by the people themselves. At length in 420, say the Chinese historians, Hué Do made a great slaughter of the people of Lam Ap, killing more than half of them. These *Robber-races* then tendered their submission, which Hué Do accepted on condition of their restoring all that they had plundered. It took 10 years to recover from this defeat.

In 431, Pham Dzuoeng Mai, king of Lam Ap, again attacked, with recovered strength, the coasts of Tonquin and Canton. He too was driven back. The next year, he sent an embassy to the Court of the Tong (then the imperial dynasty) asking for the appointment of Prefect of Giao. (This attempt tends to confirm the supposition that the kings of Lam Ap had rights to claim over Tonquin, the coasts of which had belonged to their ancestors.) The emperor on account of the distance refused him that office. Four years later, the Court of T'ong ordered Hoa Chi, governor of Giao, to chastise Lam Ap, because Pham Dzuoeng Mai still continued his *Robberies*, though he had done homage by sending ambassadors and presents. A boastful Chinese "Literate," called Y, gives the details of this expedition and of the important part which he himself played in it. Going in the suite of Hoa Chi to fight Lam Ap, he had command of the vanguard, with the title of Marshal. The king of Lam Ap, frightened at the invasion of his country by this army, sent an embassy offering to restore the value of all that he had taken from the government of Nhat Nam, namely 10,000 pounds (livres) of pure gold and 100,000 pounds of silver. The Emperor ordered Hoa Chi to accept the offer, if Dzuoeng Mai was really sincere; so Hoa Chi who was encamped at Chau Ngo sent an officer called Trung Co to the king—but he never returned. Resolved then to give no quarter, Hoa Chi immediately besieged the fortress of Khu Lat, commanded by Phu Long, the principal leader of Lam Ap. In vain did the king send Pham Con Sha Dat to the relief of his general. Our learned Y attacked him on his march and destroyed his troops. In the 5th month, Hoa Chi

entered the besieged fort, beheaded Phu Long, and improved his victory by carrying his army up to the border of the Elephants. Dzuoeng Mai then raised all the available forces of his kingdom to resist the enemy. He took care to conceal his elephants from view. Our learned Y said on this occasion : "I have heard that in foreign countries there are lions—an animal which all the others respect and fear. Let us put his image before the elephants." In fact it was thus that the elephants were frightened and put to flight, the army of the king of Lam Ap was cut to pieces, and he himself barely succeeded in escaping with his family. The booty captured was immense. Thus to the maritime incursions of Lam Ap the Chinese Governors replied by more efficacious invasions by land. We know these wars and their causes only by the account given by the conquerors, who have therefore full play in denouncing the Punic faith of their adversaries.

There are two Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on a rock at the foot of a hill in the province of Phu Yen, dating from about this Vth century. King Bhadravarman who takes the titles of Dharma Maharaja Sri Bhadravarman already bears a royal name ending in *Varman* like the names of the kings of Cambodia and of the islands of the Sound. This is precisely the period when such names occur frequently also in the South of India. This king invokes Siva by the name of Bhadresvara. Siva, therefore, has been worshipped in Tchampa from very ancient times, under names borrowed from those of the kings who either raised temples to him, or in some other way helped to increase the glory of his worship.

During the VIth century, the south of China was a prey to disturbances ; and her historians have nothing to say of Lam Ap. In 605, however, Luong Phuong, a redoubted general serving under the dynasty of Tuy, after taking military possession of Nhat Nam (Canton) and Nam Viet (Tonquin), tried to subdue Lam Ap. Its immense wealth had excited to the utmost the cupidity of the people about the Tuys ; for the country was held to be exceedingly rich in precious metals. To the former titles of Loun Phuong, the Emperor added those of Commander in Chief of the roads of Hoan Chu (the present Xu Nghê), and of Kinh Luoc, or Imperial Visitor, of Lam Ap.

Luong Phuong, assembling a force of more than 10,000 men and many horse, marched by land on Viet Thuong—then the generic name of all Tonquin—while a relative of his, Truong Tu, went by sea to Bac Canh, on the shore of Nhat Nam or the gulf of Tonquin. Phan Tchi, king of Lam Ap, met him with many elephants. At first, he gained some success ; but Luong Phuong had ditches dug and covered with twigs ; and in the ensuing battle he simulated a precipitate flight. The elephants on coming to the ditches became alarmed, and retreating caused the utmost disorder in the army of Phan Tchi, which was completely routed, with immense slaughter. Luong Phuong pursued its remains as far as the bronze column of Ma Vien. In eight days he reached the capital, which Phan Tchi abandoned, leaving to his conqueror eighteen statues of massive gold representing his eighteen predecessors. In commemoration of his victory Luong Phuong cut an inscription on stone, and then returned to China. He died, however, on the way, and his army was decimated by diseases, the soldiers having suffered much from swelling of the feet during the long, rapid and fatiguing marches.

The site of this battle must have been in the west of Tonquin, that is to say in the north of the present province of Thanh Hoa, whence in eight days the army could reach the first historical capital of Tchampa—now called Shri Banocuy by the modern Tchames. According to the calculation of a Chinese author cited by Francis Garnier, this capital lay about the 17th degree of latitude, near Dong Hocuy the present chief town of Quang Binh. The very name Dong Hocuy perhaps means “the field of the Tchames,” as the Annamites give to their hereditary enemies the epithet of Hoi, “Hocuy” = barbarians.

These grave events in 605 seem to mark the beginning of a long period of desperate struggles for the possession of northern Tchampa—the present provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghé An. After centuries of bloody wars, their final acquisition, first by the Chinese, then by the Annamites will afterwards sound the knell of Tchampa.

The annals relate that about 618 Hoa Lich, Commander in Chief of Giao under the Tuys, had acquired the greatest influence and reputation during his tours among the peoples of the south. All the kingdoms of Lam Ap enthusiastically sent him such presents of precious stones, rhinoceros horns, gold and valuables of all kinds that he became as rich as any king.

In 723, an Annamite rebel, Mai Thuc Loan, known as Hắc Đế = “the black Emperor,” directed one of the many attempts of Giao to revolt against the Chinese. It was suppressed, though the annals tell us that the Tchames (Lam Ap) and the Cambodians (Chon Lap) had helped the insurgents.

In this VIIIth century, the name of “*An Nam*” comes into general use, instead of those formerly used—Giao, Viet Thuong, Nam Viet, etc. In 756, the Emperor, Ninh Hoang Đế (Ning Hoang Ti) established in Tonquin a great military command officially called An Nam. A strange event now took place, in 767—an invasion of Tonquin from the coasts of southern China by hordes of Malays and Javanese, which the Chinese thus describe: “In the year Đinh Vi (767) the men of Côn Nôn and Chava invaded the Cháus (prefectures) and attacked the citadels of the country.” General Truong Ba Nghi was sent against them; and uniting with the governor of Vo Dinh, he defeated them completely at Cháu Dzien, and then built the present capital of Tonquin and called it La Thanh.” The annals add the following note in explanation: Chava of the mountains was Cháu Lang, commonly called Dôt La. Its limits by land were Chon Lap (Cambodia) on the east; in the West it touched the east of India (which I think means the Malay Peninsula). Bo Lac counted 299 tribes. The king of Little Côn Nôn was called Mong Ta Liet; and the king of Great Côn Nôn, Tu Loi Bac. There was another kingdom of Ha Lac called Chava (Java) afterwards Chavaquoc, far off in the southern sea. From this kingdom to go to the sea by the East it took one month;—by the south, three days,—by the north four; and by the North West fifteen by boat up to Say Pha Dinh. Giao Chi attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it, says the note; but this statement must be taken with a large pinch of salt.

Resuming after a silence of two or three centuries, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa confirm these remote and strange maritime expeditions. After mentioning his predecessor, king Prathivindravarman “who ruled

over all Tchampa and reigned for a long time," Satiavarman "the son of his sister who had a short reign," states that, in 774, "very dark and thin men coming from another country in ships" robbed the Linga and destroyed the temple of the goddess Po Nagar (Bhagavati) at Nha Trang. Pursuing them, Satiavarman says he gained a complete naval victory over them. In 784, he rebuilt the temple and the Siva, and cut the inscription which gives these details. The Linga thus carried off is said to have been erected by the mythical king Vicitra Sagara, hundreds of thousands of years before.

These maritime expeditions of the Javanese, thus mentioned since 667, were renewed during a long period; for another inscription of king Indravarman, younger brother and successor of Satyavarman, states that, in 787, the armies of Java, "arriving in ships," burnt the temple of Siva at Panduranga (in Southern Tchampa). Twelve years later, the king, in 799, rebuilt and endowed the temple, and cut his inscription celebrating his own glory, "who carried the war to the four cardinal points."*

Reverses soon followed these successes--however real they were. The Chinese annals relate that the kings of Tchampa, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Empire, retook Hoan Châu or Xu Nghé (now the provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghé An,—these continually disputed provinces). In 808, Truong Chau, Chinese Governor-General in the south, marched against the hostile king, and caused 30,000 men of the two prefectures of Hoan and Ai to be beheaded. He destroyed the fortresses of these two districts; captured alive 59 princes of the royal family; and brought back to the north an immense booty, noticeable among which was a vast number of coats of mail made of plates of ivory. According to this very text it is evident that the population of the invaded or disputed territory was still Tchame; the annals add: "This king of Hoan Châu reigned over all the ancient kingdom of Phan Chi, king of Lam Ap, who was conquered by Luong Phuong (203 years previously in the year 605). This territory was called Xiem Bat Lao, = the residence of King Xiem Ba; Xiem Thanh, the kingdom of Tei and the land of Bi Thê.

This name of Xiem Ba, or Chiem Ba, which now begins to take the place of the older designation of Lam Ap, shows, I think, that Tchampa had become better known to its northern neighbours. The invasion of 808 seems not to have left any lasting result. The Chinese quitted the country or were driven out. According to the inscriptions, there reigned in 817 over Tchampa a king called Harivarman, who took the titles of "King of kings," and "Supreme Lord of the city of Tchampa." He had gained some victories over the Chinese. "His arm was a sun, which burnt the people of China black as the night." Reserving to himself most probably the north of the kingdom, he handed over the government of Panduranga or the most southerly provinces of Tchampa, to his son

* We should note that in these inscriptions the king worships Siva and Vishnu, united in one form, as Sankara-Narayana, whose worship was also widely spread in the neighbouring kingdom of Cambodia, in the VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth centuries, before the foundation of Angkor. From Vyadhapura, then the capital of Cambodia, I have brought a beautiful and curious statue of this god Harihara, which was shown at the Universal Exposition of 1889, and is now in the Musée Guimet at Paris.

Vikrantavarman, placing him under the guardianship of a general called Panroe, who made a great successful incursion into Cambodia.

Vikrantavarman, son of Harivarman by the sister of Satyavarman, was reigning both in 829 and in 854. To this reign is traceable a Buddhist inscription, which, however, marks that the donor was only a private individual. Of vernacular inscriptions up to this date, there are only a few, and even these but fragmentary, worn out and almost illegible; while the Sanskrit inscriptions are very beautiful and well preserved. These are in prose; but from this IXth century to the Xth, these documents are partly in prose and partly in verse.

During the reign of Vikrantavarman, about the year 836, the Chinese annals say that Vuong Thuc, Governor-General of Annam, acquired so great an ascendancy that all its tribes, as also Xiem (Tchampa) and Chan Lap (Cambodia) submitted to pay homage every year. About 860, the indigenous tribes of west Tonquin rose against the Chinese, urged on, it would seem, by Tchampa. The rebels seized the capital of Tonquin, and slew the Chinese prefect. "Many a time (say these annals) Lam Ap has tried to rebel and to gather around her the inhabitants of the sea and of the mountains; but it has never had sufficient forces."

The inscriptions mention, in the Xth Century King Haravarman and his son and successor Indravarman, who, in 918, erected a golden statue to the goddess Bhagavati in the temple of Po Nagar. Later on, "the avaricious Cambodians took away this statue, but they died in consequence"; and in 965 king Jaya Indravarman put in its stead a stone statue of the goddess--in all probability the very one which exists to this day in the Temple of Po Nagar, in Khanh Hoa.

Tchampa, at this time most probably absorbed in its quarrels with its southern neighbour, Cambodia, quietly allowed an event to take place in the North, which it perhaps then considered favourable to itself, but which nevertheless produced the most fatal consequences. After its repeated partial insurrections had been suppressed during twelve centuries, Annam at last freed herself from the Chinese yoke, by a general rising in 931. The Chinese were driven out. Several chiefs ruled in rapid succession over the Annamites, whom Tchampa allowed to remain in peace. In 968, king Dinh founded the first Annamite dynasty. This young nation, though freed from the Chinese yoke, but completely assimilated to China, will yet receive from that country, in spite of all the wars which it will have to endure, a constant supply of emigrants and of moral forces. With its northward extension stopped by the vast mass of the Celestial Empire, it will constantly extend itself southwards, and will eat into Tchampa little by little, both by the incessant emigration of its subjects, and by the violent attacks of its armies.

I think that at this period (the Xth Century) Tchampa comprised all the present state of Annam, little perhaps excepted, from Baria to Nghé An or to Thanh Hoa. I differ in this from the opinion of the bulk of writers on the subject, who credit the Annamites with possessing not only Tonquin but also the coast as far as Huê. The inscriptions of northern Annam probably have in store some surprises on this point.

The above very important paper will be continued in our next issue.—ED.

WHERE WAS MOUNT SINAI?

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

I HAVE returned to Cairo to find the world of tourists departed or departing, some for Europe, some for Palestine, others for the Sinaitic Peninsula. The last seem usually to be pilgrims in the old-fashioned sense of the word. When I ask them why they want to spend time and money in travelling day after day upon the back of a bone-breaking camel through a land of monotonous rocks and arid *wadis*, the answer I get is that they are bent on seeing the desert wherein the Israelites wandered for forty years and the mountain whereon the law was given to Moses. Mount Sinai is the goal and end of their journey.

Mount Sinai, however, is not so easy to find as the tourist thinks. There is doubtless little difficulty in being conducted to the modern Mount Sinai, the Mount Sînai of monks, of dragomen and of popular books, but the real Mount Sinai of the Old Testament is harder to discover. As it is, even the tourist knows that in the Sinaitic Peninsula itself more than one imposing peak claims the honour of being that whereon the Mosaic Law was promulgated, and each of the advocates of the rival sites believes that his own arguments are unanswerable. The modern European traveller usually adopts the theory which makes Mount Serbal the scene of the promulgation of the Law, perhaps on the strength of his Guide-book, but the natives of the Peninsula themselves have no doubt that the scene occurred on the Jebel Mûsa.

If the exact position of the mountain itself is thus a matter of dispute we need not be surprised that the identification of the other sites sanctified by the wanderings of the Israelites should be still more a subject of controversy. There is hardly one of them which is settled. Indeed the only approach to unanimity which exists is in regard to the geographical position of the wilderness of Paran. It is

identified with the Wadi el-Firân, one of the most fertile spots in the Peninsula, where the city of Pharan stood in the days of the Roman Empire, and the neighbouring cliffs became the home of numberless Christian anchorites. Unfortunately however the ruins of Pharan show that it had no existence before the Græco-Roman period : in fact it is first mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D. ; when Diodôros described the Oasis two centuries previously, it was not as yet in existence. The name of the Wadi el-Firân means simply "the Valley of Rats," while between a Wadi and a desert there is a considerable difference. Moreover the Pentateuch distinctly tells us that Paran was in the region of Mount Seir, on the north-eastern and not on the south-western side of the Sinaitic Peninsula (Deut. i. 1).

The term "Sinaitic Peninsula," however, cannot be traced back to any very distant date. When Josephus wrote, there is no indication that Sinai was as yet supposed to be a mountain of the Peninsula. Like St. Paul (Gal. iv. 25), Josephus merely describes it as in Arabia, and to a writer of the first century Arabia would denote Arabia Petræa rather than a Peninsula which in the age of the Ptolemies was still a province of Egypt.* The Peninsula subsequently became subject to the Nabathæan Kings of Petra, and after the abolition of their sovereignty by Trajan in 105 A.D., it was annexed to the Roman Empire. But it remained a barren possession until the fourth century when a passion for leading a solitary life seized upon the Christians of Syria and Egypt. Hundreds of them wandered into the desert and there took up their abode in cells and mountain-caves. The privations of such a life were heightened by fear of the "Saracens" or Bedouin who in spite of the Roman garrisons occasionally massacred the hermits. The Peninsula, however, was not an unsuitable place for those who wished to escape from the business

* As late as the time of Epiphanius "Arabia" is still defined as "the Edom of Scripture" (Epiph. *Op.* Dindorf III. p. 483).

and pleasures of the world. It was near at hand to the countries from which the anchorites mostly came, it was protected by Roman soldiery, and unlike the deserts on either side of the Nile afforded sufficient food and drink to satisfy an anchorite's wants. Wherever water was to be found monastic establishments sprang up, and at the time of the Mohammedan conquest the Peninsula was peopled by Christian monks. The hermits had before their eyes the great examples of Moses and Elijah who like themselves had fled into the wilderness out of the world, and it was necessarily not long before they had persuaded themselves that the wilderness into which the Hebrew prophets had fled was the very one in which they were themselves living. Soon, therefore, as was inevitable, the places consecrated by the presence and miracles of Moses were re-discovered, including of course Mount Sinai, "the Mount of God." As early as A.D. 361 St. Julian founded a church on "Sinai," and another was subsequently built by Justinian.

Thus it was that the "Sinaitic Peninsula" was found. Its discoverers were the hermits and canobites of the fourth century, and its sacred places were identified with as much ease as the sacred places of Palestine. Old Testament names were attached without much difficulty to the localities in which the monks lived or to which the pilgrims could most easily come.

The tradition which grew up in the closing days of the Roman Empire has ever since maintained its ground. Christians and Mohammedans alike have accepted it, and even the nomad Bedouin see the footprints of Moses throughout the Peninsula. The desert of Shur, called Tyra by Pliny, which bounds the Peninsula on the north, has become the Jebel et-Tih, "the mountain of the Wandering," and the name of Mûsa or Moses meets the traveller at every turn.

Few have been bold enough to question the accuracy of the tradition. Dr. Beke indeed proposed to transfer

Mount Sinai to the Jebel en-Nûr, at the northern end of the Gulf of 'Aqâbah, but as he also maintained that the mountain of the Law was a volcano and that the Mizraim or Egypt of Scripture lay on the eastern side of the Red Sea, his views did not meet with much acceptance. Even the Doctor himself was shaken when a visit to the Jebel en-Nûr had convinced him that it was no volcano.

Another doubter has been Mr. Baker Greene. He would identify Mount Sinai with Mount Hor which forms part of the range of Mount Seir. Mr. Baker Greene is a writer of very different calibre from Dr. Beke, and the arguments with which he attacks the traditional belief are exceedingly difficult to meet. I shall have to repeat a good many of them in what I have myself to say.

For I also am one of the heretics who regard the pilgrim to the Sinaitic Peninsula as wasting his enthusiasm over imaginary sites. The Old Testament and the Egyptian monuments alike seem to me to forbid our placing Mount Sinai in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula or believing that the Israelites could ever have wandered for forty years in that pastureless and uninviting region.

Let us first see what the Old Testament has to say upon the subject. The question of the geographical position of Mount Sinai is intimately bound up with that of the position of the Yâm Sûph or "Sea of Weeds," called the Red Sea in the Authorized Version. But the identification is not older than the time of the Septuagint, when the "Red Sea" denoted the sea which washed all the coasts of Arabia, except perhaps those in the Persian Gulf, and when the Septuagint translators were naturally anxious to find as many Biblical sites as possible in the near neighbourhood of Egypt.

Where the Yâm Sûph of Hebrew geography actually was we are told explicitly in more than one passage of the Old Testament. In 1 Kings ix. 26 it is stated to be "in the land of Edom," the cities of Ezion-geber and Eloth being built upon its shore. It was, therefore, the modern

Gulf of 'Aqâbah. In Numb. xxxiii. 8-10, we are told that after the children of Israel had escaped from Egypt by passing through "the sea"—not the "Yâm Sûph," be it observed—they "went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham" as far as¹ Marah; thence they removed to the oasis of Elim and then "encamped by the Yâm Sûph," after which they found themselves in the wilderness of Sin. The wilderness of Sin, so named from the Babylonian Moon-god, Sin, was as we learn from Exod. xvi. 1, the wilderness which lay "between Elim and Sinai."

A journey of four or five days from the frontier of Egypt would have brought the Israelitish caravan to the Gulf of 'Aqâbah. It would have followed the same route as that which is taken by the modern Egyptian pilgrim to Mecca who does not avail himself of the steamboat facilities afforded by Messrs. Cook and Son. It is of course possible that the caravan may have travelled more slowly than the modern pilgrim, and as we are not informed how many days were consumed on the journey between Marah and Elim the estimate of four or five days may be too little. What is certain, however, is that the three days' journey through the wilderness after leaving the Egyptian frontier excludes the Gulf of Suez. It would have been too near the starting-point of the Israelites. Moreover the canal which carried the waters of the Nile into the Gulf in the age of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty would have prevented its being said of the triumphant fugitives that for three days they "found no water."

Mr. Baker Greene is doubtless right in identifying Elim with Eloth or Elath. The two names are in fact one and the same, the only difference between them being that in the one the feminine plural is used and in the other the masculine plural. If Elim is not Elath we shall look in vain for it either in ancient or in modern geography. No such name appears elsewhere.

There is a third passage in the Old Testament from

which we may infer that the Yâm Sûph of Scripture is the Gulf of 'Aqâbah of to-day. At the beginning of the Book of Deuteronomy it is said: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against Sûph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab." The place is still further defined five verses later as "beyond the Jordan, in Moab," or as it is described in Numb. xxxvi. 13, "In the plains of Moab by the Jordan of Jericho."

There seems no reason to question the general opinion that the Sûph mentioned in the foregoing passage either gave its name to the Yâm Sûph or took its name from the latter. If so, we shall have another proof that the Yâm Sûph was the Gulf of 'Aqâbah, that being the only sea (apart of course from the Dead Sea) which was anywhere near "the plains of Moab."

The geography of the Exodus in other respects agrees with the position thus assigned by the Hebrew writers themselves to the Yâm Sûph and consequently to the desert of Sin and the mountain of Sinai which were in the vicinity of that sea. Mount Sinai, "the Mountain of God," could not have been far from the frontiers of Midian. It was while Moses was keeping the flocks of Jethro the priest of Midian that he came, on "the backside of the desert," to "the mountain of God, even to Horeb" (Exod. iii. 1). In accordance with this we find Jethro visiting his son-in-law when the Israelites were "encamped at the mount of God" (Exod. xviii. 5). It was immediately after the smiting of the rock in Horeb and the overthrow of the Amalekites at Rephidim.

The district inhabited by the Amalekites is well-known. They were an Edomite tribe of Bedouin (Gen. xxxvi. 12), and inhabited the desert on the southern border of Judah which stretched from Havilah in the east to Shur, the "Wall" of Egypt (1 Sam. xv. 7), in the west. It was here in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea that they

had been found by Chedor-laomer and his allies (Gen. xiv. 7), and it was here that Balaam beheld them in prophetic vision (Numb. xxiv. 18-21). In the days of the Judges they had made their way northward as far as Mount Ephraim (Judg. iii. 13, v. 14, xii. 15) in alliance with the Ammonites. But of Amalekites in the Sinaitic Peninsula, much more in the south-western part of it, the Hebrew records know nothing. Indeed the words with which Moses dedicated the altar he raised in memory of the Amalekite defeat expressly declare that the Amalekites with whom the Israelites had just been contending were identical with those against whom the people of the Lord were to carry on war "from generation to generation" (Exod. xvii. 16). They must therefore have been the tribe which skirted the southern frontier of Judah and which Saul was finally called upon to exterminate.

There is one more indication in the Pentateuch of the situation of Sinai. When the promulgation of the Law was at last ended the Israelites departed from the wilderness of Sinai and immediately entered that of Paran (Numb. x. 12). Now we know where the desert of Paran was. It was on the southern borders of Canaan, and the great sanctuary of Kadesh-barnea lay within it (Numb. xiii. 3, 17, 22, 26). If not actually included in Edomite territory it adjoined the mountains of Seir (Deut. xxxiii. 2).

Sinai thus lay between the Yâm Sûph and Paran, at no great distance from either. It must consequently have been either part of the range of Seir, or else not far to the west of it. Two of the oldest fragments of Hebrew literature imply that the first alternative was the fact.

In the song of Deborah and Barak we read (Judg. v. 4, 5): "Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water. The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel." The parallelism of Hebrew poetry here requires that Seir and Sinai should

be synonymous terms. Equally explicit is the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 2): "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints." Sinai, Seir, and mount Paran in this passage are used almost indiscriminately of the same locality. The spot whence the Lord "rose up" must be the same as that from which "he came."

The geographical position, therefore, to which the Old Testament would assign Sinai and Horeb does not admit of doubt. Sinai stood on the borders of Edom, if not actually within the limits of the Edomite kingdom, and the Yâm Sûph from which the Israelites approached it was in the days of Moses as in those of Solomon the Gulf of 'Aqâbah. Of a Sinai in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula the Hebrew Scriptures know nothing.

Their testimony is in strict agreement with that of the Egyptian monuments. As far back as the age of the Third Egyptian dynasty the western portion of the Peninsula had been conquered by the Pharaohs. Egyptian workmen quarried the mountains for copper, malachite and other stones, Egyptian soldiers garrisoned the country, and Egyptian priests ministered in the temples which the Pharaohs erected there. The inscriptions and other monuments which still remain at Maghârah and Sarbût el-Khâdem show how long and complete was the Egyptian occupation. At Maghârah is a column bearing the name of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, of the 19th dynasty; at Sarbût el-Khâdem are the cartouches of Ramses IV. of the 20th dynasty. The annals of Ramses III. the immediate predecessor of Ramses IV. inform us how plentiful was the treasure which in his reign still flowed in to the Egyptian monarch from the mines of the Peninsula. After Ramses IV. the names of no more Pharaohs are met with; but it would seem that Mafkat, the "Malachite" region as it was called by the Egyptians, still continued to be a province of Egypt. At all events in texts of the age of

the Ptolemies it is reckoned as belonging to the Arabian nome, and we learn that malachite mines were still worked for the Egyptian kings in the neighbourhood of a place called Hat-Qa, "the high house."

At the period of the Exodus, accordingly, the western half of the Peninsula not only formed part of Egyptian territory, it was also more strongly garrisoned by Egyptian troops than the valley of the Nile itself. The convicts and prisoners who worked in the mines required to be guarded, while it was necessary to protect the Egyptian settlements from the incursions of the Bedouin. For fugitives from Egypt, therefore, to have entered the Peninsula would have been an act of insanity. A people who were not allowed to travel along "the way of the land of the Philistines" lest they might "see war" (Exod. xiii. 17) were not likely to venture into an Egyptian province guarded by trained veterans.

The account of the flight of Moses after his murder of the Egyptian implies how carefully the Peninsula would have been avoided by one who had escaped from Egypt. When Moses "fled from the face of Pharaoh," it was not to the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula that he made his way, but to the land of Midian. That was the nearest locality in which he could find himself in safety. And the Sinai, accordingly, which he visited while keeping the flock of his father-in-law was a Sinai which adjoined Midian, not the Sinai of modern pilgrims and tourists.

It may seem cruel to disturb the convictions of the numerous travellers who have patiently supported the fatigues of a journey among the monotonous and inhospitable rocks of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula under the belief that they were treading in the steps of the children of Israel, and I fear that the Cairo dragoman who finds that the belief puts money in his pocket will not thank me for my scepticism. But in spite of the tradition of the last sixteen centuries, that belief is, as I have endeavoured to show, contrary to the combined evidence of the Old

Testament and the Egyptian monuments. Where the mountain-peak of Sinai actually was we do not know ; perhaps we never shall ; but of one thing we may be certain, and that is that it was not in the Peninsula which is now called Sinaitic. We have to look for it on the borders of Midian and Edom among the ranges of Mount Seir, and in the neighbourhood of the ancient sanctuary of Kadesh-barnea whose site at 'Ain Qadis has been re-discovered in our own day (cfer. Deut. i. 2). It was here that the Israelites received the Mosaic law after their journey along the modern Mecca pilgrims' route, "the way of the wilderness of the Yâm Sûph." Those who would follow in their path should explore Midian and Edom, rather than the Wadis of the old Egyptian territory of Mafkat.

THE KELÁM-I-PÎR AND ESOTERIC MUHAMMADANISM.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

IT is not my wish to satisfy idle curiosity by describing the contents of a book, concealed for nine hundred years, the greater portion of which accident has placed in my hands after years of unsuccessful search in inhospitable regions. The fragmentary information regarding it and the practices of its followers which I had collected, were contributed to publications, like this Review, of specialists for specialists or for genuine Students of Oriental learning. Nothing could be more distressing to me than the formation of a band of "esoteric Muhammadans," unacquainted with Arabic, which is the only key to the knowledge of Islám. The mastery of the original language of his holy Scripture is, still more emphatically, the *sine quâ non* condition of a teacher, be he Christian, Muhammadan, or other "possessor of a sacred book." Nor should anyone discuss another's faith without knowing its religious texts in the original as well as its present practice.

The term "esoteric" has been so misused in connection with Buddhism, the least mystic of religions, by persons unacquainted with Sanscrit, Pali and modern Buddhism, that it has become unsafe to adopt it as describing the "inner" meaning of any faith. Were Buddha alive, he would regret having made the path of salvation so easy by abolishing the various stages of Brahminical preparation, through a studious, practical and useful life, for the final retirement, meditation, and Nirvana. Yet there are mysterious practices in the Tantric worship of "the Wisdom of the Knowable," which Buddha alone brought to the masses that were to be emancipated from the Brahminical yoke. Even transparent Judaism has its Kabala, and the religion that brought God to Man has mysteries of grace and godliness, the real meaning of which is only known to the true Christian of one's own sect or school. Thus open, easy and simple

Muhammadanism has its two triumphant orthodoxies of Sunnis and Imamîa Shiahs and 72 militant, or outwardly conforming, heterodoxies. Indeed, as long as words can be fought over, and even facts do not impress all alike, so long will the more or less proficient professors of a creed reach various degrees of "esoteric" knowledge.

It is the unknown merit of the religious system of the so-called Assassins of the Crusades to have discussed, dismissed and yet absorbed a number of faiths and philosophies. It adapted itself to various stages of knowledge among its proselytes from various creeds, whilst the circumstances of its birth, history and surroundings gave it a Muhammadan basis. *Non omnia scimus omnes* may be said by the most "initiated" Druse, Ismailian or "Mulâi," the latter being the name by which I will, in future, designate all the ramifications of this remarkable system of Philosophy, Religion and Practical politics.

This system elaborates the principle that all truths, except ONE, are relative. It treats each man as it finds him, leading him through stages, complete in themselves, to the final secret. We, too, in a way admit that strong meat and drink are not the proper food for babes. We speak of professional training and of the professional spirit, of *esprit de corps*, terms which all have an "esoteric" sense, and imply preparation; indeed, every experience of life is an "initiation" which he, who has not undergone it, cannot "realize;" we, too, have medical and other works which the ordinary reader does not buy and which are, so far, "esoteric" to him, but we have not laid down in practice that he, who does not know, shall not teach or rule. This has been systematized, with a keen sense of proportion, by the Founders of the Ismailian sect. Fighting for its existence against rival Muhammadan bodies and in the conflicts of Christianity, Judaism, Magianism and various Philosophies, its emissaries applied the Pauline conduct of being "all things to all men" in order to gain converts.

After the establishment of mutual confidence, a Christian might be confronted with puzzling questions regarding the

Trinity, the Atonement, the Holy Communion, etc.—the Jew be called to explain an Universal God, yet exclusively beneficent to His people, or might be cross-examined on the miracles of Moses; a Zoroastrian, to whom much sympathy should be expressed, would be sounded as to his Magian belief; an idolater, if ignorant, could be easily shown the error of his ways and, if not, his pantheism might be checked by the evidences of materialistic or monotheistic doctrine; the orthodox Sunni would be required to explain the apparent inconsistencies of statements in the Korán, and the various sects of Shiahs would be confounded by doubts being thrown on this or that link of the hereditary succession of the apostleship of Muhammad; sceptics, philosophers, word-splitters, both orthodox and heterodox, would be followed into their last retrenchments by contradictory arguments, materialistic, idealistic, exegetical, as the case might be. With every creed, to use an Indian simile, the peeling of the onion was repeated, in which, after one leaf after the other of the onion is taken off in search of the onion, no onion is found and nothing is left. The enquirer would thus be ready for the reception of such new doctrine as might be taught him by the “Mulái”* preacher, or *Dái*, who then revealed himself one step beyond the mental and moral capacity of his intended convert, whilst sharing with the latter a basis of common belief. Now this required ability of no mean order, as also of great variety, so as to be adapted to all conditions of men to whom the *Dái* might address himself. Sex, age, profession, hereditary and acquired qualities, antecedents and attainments, all were taken into consideration. At the same time, in an age of violence, the missionaries of the new faith had to keep their work a profound secret and to insist on a covenant, identical with, or similar to, the one of

* I use the word “Mulái” to include not only the virtuous Druses with their self-denying “initiated” or “*U'qelá*” leaders, but also the Ismailians generally, whether religious or not, (as in impious Hunza) and of whatever degree of conformity or scepticism. As a rule, an ordinary Mulái will outwardly practise Sunni rites and hold Shiah doctrines.

the Druses, which I published in the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Even when confronted by Hinduism, the new creed could represent that Áli, the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad, was the 10th incarnation of Vishnu, which is expected, as was the Paraclete and as are the Messiah and the "Mehdi" (many of those who adopted that title being secret followers of the Ismailian creed).^{*} I have pointed out in my last article how the very name of 'Áli, his chivalrous character, his eloquence, his sad death and the martyrdom of his sons lent themselves to his more than apotheosis in minds already prepared by Magian doctrine and the spirit of opposition to the successful Sunni oppressor. I think that I can quote extracts, in support of this statement from the "Kelám-i-pír" or the "*Logos of the Ancient*," showing how the contributor to it (for I take

* In discussion, whenever expedient, with a Brahmin, or even Buddhist, the belief in a modified metempsychosis would form a bond of sympathy (see last A. Q. R.), whilst the survival "of the most adapted," rather than that of "the best,"—without, however, the loss of any individual or type,—would be connected with the notion of a certain fixed number of souls in evolution from "the beginning" and ever recurrent in living form. "The beginning," however, would be a mere term applying to this or that revealed condition, for behind what may be called "the terrestrial gods," behind Allah in whatever form, Deity or Deities, there was The BEING that existed without a beginning and whose first manifestation was the "Word" with its Replica as the type of the apostle and his fellow that ever succeeded itself throughout the generations of this world. If the visible Deity, preferring to show itself in human, rather than any other, form, is incorporated in the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, it is, apparently, because humanity requires such an unbroken link in order to convert into certainty its hope of the deliverer, the Messiah, the Mahdi, the second [advent of] Jesus, who will similarly be the Deity in the shape of a man, reconciling the various expectations of all religions in one manifestation. That few, if any, Muláís, or even the most "initiated" Druses, should know *every* variety of their belief, is natural, not only in consequence of varying degrees of mental ability and of corresponding "initiation," but also because of varied historical or national surroundings, circumstances which underlie the guiding principle of all Mulái belief and practice. I venture to indicate, *as purely my personal impression*, that this principle, which need not be further explained in this place, is the real secret of that faith. In my humble opinion, the *dissecta membra*, so to speak, of that faith form, if reconstituted, an embodiment of the religious thought of the World that seeks to reconcile all differences in one Philosophy and in one Policy.

the "Kelám-i-pîr" to be a collective name like "Homer"), the eminent mathematician, historian and poet, Shah Násir Khosrû, who was born in the year 355 A.H. = 969 A.D. was led, after a long life of purity and piety, of abstemiousness and study, to examine and reject one religion after the other and, finally, adopt the one with which we are now concerned and of which His Highness, Agha Sultan Muhammad Shah is the present hereditary spiritual head. His authority extends from the Lebanon to the Hindukush and wherever else there may be Ismailians, who either openly profess obedience to him, as do the Khojahs in Bombay; or who are his secret followers in various parts of the Muhammadan world in Asia and Africa.* The present

* In the interior of Arabia, Mr. W. B. Harris has come across a curious sect that may be connected with a section of the Kerámis or Keramátis, sects that gave much trouble in Syria in the 10th century, or, more probably, with an extreme and, probably, disavowed heterodox sub-sect of the Ismailians. It may be interesting to quote the correspondence that has taken place between us on the subject: Tangier, April 5, 1893.

"During my journey through the Yemen last year I came across a sect of people calling themselves *Makarama*, of whom I was able to learn little, on account of their own reticence and the apparent want of interest of their Moslem neighbours. However, one of their number gave me a couple of lines of Arabic poetry, which translated, run:

"God is unknown.—by day or by night.

Why trouble about him, there is no heaven and no hell."

All that I could find out about them in addition to this is that they hold an annual nightly feast with closed doors and lights in the windows, in which they are said to practise incest; and that they annually practise the form of driving a scapegoat into the mountains. The latter is clearly Judaic and the former custom savours of the Karmathians, but this seems improbable as the people are not Moslems. They are visited, it is said, by certain Indians who prize the charms written by these Yemenis. Beyond this I was able to discover nothing.

I have no valuable books of reference as to religions here, but if I remember aright there were Phœnician rites resembling this. Could it have anything to do with the Sabeans? I should be so grateful to you if you could let me know, when you have time, what you think about it. I can find no reference to them in any work on the Yemen. The name of the sect is, I suppose, of Persian origin. WALTER B. HARRIS.

[REPLY.]

Vichy, April 14, 1893.

I, too, am not here within the reach of books of reference. I will, however, try to suggest what occurs to me on the spur of the moment in the hope

young, but enlightened, Chief is, as his father and grandfather, likely to exert his influence for good.

that it may possibly be of some slight use in your enquiries. It is very important, first of all, to learn how "Makarama" is spelt by the Yemen people in the Arabic character, and especially whether the "k" is a "kef" or a "qaf" ق. Then the lines you quote should be sent to me in the original Arabic dialect and character (not the Maghrebi form, of course) and transliterated in Roman characters* as you heard them, for a good deal depends, *inter alia*, on the Arabic equivalents, used by "the Makarama" of "God," "heaven," and "hell." . . . The sentiment of the translation is the *Muldi* of Hunza, about whom I have written in the last *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. . . .

How do you know that the people are *not* Moslems? That their orthodox Muhammadan neighbours do not admit them to be such, is not conclusive, for I have heard rigid Sunnis even exclude Shíahs from that appellation. If you could remember the *exact* question which you put on that subject to your Mukarama friends and their precise reply, it might help to a conclusion.

Driving a scapegoat into the mountains is a common practice among the Afghans, who call themselves "Beni Israel" (not to be confounded with the *Jews* properly so called - their "Musáís" or "Yahûdis"). The other rites you speak of were alleged against the Karmathians and the Yazídis are accused of them. Have you thought of the Yazídis? The accusation of incestuous gatherings is, as you know, constantly brought by "the orthodox" against sectarians and I would not, in your place, give up the conjecture of a Karmathian origin of the "Makarama," before you have gone further into the matter. Please, therefore, to remember *all you can* about your friends and, if I can, I shall aid your enquiry to the best of my ability. I think you are right about the Phœnician rites and the Sabean conjecture.

I do not think that "Makarama" is of Persian origin. Is it possibly "*Mukarama*" or "*Mukarrima*"? If so, this would be an appropriate title for a specially "blessed" or enlightened sect. Why do you call them a "*sect*"? Are they also ethnographically distinct from their neighbours and what are their occupations? Could you get me a copy of one of their *charms*? Their being visited by certain Indians would rather show their Ismailian connexion than that they are not a heretical Muhammadan sect. Indeed, among the Ismailian sects mentioned by Makrizi as having spread in Yemen, among other countries, are "the *Kerámis*, *Karmátis*, *Khárijis*, etc.," "all of whom studied philosophy and chose what suited them." I really think these are your "Makarâma."

G. W. LEITNER.

* I think "romanizing" the Oriental characters a great mistake, except "to make assurance doubly sure." The *Arabic* spelling would at once limit conjectures and lead to a solution.

The following is a short biographical sketch of this lineal descendant of the prophet Áli. His genealogy is incontestable and will, I hope, be included in my next paper.*

"H. H. Agha Sultan Muhammad Shah was born at Karachi on Nov. 2nd, 1877. It was soon seen that it would be necessary to give him a good education, and his father, H. H. the late Agha Ali Shah, early grounded him in the history of Persia and the writings of its great poets. But this education was certainly not sufficient in the present day, and Lady Ali Shah, after the death of her husband, very wisely carried out his wishes by placing his son under an English tutor, so that, whilst Persian was by no means neglected, a course of English reading was begun. Four years ago he stumbled over the spelling of monosyllables. The progress made now is really surprising; with natural talents he has found it easy to acquire a thorough English accent and converses freely with Englishmen. The histories of Persia, India and England, the series of the Rulers of India and the Queen's Prime Ministers, McCarthy's 'History of our Own Times' and the lives of eminent men that stock his library, mark a predilection for History and Biography. The subjects of conversation during a morning's ride are often the politics of the day or the turning points in the lives of illustrious men. But with this reading his other studies are not neglected. Algebra, Geometry, Arithmetic, elementary Astronomy, Chemistry and Mechanics, with English authors like Shakespeare, Macaulay, and Scott, form a part of his scholastic course.

"Unlike his father and grandfather, the Aga Sahib has little love for hunting, though he is seen regularly on the race-course and is well known in India as a patron of the turf. In the peculiarity of his position it will be difficult for him to

* We trust to be able to publish in our next issue the history of his family since 622 A.D. as also his photograph and those of his father and grandfather, the latter of whom rendered great services to our Government in Sind and Kandahar.—ED.

travel for some years, but his eyes are directed to Europe and he looks forward to the pleasure of witnessing at some future time an important debate in the House of Commons. From the fact that every mail brings English periodicals to his door, it will be seen that he closely follows everything that relates to English politics.

“With the work amongst the Khojahs and his other followers devolving upon him at so early an age his studies are, of course, liable to be interrupted, and it is hardly possible for him to devote himself to his books—Oriental and English—as much as he would wish to do. He is not yet married, nor does he seem inclined to marry early. A few years, however, must see him the father of a family, and there is little doubt that his children will be educated with all the advantages of the best ancient and modern education so as to make them worthy of their illustrious descent.”

How far His Highness will be himself initiated into more than the practice and rites, public and private, of so much of his form of the Ismailian Faith as is necessary for the maintenance of his position and responsibilities towards his followers, depends on his attainments, mental vigour, and character. With greater theoretical power than even the Pope, who is not hereditary, his influence is personal and representative by the *consensus fidelium*. Nearly all of them are in the first, or second, degree, even their Pirs being generally in the 3rd or 4th, with a general leaning to a mystic divine A'li, not merely the historical A'li, whom their followers see incarnated in his present living descendant. Few, if any, of the leaders are in higher degrees, for they might be out of touch with the practical exigencies of their position in different countries and circumstances. Perhaps, among the Druses, there may be one professor in the highest stage of the “initiated”—the Ninth—but even then he would take his choice of Philosophies and find a microcosm of theory and practice in each. The result on mind and character would be ennobling, and he would die,

if, indeed, an "initiated" can die, carrying away with him the secret of his faith, which he alone has been found worthy to discover. What that secret is, no amount of divulging will impart to any one who is not fit to receive it, though the infinite variety of its manifestations adapt it to every form of thought or life. That even Masonic passwords may, for practical purposes and in spite of published books, be kept a secret, though possibly an open one, experience has shown, but the man does not yet exist who can, or will, apply the system, of which I have endeavoured to give a hint, to the Universal Federation of Religious Autonomies, which, in my humble opinion, the Ismailian doctrine was intended to found, little as its present followers may know of this use of the genuine ring of Truth, of which every religion, according to Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, claims to have the exclusive possession.

THE HILL STATIONS OF INDIA FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

BY R. A. STERNDALE.

THE domestic financial difficulties brought about by the depreciation of the rupee has led many a *pater familias* to consider whether it would not have been better for him to have settled in one of the hill stations of India; and much has been written lately on the subject of Australia and New Zealand for retired Anglo-Indians, as an alternative to settling in England. Being asked to state my views on the question of the Indian stations, I will begin by enumerating those of which I have had personal experience—Murree, Dalhousie, Mussoorie and Simla in the North, Darjeeling in the East, the Nilgherries and the Shevaroyes in the South: I leave out minor places of 2,000 feet and under. These must be considered in regard to health and climatic conditions, cheapness in comparison with living in England, and social advantages.

After the first novelty of a return home and the renewal of long interrupted family and social ties has worn off, the retired Anglo-Indian begins to find serious drawbacks to life in the old country. If he be a fortunate man, the recipient of a good pension supplemented by the ample savings allowed by the receipt of a heavy salary during the latter half of his Indian career, he may make his life in England very enjoyable, weather permitting; but I am going to leave out of the question my lucky friend of the covenanted Civil Service, with his £1,000 a year pension, in addition to what he has been able to lay by. How does it fare with the Military man, and those members of the other Civil Service whose pensions of 5,000 Rs. a year are not paid in sterling? In most cases the savings of these men are inconsiderable, and may be left out of the calculation. They have had to keep up the same social position,

and to live in the same style as the others, but without equal emoluments ; and they may be fortunate if they leave the country free from debt—the depreciation of the rupee has told more heavily on them than on the others who have lost out of their abundance ; and it is they who have anxiously to face the question “ Where shall we live after retirement ? ” That is, live with some few of the comforts to which they have been accustomed during the greater part of their lives.

The first impulse, generally acted upon, is to come home to England. This is natural enough. Home ties are strong ; early associations have dwelt in their bosoms during long years of exile, and have been hugged and cherished as precious memories—the meet, the covert and the trout stream, the loch and the moor have haunted the dreams of some ; the gaieties of London life, or the sylvan beauties of the country in the pleasant summer time, have dwelt in the thoughts of others ; and the one thing which cheers the hearts of the homesick toilers of the East is the home-coming at the end of their service. Yet what is the reality of that home-coming ? The man who kept a well-appointed house with twenty servants and a carriage for his wife, whose table was always open to a welcome guest, has now to come down to a small suburban villa,—that most detestable of abodes to my mind, neither town nor country ; or to a cheap house in a Kensington district ; or else he must bury himself miles away from everywhere in the country, where with one servant or at the outside two, and the most rigid economy as regards food, he can make his small pension suffice for the needs of himself and his family.

The Anglo-Indian of the present day comes home with the knowledge that there is still a good lot of grit in him ; and with that capacity for work and the varied experience of his past life, he feels sure he will get something to do to eke out his means, and prevent himself from feeling that he is laid on the shelf, a broken vessel only to wait patiently

for the final crack of doom. The sooner he gets rid of this vain hope and braces himself to face the inevitable, the better. Not five per cent. of the men who come home can get work in England. If they have been fortunate enough to get a handle to their names or even a modest C.I.E. they might get a Directorship or two on concerns more or less shaky, but nothing that would satisfy such ambitions as they have been buoyed up with during their official lives. No; they must be content to live in Town and frequent their Clubs, or bury themselves in the country and take to gardening diversified by an occasional local or parochial board meeting, or a penny reading in the parish school-room; and as garrulous old age creeps on they will try and engraft the wisdom of the East on the self-sufficient West, regardless of the fact that relentless Fate has branded "*Fui*" on their brows. If the prospect is thus unpleasantly drawn for the man, what shall we say for his wife and his daughters? His sons go forth, like young and lusty eagles from the nest, to battle with the world; but the change to a life of comparative penury is more keenly felt by the gentler sex; and still more the loss of the life of pleasant sociability which prevails in India. The wife misses the ease of Indian housekeeping and the carriage at her command. The girls look back to their riding horses and the gaieties of the Viceregal or Gubernatorial Palaces. It is altogether a come down in the world. They would not mind it so much if the let down were a little easier, if there were a few more comforts and a little more sociability other than working Guilds and Mothers' meetings. Girls who can hold their own in playful repartee with war-worn Generals and lordly Governors are not likely to drop into the mild adoration of an unmarried vicar, or his beardless curates. Very naughty of them, no doubt, but as a rule they prefer red coats to black. Therefore the feminine inclination is a powerful factor in the Anglo-Indian's domestic life in this country. Then the question arises "What shall we do? stay or go? and if the

latter, then where to?" In the solution of this question a good deal depends on the father of the family. If he be a man of physical and mental energy, with a wish to yet achieve something more before he descends to the grave "unhonoured and unsung," then by all means let him go to the Colonies, especially if he can command a few hundred pounds. With the latter he might, I do not say he would, gain a fortune before he joined the majority; or by entering the political arena, he might gain those honours which his Indian career has denied him.

We have to consider the question of the man who feels that he has done enough for himself, and has no further ambition; who wants a restful *dolce far niente* life, with a *shikari* to carry his gun for him when he goes out shooting, and a bearer to pull off his boots for him when he returns tired; whose soul yearns not after theatres and clubs. For him there is no better place than an Indian hill station. I leave the ladies of his house out of the question at present, for I take it for granted that they would approve. They toil not, neither in these days do they spin, but here they sigh for the dear delightful old *Derzie*,—that feminine mechanical engineer with his "leetle ishlope" and his "fals hame"—so cleverly described by E. H. A. Life in a pretty little bungalow in the Hills, embowered in jessamine and honeysuckle, and gay with roses, geraniums and fuchsias, with a view stretching away to the eternal snows, and the ponies being brought up to be fed and old Ramzan *derzie* stitching away at a delicate Ball dress, is a pleasant picture: so the young ladies would vote for it at once. Papa can have a little shooting and fishing, and his whist with the old fogies at the club; *et vive la bagatelle!*

We grant you that the climate is as good and in some cases better than that of England, but now as to expense?

What can you get for your money in India as compared with England? I will take a typical household for a retired Indian officer, based on an income of £500 a year; those who have more can of course enlarge the field of

their comforts and pleasures. It is an axiom that house rent should not exceed one-sixth of your income ; but it is difficult to get any house, say of ten rooms, for less than £100 a year including taxes, especially in the vicinity of London ;—you might in the country miles away from civilization, but then you would probably have to keep a carriage of some sort, and your occasional visits to London would cost five times as much. Living you may put down at a pound a day, and the wages of two servants, a cook and a housemaid, will absorb the rest of your £500 ; so you must make food, clothing, education, doctor's bills, etc., come out of that one pound a day ; and if you can do so you will find very little left for amusements. However, how far will 5,000 rupees a year go in India ? Say Rs. 416 a month at Ootacamund.

An unfurnished house on lease should cost about Rs. 75 a month. Servants comprising Cook, Butler, Mate, Boy, Washerman, Tailor, Ayah, Sweeper, 2 Syces, or horse-keepers as they are called in Madras, 2 gardeners and a water carrier—106 Rs. a month. Food at Rs. 5 a day, Rs. 150 a month ; total Rs. 331 or 3,972 Rs. a year ; or Rs. 1,028 saved for other expenses out of your income of 5,000 Rs. For this you get a better table as regards variety and better attendance.

It may be said that my estimate of £1 per diem is too much, and Rs. 5 per diem is too little. I only quote my own experience, and can state that we lived with greater comfort on the Ootacamund scale than we do in England, where meat and all other necessities of life are so much dearer. Another item which I have omitted is one which I find all tenants, at any rate in my locality, have to incur ; viz., repairs to house, and you may put down £10 a year at least under this head. In India the landlord usually undertakes to keep the house in habitable order. In England it is out of the question to keep any sort of conveyance on £500 a year, in the Indian estimate I have provided for 2 horses.

Now as to the social advantages. However well connected a man may be he cannot, if he be a married man with daughters, keep up, in England, on limited means, the life of sociability he led in India. At any of the Presidency towns, or at Hill stations which form the summer retreat of the various Governments, the hospitalities dispensed by the governors and the leading members of the official and mercantile classes, supplemented by private and subscription parties, form a round of gaiety only to be equalled here by a London Season, the full enjoyments of which are beyond the purse of the retired Anglo-Indian.

Now I come to a question of vital import to the Anglo-Indian settler—the bringing up and educating of his children. As a mere matter of education, knowledge can be imparted as well in India as elsewhere; and with the need would arise schools at the hill stations suitable for children of gentle birth and breeding, though I am still of opinion that parents would do well to send boys home at all events for a finishing. With girls it is different, either home education under a governess, or at schools of a high class, and with music and other masters who would be attracted by growing needs, girls can be brought up with the refinements and accomplishments due to their station. As regards the pernicious influences of native servants, it would be the parents' own fault if their children were left to such influences, though, as far as I can judge from what I hear, the English nursemaid is not all that is desirable. My own daughters spent much of their lives in India, as we never separated from our children; yet they were so little in contact with native servants that they never fully acquired a knowledge of the language,—that is, they knew enough to give orders, but not to speak it as Indian children do. It is therefore quite feasible to bring up children without letting them become "little natives."

Then the next point for consideration is, Which are the best hill stations to settle in? To this I unhesitatingly say those of Southern India. In the north the winters are a

decided drawback. You do not want a place where you must either make a move down hill for the cold weather, or put up with deep snow and Siberian ways. In Murree the water is bad and the place is subject to epidemics; Dalhousie is beautiful,—to my mind it comes next to Darjeeling in beauty,—but it is dull. Mussoorie is a more cheerful place; and Simla is, of course, the most gay but also the most expensive. Of Nynsee Tal I know nothing; it has lived down the scare of the great landslip of a dozen years ago, and it has the beauty of a lake to add to its mountain scenery. Darjeeling is the Queen of the Himalayan stations, but it is a Queen often in tears. And all these stations have the drawback of monotonous roads; you must keep to these; or, if you deviate from them, you must scramble. Carriages cannot be used. Now in Southern India the stations are situated on undulating plateaux, about the same level above the sea as the others: viz., from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, with a climate superior inasmuch as snow is unknown in the winter. You can drive a four-in-hand along pretty English-looking roads bounded by hedges of roses and clematis, or gallop your horse over breezy downs. I speak more particularly of Ootacamund; but the more modern station of Kodai Kanal, in the Pulney hills, is preferred by some. It is also on a plateau of similar elevation, and has the benefit of a gravel soil which soon dries after a fall of rain; but I cannot speak of it from personal experience. It is a newer place and much quieter than Ooty; but those of our Madras friends who went there spoke of it in the highest terms of praise, preferring the Pulneys to the Nilgherries. Ootacamund, however, offers better social advantages. Being the seat of Government in the summer, there is more going on, and there are a Club, Library, Gymkhana, Assembly-room, and the sociability consequent on a large circle of residents, permanent and temporary. There are also excellent shops.

For the old *shikari* who is loth to lay by his rifle, there is still plenty of large game within a short distance. A

friend of mine not many years ago came across three tigers at once, and accounted for two of them. The lamentable death of the Madras Commander-in-chief, Sir James Dormer, but a few weeks ago from the attack of a wounded tiger, proves that there are still tigers to be had within an easy distance of the station. I have just heard of three being killed within the last two months. There are also *Sambar* and wild pig; and further off in the Koondahs may be found the Nilgherry goat, or Ibex as it is sometimes called. The fishing is poor. Attempts have been made to improve it, and trout have been imported; but with indifferent success as yet. There is a pack of hounds; and very good runs are to be had after jackals. So, on the whole, life can be spent very pleasantly at Ooty; but there is little work to be done by the retired official. Tea and coffee planting affords an outlet for capital, but all the available ground near the station has, I fancy, been taken up. The latest idea when I was at Ooty, four years ago, was planting Blue Gum for firewood—the *Eucalyptus globulus* takes very kindly to the Nilgherries; and since its introduction the hills have been quite forested by it. It grows rapidly and without much care, and is profitable for fuel.

For those who would find Ooty too bracing, the station of Coonoor, 12 miles lower down, would be more suitable. The military station of Wellington is close by; there are about 80 houses in the place; and if there be anything special going on at Ooty, it is easy to run up. The road is good, and there are the mail *tongas* in addition to private means of locomotion; and in time to come, there may be a railway. The Shevaroy's are much lower than the Nilgherries, being only about 4,500 feet. Yercaud is a very pretty little station situated in the midst of orange groves and coffee gardens—especially the latter. Coffee is the mainstay of the place, and I do not know of any pleasanter life than that of a coffee-planter at Yercaud and in its neighbourhood. The approach to it is bad: visitors must either ride or be carried up in chairs; but once on the top,

the roads are good enough for driving. The climate is very pleasant. We were there in October, and the temperature was about that of summer in England. It is healthy from June to February ; but from March to May it has a reputation for fever ; from which native servants especially suffer then. The arrangements for drinking water might be improved ; and there is room for much improvement in other ways. Bread is brought up from Salem ; and clothes are sent down to be washed there, which is objectionable, for the Salem water is anything but good. We had our bread sent up from Madras ; and as for washing, it appeared to me that there was an ample supply of water on the Yercaud plateau. There is a very pretty lake close to the station, besides a large reservoir in the place. The public buildings consist of a well stocked little Reading-room, a Church, Dispensary, Post-office and one or two stores. The place is very quiet ; living is cheap ; and excellent meat is brought round daily to the various houses by local butchers. But I would hardly recommend anyone to settle there unless with a view to coffee-planting or some kindred industry.

I may sum up by saying that Simla if he does not mind the rigours of the winter, or Ootacamund for all the year round enjoyment, would give the retired Anglo-Indian more for his money than Bayswater or Bath ; but if he have a little energy left for a new life in a new country, and especially if he have a little capital, and does not mind risking it, let him get the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, dated 14th April 1893, and read Sir Edward Braddon's able and exhaustive paper on the subject of Australasia as a Field for Anglo-Indian colonization, remembering that the author's long Indian experience gives double weight to his arguments, especially as regards Tasmania, which he so worthily represents in this country.

THE ORIENTAL WEATHER IN ENGLAND.

IN

THE YEAR OF CENTURIES, 1893.

BY PANDIT INDRAVARMA SARASWATI.

1. The celestial Court of Indra and Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning, wreathed in smiles and decked with flowers, have transported their abode this year to England. Dropping her dark robe of rain and storm, the garb of conquest, She has been crowned, in peaceful possession, by Surya, the Sun. Thus has the West become a dependency of the East and his rays have revealed, bathed in light, the home of the Empire of the World.

2. In the wake of the Deities, whom I invoke, have come Indian Rajas and Warriors, to celebrate the opening of their domicile, the Imperial Institute, which, watered by the liberality of our Princes, has been endowed with life under the radiance of the Great Queen and of Her illustrious Son, on whom our eyes had already rested in India in loyal love. O Indra, Lord of the East, of Air and Climate, visit often Thy new domain, for England requires the glow of our hearts and India the clouds that conceal Thee, so as the more to welcome Thy return, but leave not behind Thy companion (the Goddess of Learning) who, although not fickle like Lakshmi (the Goddess of Fortune), seems to prefer her present home !

3. When England is contented, the world is safe. Long may Thy epithet be Thy name "O Merry England !" Shine on, glorious Surya, and when Thy ardour is consuming, let Indra refresh our devotion with the reproach of gentle rain, but the dews of ages are still keeping the ground in freshness and Disease is hiding before Thy heat. The astonished birds are singing at all hours, without being molested, and man himself sings, enjoying life for itself, instead of its delusions.

4. The dark iron has conquered the yellow gold and gold has acquired the white diamond of learning. The TAMO-GUN (love of strong liquor, beef and slaughter) gives way to the RAJO-GUN (qualities of a ruler, courage, loyalty, etc.) of the Yavana Kshatryas, the English, who conquered India, but under her benign warmth have developed the SATWA-GUN (intellectual and moral qualities) of the Brahmin, the worshipper of Light whose colour is white. May cloudless knowledge ever guide the councils of this Empire !

5. In all countries the yellow peasant and the dark grain-dealer complain of the weather in order to raise their prices ; but in England the heat has not dried up the food of man. The red Raja and the white Brahmin love the country, but the labourer and trader prefer the town, the devourer of life. Out of its fogs emerge the men of prey who, cold and hungry, destroy Worlds for food and raiment. Their knowledge is that of the lightning which shows false paths in the surrounding

darkness. O fertilizing river-goddess, Saraswati, may the peasant, not depending on rain, irrigate his soil and, worshipping its cultivation, derive from it boundless wealth and wisdom with health and happiness, which are not found in the devastation of foreign lands !

6. Indra did not announce his coming, for mighty monarchs do not boast of intended triumphs. Our ancient sages had predicted great changes of climate before the approaching new Cycle in the present Kaliyug, but who respects Indian wisdom in this age? Who understands animals, plants and stones as announcers of seasons? Not a single watcher of weather in Europe foretold the advent of constant sunshine, chaser of sin ; some feared an impending period of ice and gloom, emblems of the North. May such fears never be fulfilled, and may the science of extermination make way for that of giving happiness to all living things !

7. The Rain of Albion, the tutelar Spirit of this realm, paid his obeisance to Her Majesty on the 20th June. This was the day on which 57 years ago She ascended the Throne. Having fulfilled his duty, he again made way for Surya, as this is "The Year of Centuries,"* like which there is none in the annals of England. Let plenteous showers, falling at night, reconcile this country to the Sun ! O Indra and Saraswati, having concluded your visit to your sister, the Empress and mother of her subjects, do not forget your home of everlasting light and learning, for your Kingdom is now dual and the East and West are twins !

* We believe that this felicitous term was first used by the *Times* in a Report that, for continuity of fine weather hitherto, the current year was unsurpassed in the record of England.—ED.

“YAMATO DAMASHI-Ī,”

THE SPIRIT OF OLD JAPAN.*

BY ARTHUR DIÓSY,

Honorary Secretary of the Japan Society, London.

THERE is a charm, peculiar to the fascinating study of Japan-lore, which is difficult to define, but which must be felt by every enquirer seeking after knowledge of the Far East.

To various students this charm appeals in various forms. To the artist it seems to lie in the artistic spirit permeating everything Japanese; to the soldier, in the heroic deeds of knightly valour recorded on every page of Japanese history; to the historian and the ethnographer, in the development of a marvellously complete civilisation, so different from ours.

If we enquire more closely into the nature of this charm, we find that in every manifestation of Japanese national life, prior to the Restoration of the Imperial Power in 1868, there breathes a spirit distinctly Japanese, a spirit which, at times, like a rushing wind, bears the war-songs of heroes, telling of danger and of glory;—at other seasons, like a gentle evening breeze, sighs through the Cryptomerias and bears lays of good men’s deeds wrought in days of peace.

This is the true “Yamato Damashi-ī,” the Spirit of old Japan. It is a subtle spirit, this “Yamato Damashi-ī,” so Protean in its manifestations that even native Japanese scholars, fond as they are of philosophically minute definitions, have refrained from expressing its nature in precise terms. It has been left to a Japanese poet of the 17th century, MOTOORI Nobunaga, to attempt a description of the Spirit of old Japan in the beautiful verse known to every Japanese man, woman and child :

* A paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists on September 4, 1891.

“ Shiki-Shima-no
 Yamato-gokoro-wo
 Hito to-aba,
 Asa-hi-niniwo
 Yama-zakura-bana ! ”

“ Should anyone enquire, What is the Spirit of Japan ? It is as the scent of the wild cherry-blossom in the dawn of the rising sun ! ”

These lines, generally accepted throughout Japan as a definition of the national spirit, express at once its subtle nature and the veneration felt for it ; for what picture could appeal more strongly to the Japanese heart than that, so often reproduced by native artists, of the wild cherry-tree, glorious in its clothing of delicate blossoms, gleaming in the rosy light of dawn in the Land of the Rising Sun ?

To us, non-Japanese students of Japan, this poetical description, however beautiful, is hardly satisfactory. We want to know more of the spirit which caused Japan, in the remote past, to develop one of the most marvellous civilisations the world has ever seen, the spirit which, within the memory of young men, has produced a revolution, political and social, to which history shows no parallel and the consequences of which may yet affect the destinies of teeming millions even beyond the borders of the Mikado's Empire. Let us, then, see in what manner this spirit manifests itself in Japanese history, from the earliest legendary periods down to the present time, so that we may attempt to ascertain its nature, its origin and its effects in the past, and thus estimate its probable consequences in the future. In selecting from the multitude of instances, teeming in Japanese history, of the working of this spirit, care must be taken to eliminate cases of ordinary patriotism, such as are found in the story of any people, and acts of mere gallantry in action, such as are accomplished in every war and of which the warriors of no nation can claim a monopoly. We must rather seek out those instances which are looked upon by the Japanese themselves as typically inspired by feelings which they especially venerate as being very noble and truly Japanese. The study of these examples may lead us

to a knowledge of that grand old "Yamato Damashi-i" which has made Japan what it was in the past, what it is now, and what it will be in the future. No particular class of the Japanese nation can lay claim to the exclusive possession of this national spirit, nor is it confined to any one period. We find it exemplified from the very beginning of the life of the Japanese as a nation, from the time when the followers of JIMMU Tennō were conquering the land and partly destroying, partly assimilating, partly driving its Aino inhabitants northward. That no class had a monopoly of the "Yamato Damashi-i" is best proved by the varied nature of the instances of its possession cited in Japanese legend and history, and held up as examples to Japanese youth through a long course of centuries. The names of Emperors and Empresses, Ministers, Councillors of State, Warriors, and Sages, but also those of poor students, humble retainers, simple farmers, and even craftsmen, have been handed down from generation to generation as household words, associated with narratives of the great deeds by which they proved their "Yamato Damashi-i." The majority of instances are, as is only to be expected, feats of gallantry, performed against terrible odds, in the course of the centuries of warfare through which Japan has passed; but these are less worthy of our attention, because the story of many other nations is a continuous record of brave acts and "deeds of derring-do." What is peculiarly Japanese is the prominence given, in the glorious roll of Japanese national heroes and heroines, to those whose merit lay in their self-abnegation, and devotion to the public weal, to those who suffered for others, whose love for their fellows or whose loyalty to their liege lords was stronger than the love of life.

Public spirit has always been held in the highest esteem by the Japanese, and especially when it has been shown by those in high places. No words can adequately express the veneration with which they speak the name of a good Emperor, of a Lord who was mindful of the lowly. There is no story related of a Japanese Emperor dearer to the

Japanese heart than the tale of the Emperor Nintoku (A.D. 316), enshrined in their national poem "*Takaki Ya-ni*," lately so delightfully rendered into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold.* Nintoku Tennō showed his "*Yamato Damashi-i*" not by deeds of valour against wild Aino or Korean warriors, not in desperate combats with native rebels, but by his love for the poorest of his subjects. Gallant Henry IV. of France wanted every man in his kingdom to have "a fowl in the pot." Nintoku went further, he actually enabled his people to live by stinting himself and his court and remitting a great part of the taxation. The rain came through the roof of his Palace of Takatsu-no-Miya at Naniwa, his clothes were sorely the worse for wear, but the great and good monarch as he saw the blue smoke curl up from many a hearth was happy, saying to the Empress who had rebuked him for their poverty:—

. "Thou and I
Have part in all the poor folk's health,
The People's weal makes the King's wealth!"

Another manifestation of the "*Yamato Damashi-i*," quite distinct from military prowess, is connected with the cheerful sacrifice of life for the weal of others, a species of altruism so common in Japanese history that it greatly facilitates the understanding by Japanese of the doctrine of substitutory sacrifice which renders Christian dogma so difficult of comprehension by some races. The example probably best known to every Japanese is that of the wise Councillor KUSU-NO-KI Masashige, who committed suicide in order to impress the Emperor Go-dai-Go (A.D. 1319-1338) with a sense of the iniquity of his policy, from which he found it impossible to dissuade him by sage advice. Only in Japan could a Minister have thought of such an extreme protest; only in Japan could he rely upon its efficacy. The Emperor took the silent lesson to heart, and

* Sir Edwin Arnold, "The Emperor's Breakfast." In "Pictures of Ancient Japanese History" (Part I.), by T. H. Asso, Chief Inspector of Machinery, Imperial Japanese Navy. Tōkio, Maruya and Co., 1890.

reformed his ways. The name of KUSU-NO-KI Masashige was handed down to posterity as that of a national hero, the Imperial Government ordering, to honour his memory, that no camphor-tree ("Kusu-no-Ki") should be cut down in all Japan for the space of thirty years. A truly wise decree; for, besides enabling the Government to indulge in that play upon words so dear to Japanese, it saved one of the sources of national wealth from utter destruction, as, in those days, owing to reckless disafforestation, the camphor-trees were disappearing from Japan. Many an apparently arbitrary edict of the Japanese rulers of olden time shows, on close examination, evidence of similar shrewd policy.

There are some instances of self-sacrifice, of devotion, of wonderful singleness of purpose and fortitude, which are capable of rousing to the warmest enthusiasm even the modern Japanese, with his disregard for the ways of his forefathers—a disregard which is wholly assumed, a mere superficial affectation. Every Japanese, however well he may disguise himself as a graduate of Oxford or of Cambridge, of Harvard or of Berlin, feels his pulses beat faster when he reads of the noble death on the cross of that martyr in the people's cause, Sōgorō, the Farmer, Chief of Iwahashi village, who, in the first half of the 17th century, laid down his life and the lives of all most dear to him, (they were tortured before his eyes,) for the good of his fellow-peasants, on whose behalf he had petitioned the Shōgun for the abolition of unjust taxes.

The modern Japanese, clad in Savile Row clothes and shod with Bond Street boots, yet feels his heart beat high at the mention of the famous BANDZUIN-NO Chōbei, the brave Master of the Tradesmen's Guild or Brotherhood, of Yedo, who, in the 17th century, died a terrible death, pierced by spears in a scalding bath, for his noble devotion to the cause of his fellow-craftsmen, loyal to the last to his "*Otokodate*," his Guild of Brotherhood.

There is no Japanese, however "modernised," however much imbued with the new learning of the West, who does

not feel moved to his very heart-strings when he sees enacted by the admirable actors of Japan the touching true story of the "*Chiu-shin-Gura*," the "Store-house of Loyalty." What that drama represents is known to every student of Japan, and, thanks to Western scholars, its plot, the "Story of the Forty-Seven Rōnin," has been read with emotion and admiration by thousands of Europeans and Americans. There is no finer example of Japanese loyalty, tenacity of purpose, devotion, calm courage and contempt for death than the story of the Noble Forty-Seven and of the Satsuma Man.

From the few examples just cited it becomes apparent that the Japanese include under the term "Yamato Damashi-i" much more than what we imply by the word "Patriotism." "Yamato Damashi-i" embraces also the idea of loyalty, both in its wider sense, in its relation to the sovereign, and in its narrower meaning of devotion to a feudal lord, to a beloved chief, to one "whose rice they had eaten," (as the Forty-Seven Rōnin said in their pathetic "Statement of Motives,") to a clan, a village, to one's companions in misfortune, to one's brethren in a League or a Guild.

Many Europeans, and some Americans, especially residents in the Treaty Ports of Japan, have curtly defined "Yamato Damashi-i" as fanaticism, or, at the very least, an exaggerated national pride, a sort of rampant Japanese "Chauvinism," a feeling to be discouraged by all non-Japanese and sternly repressed by the ubiquitous man-of-war, the thunder of whose guns is, quite erroneously, supposed to have opened Japan to modern enlightenment.

This is not a true conception of "Yamato Damashi-i." It is the view of people judging only from isolated cases of anti-foreign outrages, caused, nine times out of ten, by private revenge or by feelings of resentment at real or, more often, fancied insults to the national honour. It is as false as the aforesaid idea that the bombardments of Shimono-seki and of Kagoshima heralded the dawn of New

Japan, whereas the Land of the Rising Sun had long been ripening for the Great Change to its new civilization, for which the way had been prepared by the labours of obscure martyrs, of peaceful heroes like YOSHIDA Shōin and many others, who gave up their lives in their noble quest of knowledge, their brave hearts filled with the true "Yamato Damashi-i."

Every student throughout the world must bow with respectful admiration when he hears the pathetic tale of that pioneer of the New Learning who toiled for seven long years at the composition of a Dictionary, or rather a Vocabulary, of the Japanese, English and Dutch languages, obtaining his knowledge of the two latter tongues from occasional conversations with the few British, American and Dutch seamen at that time landing in Japan. One cold winter's night he had pored so late over the pages of his recently-completed work, that sleep overcame him. His tired head sank upon his breast and he slept until the biting, frosty morning air, stealing through the cracks of the paper walls of his humble abode, roused him, only to find the fruit of his seven years of arduous work, his beloved Dictionary, lying, reduced to ashes, in the "*Hibachi*" (the "brasero" or fire-bowl, the Japanese substitute for a fire-place) into which his weary hands had dropped it in his sleep. For a moment the stout heart may have been dismayed and a thought of self-immolation, of "*Seppuku*" performed with traditional solemnity, may have flashed across his mind; but, filled with true "Yamato Damashi-i," he was not to be turned back from his set purpose; and, with a deep sigh, the modest hero set to work and toiled for three years more, until he had re-written the whole of his tri-lingual Dictionary *from memory*!

This happened nearly thirty-five years ago and the question naturally arises, whether such instances of the Spirit of Old Japan may still be found in our day? The answer must certainly be affirmative, for we have only to turn to the columns of the "Times" of the 1st of

September of the year of Grace, 1891, to find, in an admirable letter from its Tōkio correspondent, an instance of Japanese perseverance and devotion to the common weal worthy of being cited in the glorious roll of deeds inspired by the "*Yamato Damashi-i*." It relates how a certain MINAMOTO Kōki, a poor man residing in Tōkio, has succeeded, after twelve years of unremitting toil, in adapting Pitman's phonetic system of Stenography to the Japanese language; so that the official reports of the debates in the Japanese Parliament, noted in shorthand by Minamoto's pupils, are published "*verbatim*," (and more accurately than those of any other Assembly in the world) appearing in the "*Official Gazette*" on the morrow of the proceedings. This is an important achievement, truly; but the "*Times*" correspondent goes on to state that MINAMOTO Kōki has refused all offers of rewards or honours, even declining the post of Director of the Reporting Staff of the Japanese Houses of Parliament, for which he recommended one of his pupils. "He has worked for Japan: his work has been successful, and he is satisfied."

With such a recent instance before us, we can say with certainty that the "*Yamato Damashi-i*" is still a living force in Japan. In spite of appearances which would seem to indicate that the Japanese national character is being ground down to the level of the every-day life of the West, with its sordid greed, its petty jealousies and humdrum monotony, there still burns in Japanese hearts the bright flame of the Old Spirit. "*Yamato Damashi-i*" has adapted itself to the new order of things with true Japanese versatility, but it still maintains its hold on Japanese hearts and minds. What it has done for Japan in the past it will do again in the future.

May it continue to flourish as long as "the Wild Cherry-Blossom smells sweetly in the Dawn of the Rising Sun":

"Asa-hi-niniwo
Yama-zakura-bana!"

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(*Continued from Vol. V., page 448.*)

PALEY'S OPINION THAT THE CURRENT TEXT IS NOT THE ORIGINAL VERSION.

F. A. Paley, in his admirable Introduction to his edition of the Iliad, fully and intelligently discusses the subject, giving his adhesion to the Wolfian theory. He believes that the poems did not exist in their present form before Antimachus (156 B.C.) ;—that the collection of Pisistratus merely reduced to writing the floating myths and poems of the reciters, indicating that many must have existed which are not included in the present Homer ;—and that the tragedians and lyric poets profited of these, as a basis for their works. He raises, however, a difficulty in the consistent maintenance of the characteristics of the leading persons. This, however, is scarcely a difficulty ; since characteristics once impressed on popular heroes become typical, and, as a matter of course, are perpetuated by subsequent bards. The Odysseus and Ajax of Sophocles are identical with those of the Homeric poems, in which they had been shown in such bold relief that the public would never have tolerated any modification in which they could not clearly recognise their favourite heroes.

Paley, moreover, is of opinion, and rightly, that the present text is not the original version, even allowing it, during a series of ages, to have suffered modification with the advance of language and civilization. It is, therefore, presumable that the original texts of the lyrics or ballads were as different from the present text as this text is from the Ionic of Herodotus, and, still more, from the Attic of Demosthenes. Had the original diction been preserved it

would have been unintelligible even in the age of Pisistratus or Antimachus. In consequence of this revision it is impossible to say which parts were older and which later, for in revision, the older were modified, and the more recent made to correspond with the latest additions. This theory does not present any linguistic difficulty ; for Balzac has most successfully imitated the diction of Rabelais ; and it would not be difficult for a student of Chaucer to write a poem in his archaic English. The difficulty in reading Homer lies, not in the grammar or syntax, both of which are of the simplest, but in the vocabulary ;—in the use of obsolete words, and unusual compounds. These once surmounted, the text may be considered easy. There are but few words of doubtful meaning ; and even these are easily understood by a reference to the customs of the people, and to the Sanskrit language. The art of writing doubtless existed long prior to this time, even in a literary form ; but, limited more or less to inscriptions and the monumental records of events, it was not used for perpetuating folk-lore. It was confined to a special class, and was not current among the population at large. The process was too cumbersome, and instruction was too little advanced :—and hence it did not extend beyond the sphere just indicated, except in the rare instances of brief messages sent, by the *Ἀγγελος*, in cases of pressing need. This is all the more probable, if we suppose, as is here maintained, that the Greek language, though a means of general inter-communication, was not the vernacular of all those who employed it. Now folk-ballads are never in an adopted language. They are necessarily in “the tongue understood of the people,” which, in our case, was the current vernacular,—the Pelasgic. In process of time they would be rendered into the literary language,—a strong recognition of their intrinsic force and merit.

THE LANGUAGE DISCORDANT WITH THE MATTER.

Wassa Pasha very shrewdly remarked that it is difficult to suppose, on the one hand, that so barbarous a people as

are described in the Homeric Poems could possess a language so complete, composite and polished as Greek, and on the other, that a people possessed of a language testifying so high a state of culture could have been such barbarians and savages as are represented in the Homeric poems.

The Pelasgic race is admitted to have been most widely spread, extending over a greater area than any other, except its predecessor, the Gaelic people—which pushed more persistently, and by several routes, towards the West. The incursion of the second or Pelasgian wave was presumably one of the causes of this Gaelic exodus; for no other race is known to have intervened between the Gaels and the Pelasgians.

NO TRACE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE GREEK RACE.

The only question remaining for solution is the origin of the Greek race, if indeed theirs was an immigration at all analogous to the two preceding.

Sir James Redhouse assigns to the Greek race an origin in the Ural Mountains, and supposes that it gradually descended from the north-east at a very remote period of the world's history. Its Sanskrit descent is as certain as is that of its predecessors. It certainly cannot have been numerous, or traces of its passage would have survived. That it was anterior to the Pelasgi cannot be doubted; and since, as before remarked, there is no trace of an invasion in force, the only presumption remaining is the one already suggested, that it was originally composed of an inconsiderable number, which coming into the region of the eastern Mediterranean (possibly as traders, perhaps as invaders), drove out the previous race, whether Turanian or Iberian, and occupied the country, long before the historic era.

About the epoch commonly assigned to the Trojan War (1184 B.C.), nothing is recorded outside Egypt, on which, as before stated, the "Greeks" are mentioned as making an attack, in the 13th century B.C. But as *Γραικός* is the oldest denomination of the tribe subsequently called

Hellenes, it would rather seem that these invaders of Egypt were piratical Pelasgians, who afterwards acquired the denomination of Greeks, and not the older and Greek-speaking race.

THE HOMERIC POEMS ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN PELASGIC.

The mythical history of Troy is as follows: Originally a Pelasgic settlement by Tros, it was called Pergamos, and the city was named Ilion, after the eponymus, Ilos. Laomedon fortified it, with the aid of Apollo and Neptune; but shortly after, Hercules, irritated at the perfidy of Laomedon, took it (1314 B.C.), destroyed Laomedon, and placed on the throne the young Priamos, during whose reign the most renowned of sieges occurred.

The epoch of the fall of Troy is 1270 B.C. according to Herodotus;—the Parian Marbles place it B.C. 1209,—Eratosthenes, 1184 B.C.

		B.C.
Skammander is said to have reigned		1614
Teucer	„ „	1590
Dardanos	„ „	1568
Erickthonios	„ „	1537
Tros	„ „	1462
Ilos	„ „	1402
Laomedon	„ „	1347
Priamos	„ „	1311-1270

Mr. Gladstone fixes the date at 1545; but he does not give any basis for this view, except mere presumption. Both probability and monumental history certainly support an earlier date than 1184 B.C. Nevertheless, the date attributed to the poem may be approximately correct, if it be intended for that at which the Pelasgian bardic poems were first rendered into and recited in Greek. In the original Pelasgic they must be far more ancient; for it is quite inadmissible that this famous expedition was made and commemorated by other than Pelasgic tribes and Pelasgic bards; and it is perfectly clear that the Pelasgi neither

spoke Greek nor any language akin to it, though both they and the Greeks spoke a tongue allied to Sanskrit. This obvious consequence, though it escaped Mr. Gladstone or was tacitly ignored by him, had previously presented itself to Dr. Marsh, who met it in the only way in which it could be combated,—by the bold, though baseless, assertion, that Pelasgic and Greek were the same language !

Even at a period comparatively recent in the world's history, the inhabitants of the Pelasgic area still preserved the tribal or patriarchal system ; nor are they mentioned otherwise than by local designations. The only generic term was Pelasgi : otherwise they were spoken of as Achaians, Argives, Danai, Myrmidones, etc.—more usually by the first of these names. This style of nomenclature continued till the destruction of the two leading communities,—Athens and Lacedaemon. Nay, it survived much longer ; and no generic term was invented, till the formation of the modern kingdom of Greece : even then two Pelasgic words had to be sought, to define the country and the subjects of the newly-created sovereign,—Hellas and Hellenes.

The Homeric poem gives the forces on both sides. The Besiegers enumerated would be a vast host in even our modern age of “big battalions.” No such host as theirs is recorded in ancient times, though later on we find that Darius I. lost 206,000 men in the Marathon expedition—that Darius III. (B.C. 483) met Alexander the Great with 600,000—that Artaxerxes led 900,000 against Cyrus II.—and lastly that Xerxes’ army numbered 5,283,220 men. Yet at that early date, the expedition against Troy numbered, with its allies, at least 100,810 men—an enormous host to be transported by sea, and a large percentage of the population of a not very extensive area. Yet we must remember that every adult (as now, too, in semi-barbarous nations) bore arms ; for war was considered the chief occupation of men. Agriculture was held only as subsidiary, to feed and maintain the warrior class in a state of efficiency ; and

hence in time of war, it was left to the youths, the women and the aged men.

The more remote the date of the Trojan war is fixed, the less possible it is that it could have been carried out by Greeks. Even at the commonly received date (B.C. 1184), the race subsequently called Greek—*i.e.*, a race other than Pelasgian and speaking a non-Pelasgic tongue—was not then paramount in the countries whence the allies came. Designated for the most part from the localities whence they came, they are in many cases expressly stated to be Pelasgians. Hence, and from the fact already shown that the Pelasgi spoke neither Greek nor any language akin to Greek, it follows that the host was Pelasgic and not Greek.

Semitic writers make no mention of the Greek race, beyond that Yavan* was said to be its eponymus, though Yavan more probably means Pelasgic than Greek. Phœnicians are mentioned as employed by Solomon (B.C. 1000); but his chroniclers allude to neither Pelasgians nor Greeks. The Pelasgians may have been omitted because they were pirates, and not traders like the Phœnicians,—who, however, were not quite innocent of piracy and kidnapping. But this does not apply to the Greeks, and will not account for their omission, for they were given to commercial pursuits, which they eventually introduced among the Pelasgians.

We may, therefore, assume that the Greek immigration, whatever its form, was long anterior to B.C. 1184,—probably even to B.C. 1500. Even if it happened some considerable but not very long time before the siege, it is difficult to suppose that the race could have become sufficiently numerous to have sent out over 100,000 warriors by sea.†

* Yavan (Iovan) is supposed to mean Ionian, but we have seen that Ionian meant not Greek, but Pelasgic.

† Such an exodus would, in the absence of the chiefs, have left the country open to attack from neighbouring tribes, or to anarchy at home. The latter actually did occur in several cases, notably in those of Agamemnon and Odysseus.

But if, as we suppose, the population was Pelasgic, such a levy would not be surprising for such a cause, in a nation already very numerous, as proved by their attack on Egypt in B.C. 1311.

We have seen that there is no generic term for the whole host; and where the people are not designated from their localities, they are indiscriminately called Achaians, Argives and Danaans.* If a generic term had had to be made purposely, it would naturally have been taken from the Commander-in-chief, Agamemnon, and Mykenian would have been used. That this was not done, is a strong presumptive proof that the poem was founded primarily on the Achilleid and secondarily on the Diomedeid, the names of the followers of these chiefs being those most frequently used for the whole army. Now all these tribes were purely Pelasgic. The Argives and Hellenes were from Thessaly, which continues a Pelasgian region down to the present time, and certainly never was Greek in the classic sense.

Achilles was accompanied, not only by Hellenes and Myrmidons, but also by Achaians. These latter, therefore, must, at that period, have inhabited Thessaly: Myrmidon will hereafter be seen to be the designation of an employment. The later Achaia was in the Peloponnese, on the south-west and north coast of the gulf of Corinth, part of which is now called Livadia, Patras being the principal town. This was the country of the Danaans. Whereas formerly Hellas and Achaia were synonymous, the later Achaia was formerly termed Aigialos, from having a considerable seaboard. Subsequently it obtained the name of

* To these three terms Mr. Gladstone for some unexplained reason adds Kephallenians. But these were only one of the minor tribes; for though Odysseus like Ajax brought 12 ships, they were not $\frac{1}{3}$ those of Agamemnon. Odysseus, moreover, ruled not only Samos (Kephallenia), Zakynthos and Ithaka, but also "those who peopled the Epeiros and dwelt on the opposite shores," then called Molossia, afterwards called Acarnania and now Epeiros or Albania. Epeiros in the Odyssey is in many places clearly "shore," for it is used of Kalypso's Island.

Ionia, and lastly of Achaia, from the Achaians, who drove out the Ionians and occupied the territory. The original Achaia was a region of Phthiotis around the capital town of Alos; but it was the later Achaia which conferred a name on the Achaian league of the 12 cities.

When the Greek tongue had become an acknowledged common medium, many of the Pelasgic local names were grecicized either by distortion of their Pelasgic designation, or by the imposition of one purely Greek.*

Now it is impossible that the bards who sang the deeds of the heroes should have done so in any but the vernacular. Their poems were eminently folk-ballads; and in point of education there was little if any difference between the two classes, of composers and hearers.

* Thus Gaelic names are travestied by the English.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 460).

XXIV.

WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE KÔLS.

BY A NATIVE.

Abridgment of Instructions by the Governor-General's Agent on the S. W. Frontier, to the Assistant Agent, in 1837.

* * * * *

9. Hitherto this wild class (Kôls*) on losing any property by theft, have repaired immediately to the village of the thief or thieves, accompanied by their brethren and friends, and thence driven off cattle without regard to whom they belonged. Reprisals followed, frequently causing bloodshed. This practice has already been strictly prohibited, but care must still be taken to repress it, and also to prevent individuals robbed from allowing the thieves to escape on receiving the value of the property stolen. A few punishments for such offences will prevent their frequent recurrence.

10. The murder of persons of both sexes under a persuasion that they have the power of destroying by witchcraft was a crime of most frequent occurrence before our occupation of the Kôl country. On this subject, I have failed to remove even from the most intelligent Kôls the conviction that some persons do possess the power of destroying whom they please. • While this conviction continues, the fear of punishment will not wholly deter these ignorant people from committing murder. We must try to remove the dreadful prejudice, gradually, and by education. Meanwhile I have tried to save the lives of the suspected by warning the heads of villages, that whoever commits murder

* The Kôls are an aboriginal tribe. Compare this practice with the cattle-raids of the extreme South, described at Vol. V., page 460 *et seq.*

believing thereby to destroy the witchcraft, will be severely and even capitally punished ; and that on their application, we will cause to be removed, with his property, any person whom a majority of the villagers believes to possess such a power, to another village where the same prejudice does not exist against him.

11. Some may think this unjust and hard ; but while the conviction remains of the existence of such a power, it seems to me the only presently available plan to save the lives of persons suspected of it ; for the Kôls argue that if the witch or wizard remains among them, their destruction is certain, and can be avoided only by getting rid of the person. This belief is so universal that severe measures against it might cause disturbances. Hence, till further orders, you will please to act as I have directed.

12. Besides pointing out continually the folly and wickedness of this practice, much might be done to remove the belief, by inducing the people to bring their sick in your neighbourhood for treatment by the medical officer in a hospital to be established at a small expense by the Government, with a small increase of the doctor's salary. Numerous cures thus effected of sicknesses supposed to have been caused by sorcery, would in time overcome a conviction so fatal in its consequences.

13. The Kôls generally believe that all their sickness proceeds from these causes : 1st Witchcraft, 2nd the displeasure of their *Devatas* or *Bongas*, and 3rd the Spirit of someone who has died. Against witchcraft, nothing, in their opinion, avails but the removal of the witch or wizard ; hence many are unfortunately murdered each year. When sickness is caused by the *Bonga*, it is appeased by sacrifices rising from fowls to goats, bullocks and buffaloes, causing much waste and frequently leading those who have no animals of the kind required, to procure them by theft. More than one case has already come before me, of the thief pleading the sickness of a child as an excuse for the theft of the necessary sacrifice to the *Bonga*. Such persons

finding relief by medicine will cease to hold the *Bonga* as its cause. The spirit of a dead person afflicts only with the same disease as itself died of, and for this the Kôls seem to have no remedy.

14. Many Kôls who have benefited from medicines which I have given them continually apply for it. Hence my hope of destroying their baneful belief in witchcraft, by establishing a Hospital, especially if its medical officer take a personal interest in its success.

XXV.

WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA.

[Sir W. Elliot follows the note on Witchcraft among the Kôls, by the following extract from the *Delhi Gazette* of the 8th November 1851. Our knowledge of Africa is rapidly being extended; but this note on the customs of the Zulu and Amakosa tribes of S. Africa, 40 years ago, is still of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction.—R. S.] (It is slightly abridged.)

“The following account of the system of witchcraft, which prevails among the Zulu and Amakosa Kafirs, is given in the appendix to a pamphlet by ‘Veritas’ on the ‘Kafir Labour Question,’ just published at Natal :

“Witchcraft is now known only by name to the Englishman; and recounting some of its stories in bygone days, sometimes gives interest to the social circle. But among the Kafirs of Natal and the adjacent countries, witchcraft is still one of the most elaborate systems of terror and suffering which fallen humanity ever invented. Among Kafirs it is accompanied with secret poisoning on a large scale. Nearly every Kafir Kraal has its poison-maker whose business it is to experiment with herbs, roots, etc., and to extract poison from serpents, for producing by skilful combination the most effectual poison, and devising the best mode for administering it with the least probability of detection. With them in poisoning, as with us in medicine, he who can produce the best, becomes the most celebrated and does the best trade. A short time ago the most celebrated in Pietermaritzburg was a young man—the

servant of a white man. No one can be certain that his servant is not engaged in this traffic ; but as Kafirs do not try to injure white men thus, the statement need create no fear in any breast. But among the Kafirs themselves the knowledge of this fact produces constant suspicion and dread. Besides poisons causing immediate death they make ' Ubuti ' or bewitching matter, which they secretly use for producing sickness and death among cattle or in each other's families. Hence if death or any misfortune befalls a man, his family or his cattle, it is at once said that they are bewitched ; and some persons must be found out as having committed the offence. This brings into action and develops all the bad passions of the human heart,—jealousy, hatred, malice, revenge, covetousness. The victim selected as the author of the evil is generally a rival for a certain girl,—whom the one can only secure by removing the other,—or the owner of much cattle which his neighbours covet,—or one who has become obnoxious to some great person, etc. Hence arises a spirit of universal dread : any person one meets may be the secret cause of death to him or to those he loves best ; who under the guise of friendship, may with a smiling face administer the means of death. Hence it is usual for the host first to eat a part of the food he gives to his guest, as a proof that there is no poison in it ; nor would the guest partake of his host's bounty without such proof that his life was not in danger. This mark of friendly hospitality is not the most agreeable to an English stranger unacquainted with its reason.

“ This results in raising up a class called *Tsanuse*—witch-doctors,—devoted solely to the study of medicine and the practical detection of witches. They not only profess to cure diseases by medicines, but also to have a supernatural knowledge of the person, called *Umtakati*, who has caused the disease or occasioned death.

“ But not every one can be a *Tsanuse*—the aspirant must undergo a regular course of preparation. As our physicians

go through a course of study and rise by their own skill to eminence, so must the *Tsanuse* be a clever and sagacious youth, bent on his profession, so that his neighbours, seeing his exploits and wit, may point him out as likely to become a *Tsanuse*. This subject will not only occupy his thoughts by day but also fill his visions by night, and he will dream of wonderful things, especially wild beasts—lions, tigers, wolves, serpents. Serpents,—supposed to be possessed by the spirits of their forefathers and departed chiefs,—occupy a prominent place in the attention of the aspirant to the honour of being a *Tsanuse*. He proceeds to relate his dreams to his friends and neighbours; goes into fits; runs about shrieking; plunges into water; performs wonderful feats. His friends declare he is mad; and he speaks and acts as one under the influence of a supernatural being. He next catches live snakes (I suppose harmless ones), and hangs them about his neck, as a proof that there is something supernatural about him. With the snakes, and taking a goat, he goes to a *Tsanuse*. The goat he gives as a present to the doctor, to obtain instruction in the secrets of the profession, and the living serpents round his neck show that he is prepared for initiation into its mysteries. After a short stay here, he obtains a variety of medicines, strong-smelling roots called *Impepa*, besides some instructions. He then goes, with a cow or ox, to a still more celebrated *Tsanuse*, presenting the beast, to obtain further instruction. Here he obtains more medicines, roots, etc., and going home puts them in his house and hangs them about his body.

“His education is now considered sufficiently completed in both the art of medicine and the mysteries of witchcraft for him to practise by himself. The people say that he is changed—or is a new man—or has another spirit—using the same term *Ukutwasa* that is used for the change of the moon. Competent judges hold that *Tsanuse* are in contact with the devil, who by lying wonders and supernatural manifestations helps their infernal work. Be this as it

may, they possess astonishing penetration and make disclosures which hold the Kafir nation in the unwavering belief that the spirits of the departed tell them all that passes.

“The practice is as follows : At some kraal some one is suspected of being an ‘*Umtakati*’ and of having bewitched some person or the cattle. As stated, the suspected is usually a rich man, or there is some other motive for having him removed. The people of the kraal and neighbourhood where the *Umtakati* lives now resolve to go to the *Tsanuse*, who lives probably far away. All must go, including the person suspected,—refusal to go would be a proof of guilt. Meanwhile the *Tsanuse*, to whom they are going, gives mysterious indications, and without knowing the parties or whence they came, he usually foretells, as if omniscient, their approach, as it actually occurs.

“On their arrival, they sit down and salute him. The *Tsanuse* steps forward and requests them to beat the ground with their sticks. This is called *Ukubula* ; and while they do it, he repeatedly shouts ‘*Yezwa! yezwa!*’ (Here! here!). He then begins to tell them about the *Umtakati*, his name and father’s name, his abode, the crime committed, where it was done, etc. It is amazing that in nearly every particular he is correct ; and as he was before a perfect stranger to all the parties, they exclaim at once that he is a great *Tsanuse*, and that the spirit has given correct information.

“But if he should not succeed in discovering the *Umtakati* by the *Ukubula*, he places them all in a circle around himself, stating that the spirit will not speak without the dance, to which he must now proceed. He ties to all the joints of his body bundles of sticks and assegais, tails of beasts and skins of animals and serpents, fixing feathers of ravenous birds in his hair. He thus already looks the most like a fiend incarnate that can be conceived, so that the children and young people run away in the greatest fright. Thus prepared he enters, with incantations, upon his diabolical

dance. His eyes roll with infernal glare ; the motions of his body resemble those of the most terrible frenzy, every muscle and joint quivering with sympathetic expression. Even the men who went to witness the scene are aghast with horror while this terrific being conjures up the infernal spirit to obtain the requisite information. His victim is now pointed out ; and in nearly every case he indicates the *Umtakati*. Although the *Umtakati* may be perfectly innocent, he will probably confess at once. But if he maintains his innocence, the Amakosa Kafirs put him to the torture, to make him confess : hot stones are applied to his body, or he is laid down and covered with black ants or small scorpions, under the excruciating pain of whose bites the poor wretch confesses or dies ! But among the Zulus, if the right person is not fixed upon, they go to a more celebrated *Tsamuse* till they succeed. The *Umtakati* who confesses is, among the Amakosa, 'eaten up' - that is, all his cattle and property are seized by the chief and parties concerned, and he is expelled as an outcast and a vagabond upon the face of the earth. Among the Zulus, the *Umtakati* is killed, with his wife and children, and his property is seized, till not a vestige is left, and his name is blotted out utterly."

(*To be continued.*)

DARDISTAN.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

K.—LEGENDS RELATING TO ANIMALS.*

1.—A BEAR PLAYS WITH A CORPSE.

It is said that bears, as the winter is coming on, are in the habit of filling their dens with grass and that they eat a plant, called "ajali," which has a narcotic effect upon them and keeps them in a state of torpor during the winter. After three months, when the spring arrives, they awake and go about for food. One of these bears once scented a corpse which he disinterred. It happened to be that of a woman who had died a few days before. The bear, who was in good spirits, brought her to his den, where he set her upright against a stone and fashioning a spindle with his teeth and paws gave it to her into one hand and placed some wool into the other. He then went on growling "mû-mû-mû" to encourage the woman to spin. He also brought her some nuts and other provisions to eat. Of course, his efforts were useless, and when she after a few days gave signs of decomposition he ate her up in despair. This is a story based on the playful habits of the bear.

2.—A BEAR MOURNS A GIRL.

Another curious story is related of a bear. Two women, a mother and her little daughter, were one night watching their field of Indian corn "makai," against the inroads of these animals. The mother had to go to her house to prepare the food and ordered her daughter to light a fire outside. Whilst she was doing this a bear came and took her away. He carried her into his den, and daily brought her to eat and to drink. He rolled a big stone in front of the den, whenever he went away on his tours, which the girl was not strong enough to remove. When she became old enough to be able to do this he used daily to lick her feet, by which they became swollen and gradually dwindled down to mere misshapen stumps. The girl eventually died in childbirth, and the poor bear after vain efforts to restore her to life roamed disconsolately about the fields.

3.—ORIGIN OF BEARS.

It is said that bears were originally the offspring of a man who was driven into madness by his inability to pay his debts, and who took to the hills in order to avoid his creditors.†

4.—THE BEAR AND THE ONE-EYED MAN.

The following story was related by a man of the name of Ghalib Shah residing at a village near Astór, called Parishing. He was one night looking out whether any bear had come into his "tromba" field.‡ He

* These legends follow the series on page 310 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1892, and should be compared with the Chitral Fables published by Mihtar Nizám-ul-Mulk in the January number of 1891: "the vindictive fowl," "the golden mouse," "the mouse and the frog," "the quail and the fox." See also Legends in my Hunza-Nagyr Handbook.

† The scrupulousness of the Gipsies in discharging such obligations, when contracted with a member of the same race, used to be notorious. The Dôms or Rôms of the Shins are the "Romanys" of Europe and our "Zingari" is a corruption of "Sinkari" or inhabitants on the borders of the River or Sin=the (Upper) Indus.

‡ Tromba, to be made eatable, must be ground into flour, then boiled in water and

saw that a bear was there and that he with his forepaws alternately took a pawful of "tromba," blew the chaff away and ate hastily. The man was one-eyed [shéo = blind ; my Ghilgiti used "Kyor," which he said was a Persian word, but which is evidently Turkish] and ran to his hut to get his gun. He came out and pointed it at the bear. The animal who saw this ran round the blind side of the man's face, snatched the gun out of his hand and threw it away. The bear and the man then wrestled for a time, but afterwards both gave up the struggle and retired. The man, after he had recovered himself went to look for the gun, the stock of which he found broken. The match-string by which the stock had been tied to the barrel had gone on burning all night and had been the cause of the gun being destroyed. The son of that man still lives at the village and tells this story, which the people affect to believe.

5.—WEDDING FESTIVAL AMONG BEARS.

A Mulla, of the name of Lal Mohammad, said that when he was taken a prisoner into Chilás,* he and his escort passed one day through one of the dreariest portions of the mountains of that inhospitable region. There they heard a noise, and quietly approaching to ascertain its cause they saw a company of bears tearing up the grass and making bundles of it which they hugged. Other bears again wrapped their heads in grass, and some stood on their hind paws, holding a stick in their forepaws and dancing to the sound of the howls of the others. They then ranged themselves in rows, at each end of which was a young bear ; on one side a male, on the other a female. These were supposed to celebrate their marriage on the occasion in question. My informant swore to the story and my Ghilgiti corroborated the truth of the first portion of the account, which he said described a practice believed to be common to bears.

6.—THE FLYING PORCUPINE.

There is a curious superstition with regard to an animal called "Harginn," which appears to be more like a porcupine than anything else. It is covered with bristles ; its back is of a red-brownish and its belly of a yellowish colour. That animal is supposed to be very dangerous, and to contain poison in its bristles. At the approach of any man or animal it is said to gather itself up for a terrific jump into the air, from which it descends unto the head of the intended victim. It is said to be generally

placed in the "tshamúl" [in Astori] or "popúsh" [Ghilgiti], a receptacle under the hearth, and has to be kept in this place for one night, after which it is fit for use after being roasted or put on a tawa [pan] like a Chupatti [a thin cake of unleavened bread].

"baráo" or tshítí baráo = sour baráo [móro baráo = sweet baráo].

* Almost every third man I met had, at some time or other, been kidnapped and dragged off either to Chilás, Chitrál, Badakhshán or Bukhárá. The surveillance, however, which is exercised over prisoners, as they are being moved by goat-paths over mountains, cannot be a very effective one and, therefore, many of them escape. Some of the Kashmir Maharajah's Sepoys, who had invaded Dardistan, had been captured and had escaped. They narrated many stories of the ferocity of these mountaineers ; e.g., that they used their captives as fireworks, etc., etc., in order to enliven public gatherings. Even if this be true, there can be no doubt that the Sepoys retaliated in the fiercest manner whenever they had an opportunity, and the only acts of barbarism that came under my observation, during the war with the tribes in 1866, were committed by the Kashmir invaders.

about half a yard long and a span broad. Our friend Lal Mohammad, a saintly Akhunzada, but a regular Münchhausen, affirmed to have once met with a curious incident with regard to that animal. He was out shooting one day when he saw a stag which seemed intently to look in one direction. He fired off his gun, which however did not divert the attention of the stag. At last, he found out what it was that the stag was looking at. It turned out to be a huge "Harginn," which had swallowed a large Markhor with the exception of his horns! There was the porcupine out of whose mouth protruded the head and horns of the Markhor!! My Ghilgiti, on the contrary, said that the Harginn was a great snake "like a big fish called Nang." Perhaps, Harginn means a monster or dragon, and is applied to different animals in the two countries of Ghilghit and Astór.

7.—A FIGHT BETWEEN WOLVES AND A BEAR WHO WANTED TO DIG THEIR GRAVE.

A curious animal something like a wolf is also described. The species is called "Kö."* These animals are like dogs; their snouts are of a red colour, and are very long; they hunt in herds of ten or twenty and track game which they bring down, one herd or one Kö, as the case may be, relieving the other at certain stages. A Shikári once reported that he saw a large number of them asleep. They were all ranged in a single long line. A bear approached, and by the aid of a long branch measured the line. He then went to some distance and measuring the ground dug it out to the extent of the line in length. He then went back to measure the breadth of the sleeping troop when his branch touched one of the animals which at once jumped up and roused the others. They all then pursued him and brought him down. Some of them harassed him in front, whilst one of them went behind and sucked his stomach clean out. This seems to be a favourite method of these animals in destroying game. They do not attack men, but bring down horses, sheep and game.

HISTORY OF THE DARD WARS WITH KASHMIR

IN 7 CHAPTERS—(CHAPTER I. CHILÁS)

INTRODUCTION.

In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January last appears my "rough Chronological Sketch of the History of Dardistan from 1800 to 1892."† I now propose to republish "the History of the Wars of the Dard tribes with Kashmir" beginning with the account given to me by a Sazíni Dard in 1866 of the first war with

* This is undoubtedly the *canis rutilans*, a species of wild dog, which hunts in packs after the wild goat, so numerous found in the high mountains round Gilgit.

† *Extract*: "1850. The raids of the Chilásis is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilás, which not being a dependency of Kashmir, is not included in the Treaty of 1846. The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under orders of the British Government. Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad regarding ulterior plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilás. 1851.—Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilás, and succeed in destroying the fort and scattering the hostile hill tribes which assisted the Chilásis."

the Chilásis.* Its importance at the present moment, consists in the fact that these wars with the Dards were almost all provoked by Kashmir, as they, practically, now are by ourselves. The attack on peaceful and pious Nagyr was excused by the usual calumnies that precede and justify annexation, till their exposure comes too late either to prevent aggression or to punish their authors, who, if soldiers, obtain honours, and if writers, an evanescent popularity. Now that the manuscripts of the Hunza Library have been sold by auction, that its fairies have been silenced, that its ancient weapons have been destroyed, that its language and religion have been assimilated to those of its neighbours, a living chapter has disappeared of the most ancient traditions of mankind safe in their mountain recesses for ages, till English and Russian subalterns wanted promotion at the expense of the safety of their respective Asiatic Empires. In 1866, I already pointed out that the Legends and Customs of the Dards were gradually vanishing before the incidental inroads of Orthodox Sunni Muhammadanism and that their preservation was a duty of the civilized world. Now we have simply killed them outright as also a number of interesting Aryan republics, like Chilás and other picturesque and peaceful autonomies. In 1875, Mr. Drew reported that the abhorrence of the Shin race to the cow, which probably marked the almost pre-historical separation of the Dáradas, the lowest of the twice-born, from the Brahmins of Kashmir, was ceasing, and in 1886 I saw a son of the excellent Raja of Nagyr in European garb all except the head-dress. Now that his country is practically annexed, its Chief is called "patriarchal," just as the Chilásis are now patted on the back "as brave and by no means quarrelsome" by journals which a few months ago termed them "raiders," "kidnappers," "robbers" and "slave-dealers," etc., forgetting that there exist the annual reports of our Deputy Commissioners of Abbottabad speaking of them since 1856 as a peaceable people. No doubt *before* that date, the Sunni Chilásis raided Shiah Astor, just as the Astoris raided what they could.†

The following account, it will be seen, and my own notes, do not, in the least, palliate the shortcomings of the Dards, but I maintain that there were *no* raids since 1856, and that in 1866 *six* Kashmir Seapoys, (not 6,000, as alleged by a recent writer) kept the Astor-Bunji road in a state of perfect safety; there

* Extract from Drew's "Northern Barriers of India," 1877: "Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder, coming round the flanks of the mountain into this Astor Valley. It was these raids that determined Maharaja Guláb Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilás. This he did in 1851 or 1852. The Dogrās at last took the chief stronghold of the Chilásis, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience; and *there has been no raid since.*"

† "The Astor people used formerly to do the same thing," and on page 459 of Drew's "Jummoo and Kashmir Territories," the author, who was a high official in the Kashmir service, says: "The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilás under one Sujah Singh, but it was repulsed. . . . This was about the year 1843. . . . The good effects (of the expedition in 1850 or 1851) . . . have already been spoken of. Since that time the Chilásis . . . pay yearly to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold-dust; *otherwise they are free.*" Since then Major Ommaney in 1868 reports that ever since the advent of British neighbourhood they have never committed any offences: "The people are inoffensive." Mr. Scott calls them "a quiet, peace-loving people," and all the Panjab Administration Reports give them the same reputation.

were, no doubt, small detachments of troops at these places themselves, *not* to protect the road against the puritanical peasantry of Chilás, but as Depôts for the *then* War with all the united Dard tribes *except Chilás*. Yet we are told by a recent writer, ignorant of Dard Languages and History, that we took Chilás in order to protect Kashmir from raids (which had ceased for 42 years), that we spend less on the safety of the frontier than Kashmir, that the Nagyr Raja was a slave-dealer, etc., etc. Fortunately, we have official and other reports written before the passions of the moment obscured historical truth, and these Reports will long bear witness against the vandalism and folly by which our Northern Barrier of India was broken down and a military road was constructed for an invader to the heart of the Panjab. This road is the one from Abbottabad to Hunza, of which I obtained the particulars in 1866 (when I was sent on a linguistic Mission by the Panjab Government to Kashmir and Chilás), but which, for obvious reasons, I did not publish. Now that the Indian papers constantly urge and discuss its construction, I have no hesitation in giving the details of this, as I have of other roads and as *now* ought to be done of the various means of communication throughout what was once called, and what should, and could, for ever have remained, the "neutral zone" between the British and the Russian spheres of influence or interference. The first part of the projected road is to Chilás, and extends, roughly speaking, for 125 miles, namely Abbottabad to Mansehra 16 miles; Mansehra to Juba 10 miles; thence to Balakót 12 miles, Kawaie 12, Jared 12, Kaghan 12, Naran 14, Batakundi 6, Burawaie 6, Sehri 5, Lulusar (where there is a fine lake 11,000 feet over the sea level) 5, Chilás 15. (For details see elsewhere.) Of this 15 miles are on independent territory, so that there was no occasion for the precipitate subjugation of an inoffensive population, whose sense of security is so great that they abandon their houses entirely unprotected during the hottest part of the summer when they leave with their families for the cooler surrounding hills. In another Dard republic, full of Arabic Scholars, Kandíá, there are no forts, and weapons may not be carried. Major Abbott, from whom Abbottabad so deservedly takes its name, reporting to the Lahore Board of Administration in July 1855, when the Maharaja of Kashmir had misinformed him of the successful conclusion of his campaign against Chilás and had asked the British Government, "whether he was to hold it with garrison, or to punish the people by burning their villages and then to retreat," gave as his opinion that the latter course would exasperate the Chilásis into renewing their incursions, and that on the other hand "the possession of Chilás by Jummoo would altogether destroy the hopes of the Syuds of Kaghan. And as the odium of this very unpopular expedition has been carefully attributed to the British Government by the Maharaja's Ministers, so much of advantage may possibly be derived from it." I must now allow my Sazini and other Dards to give an account of Wars which not only include the struggles for the conquest of Chilás, but detail the expeditions to Hunza-Nagyr, the massacre of women and children at Yasin, the Dareyl and other conflicts, all interspersed with characteristic anecdotes and the names of men and places that have, or may yet, come to the front.

The manners, tribal sub-divisions, and occupations of the Chilásis and the names of the mountains, streams, products, etc., of the country, as also the road from Takk to Kashmir by the Kanagamunn pass, Diúng, Shiril, Koja, Ujatt, etc., are detailed in my "Dardistan," where a Chilási vocabulary, dialogues, songs, etc., will also be found. There are also roads from Abbottabad to Chilás through Agrôr, of Black Mountain fame, practicable for camels. Another road, fit for ponies, goes by Muza-farabad by Sharidi and the lovely Kishenganga and Sargan Rivers in Kashmir, by the Kamakduri Galli, to Niát in Chilás. As already mentioned, the easiest road to our last conquest is by Kaghan through the Takk valley. There is also the long and dangerous road on the banks of the Indus to Bunji, which skirts, as its occupation would irritate, the Kohistani tribes who are Pathans, not Dards, including the rival traders with Gilgit of Koli-Palus. Thence, on that route, comes Jalkot and the road that branches off into learned Kandíá, which I have described at length in the *A.Q.R.* of July 1892. The road, such as it is, constantly crosses and recrosses the Indus (by rafts), and at the Lahtar river is reached the boundary between the true Kohistan and the Dard country, which is there called Shináki, because it is inhabited by the ruling Shiná race. We then come to pretty Sazín, from which my Sazíní informant. Opposite to it runs the Tangir valley and country, whence there is a road to Yasin to which Tangir owed a sort of loose bond. We then continue by the right bank of the Indus opposite Sazín, passing Shatiál and on to the Dareyl stream, which comes from the Dareyl country that eventually joins on to Gilgit. Crossing the Dareyl stream, we pass Harban on the left bank and a few miles further on, the Tor village, and arrive at the Hôdur village, whence we go on to Chilás, after as bad a road of about 200 miles as it is possible to conceive. Besides, if we touch the independence of these various republics *en route*, we shall constantly be in a hornets' nest, and provoke the coalition of the Dard with the Pathan or Afghan irreconcilable tribes, whereas, by keeping to the Kashmir route or, at least, confining ourselves to the Kaghan-Chilás road, and prohibiting our men from going to the right or to the left of it, we may yet resume friendly relations with the harmless and religious Chilásis and keep the road open for the eventual advance of Russian troops! In the meanwhile, let us not destroy villages inhabited by hereditary genealogists, who, before our advent, were the living historians of an irrecoverable portion of, perhaps, the earliest Aryan settlements.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

RUSSIANIZED OFFICIALISM IN INDIA—A REPLY.

BY A. ROGERS, ESQ. (LATE OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY).

UNDER the above title, Sir W. Wedderburn gave, in the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, an article containing many mischievous opinions based on so slight a fabric of facts, that a rejoinder is advisable showing the other side of the administrative system in force in British India.

Sir W. Wedderburn's main object is to cry down centralization of authority which he calls a "Russianized system," and to advocate a greater extension of individual control to local Officers, who are to be mainly guided by local usage and native ideas.

The particular local Officer who has most to do with executive administration is the Collector and Magistrate of the District; and to him Sir W. Wedderburn wishes to give a freer hand. He considers that although "the Collector nominally represents Government in all its departments, his authority in the present day is the mere shadow of a phantom of what it used to be; like a beam eaten by white ants, externally as before, but inside nothing but dust and ashes."

To illustrate how this has come about, he takes one of the Collector's most important functions, the collection of land revenue. "Originally the Collector through his own local subordinates arranged for the measurement and assessment of the village lands upon the basis of the old native settlements. As examples of such settlements we have that of Sir T. Munro in Canara, of Col. Pottinger in the Dekhan, and of General John Jacob in Sind. These settlements followed local usages and were different in every District, the Collector going round his District each year, and settling at the 'Jammabandi' (annual land-revenue settlement) what each ryot was to pay with due regard to the condition of the crops. This sort of thing suited the people, but it did not satisfy the central authority, which desired uniformity and greater scientific accuracy."

Let me describe one of these annual settlements, as, *meâ culpâ*, I have had to carry such out myself. The land had never been measured, and the area of each field was put down, by eye-estimate, at so many *vîghâ* (a local land measure varying in different localities, but generally about $1\frac{7}{10}$ acre). The dues of the State were levied according to the division-of-produce system in some cases, in others by rates varying according to crop, locality, caste of the cultivator, etc. The estimate of the produce of each field was made by Hereditary District Officers, by the eye, where the first of these was in force, in all cases except where wheat was grown as an unirrigated crop. After certain deductions in the shape of grain fees to village servants, temples, Hereditary District Officers, village dogs, etc., various proportions (from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$) were assigned to the cultivator and the

State, and calculated on the estimated area of each field. In wheat, three rows were reaped in three different parts of each field, and the grain was rubbed out on the spot. Then a rule-of-three sum finished the assessment operation ;—As 9 rows : to the total number of rows in the field, :: the produce of the one : to the required produce of the other. The grain of the nine rows was appropriated for the expenses of estimating, after deductions as above for various purposes. There are hundreds of fields and holdings in every village ; and a single subdivision of a Collectorate contains from 100 to 300 villages. Hence become evident the impossibility of a Collector's exercising any adequate control over such a mass of details, and the necessity for his surrendering himself to his subordinates, and accepting what figures they laid before him. One of the Collectors, to whom Sir W. Wedderburn would hand over complete authority to adopt such native systems of management, actually laid down a rule that if a Kunbi cultivator did not occupy a holding paying a certain sum to the State, or if a cultivator of another caste did not make up a certain figure, the difference should be levied from him in cash : this was called a *Khutta kharch vera* (cess for deficient expenditure).

Of the vagaries of Collectors when uncontrolled by a central authority, I may mention another case. One gentleman laid down rules for the entry of cultivators' names in fields, which amounted to a most arbitrary interference with the rights of property. For instance ; if, out of 40 acres, one man held 35, the whole was entered in his name. If one held 28 and another 12, 30 would be entered in the name of the former and 10 in that of the latter. If one held 22 and two others 9 each, the former's name would be entered in 20, and those of the others in 10 each. The names of more than four men were not to be allowed in one field, for fear of confusing the accounts : if there were more, those excluded might be allotted land in neighbouring fields ! Another gentleman, considering it a bad thing that the breed of cattle in his charge, a Province half as large as England, should deteriorate by promiscuous crossing while roaming over large tracts of waste land, decreed that all cattle found without herdsmen should be pounded ! And so on.

The settlements of Col. Pottinger in the Dekhan and of Gen. Jacob in Sind were avowedly make-shifts, until the country became settled and the lands could be measured and a regular assessment be made. They, like the settlements of Sir T. Munro, have been gradually superseded by more civilised and controllable systems of revenue management, much to the benefit of the people themselves. No one taking the trouble to consider the question can fail to see that the first requisite of an equitable assessment of land is to ascertain its exact area. The state of matters described above made Government wisely determine that accurate measurements were indispensable ; and though Sir W. Wedderburn approves of the old rough and ready survey, adopted by Collectors through their untrained establishments, he himself is obliged to confess that special skilled agency, organized like the Survey and Settlement department, for a scientific survey with proper maps and registers, did good and useful work. He proceeds, however, to say that the mischief began when the department

undertook to frame for the whole presidency a uniform system for assessing and levying the land revenue. He tries to uphold this dictum by the trite remark, that each District has different conditions, that the black cotton soil of the Dekhan (and he might have added, of Gujarát) has nothing in common with the spice gardens in the forests of Canara ; and that rules suited to the terraced cultivation among the rocks of Ratnágiri would not apply to the alluvial plains of Sind, irrigated by the rise of the Indus. This would suggest that the same method of assessment had been applied to the various kinds of cultivation enumerated. But this is distinctly not so, except in so far that the assessment in every case is, as it necessarily must be under any civilised method, laid on each field, when tenants deal directly with the State as their landlord. The method of assessment, however, is perfectly distinct in each case. In the dry crop cultivation of the black cotton soil of the Dekhan and the terraced cultivation of Ratnagiri consideration is given, in addition to the intrinsic qualities of the soil, to the probability or otherwise of an adequate rain supply ; in the spice gardens of Canara to the water-holding capabilities of the wells from which they are irrigated ; and in the alluvial plains of Sind to the levels of the land which may or may not allow of the river floods reaching it in sufficient quantity. To insinuate that local requirements are not duly considered, and that an attempt is made to stretch all on an official bed of Procrustes, shows that Sir W. Wedderburn has been writing on a topic of which he knows but little. But he is perhaps confusing the assessment of land with the tenure on which the land may be held. If so, he is again in error ; for under the Survey settlements the peculiarities of tenure in the coparcenary villages in Gujarát, such as the Nárvádári and Bhágdári, and the Khoti villages in the Konkan, have been carefully preserved.

He goes on to say that the failure to consider local requirements and the attempt to stretch all on the official bed of Procrustes have produced an agrarian crisis sooner or later in every District dealt with ; and he details a number of evictions carried out in 1873-74 in certain Dekhan Districts. But was not Government even just then engaged in an enquiry into the cause of these evictions, which took place on a revision of the assessments after the expiration of the first Survey lease of 30 years, when the assessments had been a good deal enhanced for various reasons ? That enquiry ended in a large reduction being made in the new assessments, and a limit being placed on future enhancements, with the satisfactory result that the Commission which sat last year to enquire into the working of the Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act reported officially that in these very Districts no complaint against the assessment had been made to them in the course of their enquiries.

The article continues : " A year or two later there was a general agrarian rising in this part of the Dekhan, which had to be put down by military force." But there was no general agrarian rising in the Dekhan ; and what did occur was not due to the system adopted for the assessment of lands. Official records prove that the rising which took place was one confined to the Ahmadnagar, Poona, Sholápur and Satará Collectorates, and was that

of an exasperated peasantry against Márvári and other usurers, in revenge for their merciless persecution, by the latter, for their debts, and to destroy accounts and acknowledgments of debt. The matter had nothing whatever to do with the amount or the method of assessments.

It is said that each of the following Departments, viz. : Revenue Survey, Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkári (excise on spirituous liquors), Salt, Opium, Education, Registration, Vaccination, etc., "has now formed for itself an *Imperium in Imperio*, and has framed a rigid and searching code of rules, which it administered through a hierarchy of executive officials, the written orders emanating from the Head of the Department, who has his headquarters hundreds of miles off at the seat of Government, and ultimately taking effect through the hungry departmental peon, who squats in the village at the Patel's house, and represents our administration in its concrete form."

What is the real state of the case? With the exception of mere departmental details, with which he has no concern and which do not affect the general system, the Forest, Public Works, Irrigation, Police, Abkári, Opium, and Registration departments are all worked, as far as system is concerned, by their heads through the Collector and Magistrate himself! The Forest Officers and the Executive Engineers for Public Works and Irrigation are virtually his Assistants as Collector, and the Superintendent of Police is directly under his orders as Magistrate. He himself is an Assistant to the Commissioner of Salt, Abkári and Opium, as well as the Registrar for his own District! Although he is not answerable for the work of the Educational and Vaccination departments, he, as President of the Local Funds, looks into the working of all village schools, and sees that Vaccinators do their work. With regard to the Revenue Survey, all reports on assessment, and orders on them, pass through his hands for comment and execution; and, when the Survey operations are complete, he has the sole charge of the executive details. What, then, becomes of Sir W. Wedderburn's assertion that the Collector's authority is the mere shadow of what it used to be? *

Let us now examine some of the more general and sweeping charges which he makes against the Indian administration. It is said that we know little of the real condition of our splendid inheritance in the East; that others than our paid agents, equally well informed, speak of extreme poverty and serious discontent among the masses; of a fifth of the whole population going through life with their hunger unsatisfied; of taxation in India, notwithstanding this excessive poverty, being in proportion double that in England; of the fertility of the land becoming exhausted; and of people year by year finding it more difficult to live. Now, although the very recklessness of these words is sufficient in the eyes of any sober observer to refute them, it may be worth our while to consider them in detail.

Nobody denies that, according to the European standard of living, the people of India are poor; but the questions are, Are they poor in comparison with their wants? and, Are they poorer under British, than they have been for ages under Native, Administration? Even Mr. Dadabhai

Naoroji and the Indian National Congress will not dare to uphold the latter assertion. It is true that the pressure of population on the soil, in some places (due to their numbers not being thinned under British rule by war and pestilence), may cause a hard struggle for existence; but, on the other hand, roads and railways now afford to that population the means of locomotion to localities where other means of support than agriculture are procurable. There is no fear, as there was under Native rule, of the surplus produce of one part of the land not being able to find its way to other parts, deficient in food supplies. Should such deficiency occur, there are Famine Codes laying down the duty of all Officers on the first appearance of scarcity, with practical rules to prevent the possibility of any disaster from such scarcity. And is the extravagance of the statement that 50,000,000 (one-fifth of 250,000,000) people go through life with hunger unsatisfied, not sufficient to disprove it to all thinking minds?

Again, what are the signs of serious discontent among the masses? Is Crime rampant throughout the country? Are there representations, petitions, disturbances? Or does the discontent exist simply in perfervid imaginations?

"In spite of the excessive poverty, taxation is in proportion double what it is in England." How can this be demonstrated? What is the taxation in India of the great mass of the people? Simply and solely the salt excise probably amounting to 10d. per head per annum: for land revenue is only the rent of land and not taxation.* Excise on spirituous liquors, opium and preparations of hemp are not taxation. India, moreover, is a country of free trade. Where, then, is the excessive taxation? This is, in fact, another meaningless flower of speech.

"The fertility of the land is becoming exhausted, and year by year the people find it more difficult to live." What has exhausted the fertility of the soil? Is it at all true that it is becoming exhausted? I was present some years ago at the reading of a paper before the Colonial Institute where this idea was mooted; and I quite agree with what Sir Arthur Cotton, the well-known Madras Irrigation Engineer, said at the time, that far from the fertility of the soil of India being exhausted, its surface had barely been scratched!

Sir W. Wedderburn offers himself as a witness of the change that has come over the conditions of the Indian Civil Service since he entered it, as one who knows it by experience from the bottom to the top of the official ladder. He does not mention, however, that there are two official ladders. One of these he ascended; but on the other he got only on the lowest rung, as a boy, a good many years ago, and rose no higher. Most of his service was spent in the Judicial line, and not the Revenue. He has, therefore, for many years been in contact, not with the great mass of the people, the agricultural classes, but only with those who frequent the Courts, the litigious and the criminal classes, decidedly the inferior ones, who do not by any means represent the true feelings of the people, from whom

* It seems to us to be another name for the same thing, because the proprietorship of the land claimed by the British, and by some native Governments is not founded on either Hindu or Muhammadan Law, not to speak of justice.—ED.

they are as widely apart as a barrister from a farmer. He must even have forgotten his youthful experience of revenue duties, or he would not have said that the ryots or village Council are careful to raise and distribute the crops according to ancient local usage, and that from the crop is raised, as a first charge, a certain share, under the name of Land Revenue, for the Government of the country, with smaller shares to the village Officers. In the Bombay Presidency, in which his experience was gained, there is no such system of division of produce: under the Bombay Revenue Survey settlements, all payments towards Land Revenue are, and have been ever since he went to India, in cash, in the shape of a fixed tax on the rent of land.

“Under the easy-going methods of native rule, the village communities were little interfered with. And this was what best suited them.” Some of these systems have been described above; and the National Indian Congress itself would probably disapprove of them. Would it be thought an excessive interference with the liberty of the Indian subject if the Magistrate endeavoured to prevent the spread of cholera by forbidding the use of the village tank for drinking, and washing the persons and clothes of the inhabitants, as well as for frequentation by cattle? No village Council would object to this, or to the storing up of manure in pits close to the houses of the people or to the village well. Village Councils would not even think of putting a stop to the burial of the dead in the actual embankments of tanks from which the inhabitants drew their drinking water, an abomination I have myself witnessed.

Where the people of a country are so wanting in the crudest conceptions of sanitation, and are so wedded to immemorial usage as in India, it seems simply Radicalism run mad to go back, as Sir W. Wedderburn proposes, to self-government by the people alone. In such matters as the repair of village wells, the temples and other public buildings, the entertainment of strangers and care of the poor, the authorities not only do not interfere, but encourage the municipal efforts of the people; but in such other matters as the management of communal forests and pastures and the distribution of water from irrigation tanks, they have to keep a watchful eye that the oysters are not eaten by the heads and other influential people, and the shells only left to the poor ryots.

Is it only under Native Rule that communications have been opened up, reservoirs and water-works constructed, and the welfare and progress of the people generally provided for? To judge by Sir W. Wedderburn's Article one would think there was truth in the exploded idea that if the English were to leave India they would leave no traces of themselves but their broken beer bottles. He may rest assured that one-sided statements of this nature will do infinitely more harm than good to that advancement in the prosperity of India which we all have at heart.

A. ROGERS.

THE CAUSES OF THE LATE AUSTRALIAN CRISIS.

IN complying with your request that I would jot down the causes of the late Australian crisis, let me frankly state that I am by no means qualified to speak authoritatively on this matter. If, however, you care to know the

impressions of one who has a fairly extensive acquaintance with the conditions of business in Australia, and who think that great ignorance exists on the subject in England, they are at your service.

In the first place, there are too many banks for the population, and their wants. But the *causa causans* was, of course, the sudden panic that set in; and, of course, no banks in the world could stand against a prolonged panic. Another feature was that the investments of the banks were mainly on security (mortgages, etc.) which could not be thrown on the market and realised at short notice.

It must be distinctly understood that what has occurred betokens no decline in the wealth or commerce of these great colonies. A glance at the returns of imports and exports for the last few years will reassure one on this point. The magnitude of her territory, the inexhaustible nature of her resources, and the energy of her sons, assure to Australia a splendid future. What has happened may not be without its value, if it calls attention to the necessity of obeying certain fundamental laws of commercial finance which have too generally been ignored and violated. So great is the elasticity of Australian business, that this disaster will leave no permanent traces: a single "good year" in the wool industry would alone supply ample compensation. In every little struggling up-country town you will find two or more rival banking establishments, struggling for local business, like two drowning men for a plank that will only support one. In my opinion, several of the Banks should be amalgamated, the superfluous staffs being discharged (with suitable compensation), and the superseded buildings being sold. Again, as it is very unlikely that British Capital will be attracted into these banks for some 10 years or more, the London agencies and staffs should be got rid of, until confidence is thoroughly restored. By these measures of retrenchment a sum considerably exceeding £250,000 a year might be made available towards interest, paying off debt, and dividends. The policy of reconstruction is like that of the well-known spendthrift, who, after renewing a bill on exorbitant terms, would exclaim, gleefully, "Thank Heaven! that's off my mind; there's an end of that!"

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

36, Eaton Square, S.W.

13th June, 1893.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON AUSTRALIAN FAILURES.

THE present crisis, long since foreseen by me, is the logical outcome of neglect in Australia of the most elementary rules of trade and business. The trade has been supplanted by speculation, in other words, by gambling. Money is a token value of labour and consequently of production; one must be given in exchange for the other. But Australia has borrowed money without equivalent given, for high rates of interest have merely come out of capital. The basis of commerce is the exchange of the results of one kind of labour for those of another—money being the medium and a concentrated result of labour. Money borrowed gives only an artificial and temporary prosperity. For the last decade Australia has been borrowing, not *making* money.

The sole security of Australia is land ; and land itself is of no value, but only for what it will produce—and this only if (besides local consumption) it can profitably be brought into the world's markets. Land, too, however, has been "boomed." A man buys land for, say, £1 per acre. He deposits a fraction (out of borrowed money) and pays the remainder with paper. He then forms a syndicate. Duly puffed, the concern is passed on to a second syndicate at double the price—paid in paper. A plot or two are built on or planted, and *the whole land* is revalued at the enhanced price of the usual par, and sold to a third syndicate. The Labourer has been bribed and coaxed to work on his own time and terms, for his vote is useful to secure official position, which often means credit—money—loans. Promises made at elections compel Governments to provide work, hence many Government railways. Now Railways do not themselves produce ; they can only pay with a large population and a great carriage traffic, and that solely on manufactured goods, for cattle, timber, wool, etc., can be conveyed merely at unremunerative rates. Australia has a sparse population and few, if any, manufacturers and the freight is very small. Part of the capital leaves the country for plant which perishes by wear ; and part is consumed in unproductive labour on construction and working. Unlike roadmaking which would have profited Australia far more, railways consume capital and enrich but a few individuals.

Australia has been like a penniless man, refusing to work and living on speculation or gambling. Now labour, helped by economy and knowledge, constitutes the only true prosperity of a country. All other processes are simply gambling, but the present generation know no other means of making money ; and hence the remedies now proposed are simply the continuation of the same system on a larger scale. The gambling of private individuals and Limited Companies is to be advanced a stage further : Governments are to speculate—to end in a Confederated Colonial Speculation. They propose to purchase Bank shares and to give guarantees. But governments are a changing body ; officials have been implicated in discreditable banking operations ; and, with deficits every year, shares can be purchased only out of Trust Funds-Savings Banks.

Increasing the number of penniless guarantors does not, however, make a concern solvent. Prohibitive duties, injurious speculation and fresh loans will not stave off the inevitable day of compulsory *labour*, after national bankruptcy has occurred. Better face the situation manfully ; and by steady, strenuous, well-directed, productive *individual* labour develop our own resources, than evolve new schemes for borrowing from new dupes. This course is now scarcely a virtue ; it will soon be a necessity.

Lenders share the responsibility of the present crisis, for having encouraged this spirit of gambling, by pouring in money at the asking, and thus leading Australia to ruin, after creating an artificial prosperity, they have led Australia to consider speculation as the only source of making money. I sum up my blunt, but well-meant, remarks with the homely advice : "Let Australia learn to work and cease to borrow ; and let England cease to lend." Thus only can ruin be averted and Australia's deplorable past be retrieved.

CALIFORNIA FOR RETIRED ANGLO-INDIANS.

YOUR article on the subject of ex-Indian officials farming in Australia is in the right vein, from all I have heard. California is in every way a superior place for them. The climate is delightful, labour more plentiful, markets good, schools excellent, and surroundings generally refined and agreeable. The Chinese make good domestic servants. The collapse of Australian Banking seems, however, to present some resemblance to the state of things that has obtained on the Pacific Coast for 2½ years past. The tightening of the London and New York money-markets that began about 3 years ago, crippled the Pacific Coast badly; and the depression that set in then still continues. Up to that time money was plentiful, and Real-Estate speculation rife. Eastern banks began calling in their loans to the Coast banks, and deposits from Eastern sources fell off. The growing scarcity of money and work caused people to leave the newer towns, and property of all kinds depreciated in value. Consequently banks had very often to take over unsaleable property, as the mortgage interest was not met. The banks were strained, but very few failures occurred.

Now in Australia there has been similar land speculation and booming, without really so much reason in it as in the case of the U. S., where the growth of population is so rapid. Probably the Australian banks did a similar business to those of the Pacific Coast. I am informed that the loans of British to Australian banks amounted to £26,000,000, which was called in, the collateral security being unsatisfactory. The Australian banks naturally crowded their own credit customers. Values were quickly affected—all of which caused depositors in those banks to withdraw.

Even the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton does not quite go to the root of the matter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 18th May last. Ten years ago, "*Bradstreet's Journal*," of New York, published an interesting letter from an Australian correspondent, in which he reviewed the borrowing proclivities of the Colonies, from the various governments to the smallest municipalities, and predicted a day of serious reckoning.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

I DOUBT whether the British people will ever realize their real position, as masters of India. Two momentous administrative changes have recently been carried out, the first of which has been effected by Act of Parliament—I mean the abolition of the Commanders-in-chief of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the substitution for them of officers simply holding the rank of Lt.-General, and thereby sweeping away at one stroke the military traditions and policy of a century and a half. So far as I am aware, this great change has not evoked even a single comment from any London daily paper,* and in the brief discussion in the House of Lords concerning the Bill—Viscount Cross rescued it from utter flatness by inducing the Government to accept his proposal, that these

* It is, indeed, strange that a measure which a few years ago excited a storm of opposition should now pass almost without comment.—ED.

Lt.-Generals, these Deputy Commanders-in-chief, should, as their predecessors did, hold seats in the Presidency Councils, thereby rescuing the respectability of their position from extinction. The Duke of Cambridge was the only speaker in the Lords who spoke decidedly against the Bill, but he deferred to the judgment of the hero of the day, Lord Roberts. On the 3rd June, the bill was read a third time in the Lords; it has yet to get through the Commons, where, if it can have nothing else, I hope it may have a decent funeral, some words of recognition, such as the imperishable services rendered by the Madras and Bombay armies call for. There may be good reason for modifying some of the departmental arrangements in the Madras and Bombay armies, but, I say again, such a revolutionary change required fair consideration by the leading organs of public opinion.

The second change is that of Class Companies to Class Regiments, effected by local Indian authority, and should, like the above, be brought before the public. The management and control of our Native-Indian Armies are vital subjects; this is not always remembered, owing partly to the natural docility of the men, but that this may be outraged we have ample proofs in the past. While the entire civil administration of India is being transformed, is no change to be made in the condition of the native army? With a man's cousin perhaps serving as a Collector while he is a Subadar, or perhaps only a Havildar, what must the ambitious spirits in the army feel, to say nothing of the examples before their eyes—in the larger Native States—of Colonels, Majors, etc. In time, no doubt, some beneficial change will be made; in the meanwhile, in my opinion, the *utmost prevision and care* should be taken that no opening be left for any misunderstanding *about pay or allowances*, for it is upon these points only that more or less insubordination or mutiny has arisen—this is the keystone of the fabric.

As a minor consideration, I think it probable that taking away the Commanders-in-chief of Madras and Bombay will lessen the pride of those armies—and perhaps even the men will feel the removal of their visible chiefs.

I should think no military man in India ever understood Native character better than Sir John Malcolm; to the best of my recollection, he considered the maintenance of separate divisions of the Indian native armies as the very essence of their safe existence. As to Class Regiments, they have been ordered; but unless you have some mixed Regiments, how are you to enlist the lower castes, such as Koormees, Aheers—to say nothing of the lowest?

Among other reasons for maintaining the Commanders-in-Chief at Madras and Bombay, is—that in the event of our troops at the front meeting with a crushing defeat—we should have the Madras and Bombay armies, as separate and reserved Corps,—with their confidence and spirit not impaired, whereas if they are to form mere outlying and inferior portions of the whole Indian armies, they would infallibly consider our prestige (in which their own is included) gone and universal military panic would ensue:

A RETIRED BENGAL GENERAL.

AMIR ABDURRAHMAN AND THE PRESS.

St. Petersburg, $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴th May, 1893.

AFTER the perusal of your interesting article on "the Amir Abdurrahman and the Press," I have come to the conclusion that the Amir has not only been grossly misrepresented by the Anglo-Indian, but also by the Russian, Press. I had always been under the impression that the Amir was a bloodthirsty barbarian, and I am glad to think that he is in reality a firm and far-sighted ruler. It is pity that he does not come to Europe, like the Khan of Bokharā and the Shah of Persia. If he were to do so, many of the absurd reports concerning him and his government might, *ipso facto*, cease.* Believing that the Amir was a despot of the worst kind, many Englishmen in Russia thought that it would be better that his kingdom should be distributed between his neighbours (as a result of his misgovernment) than that two of the most powerful Empires in the world should come to blows at the cost of millions of money, and perhaps also of thousands of lives. Indeed, there ought to be a close alliance between Russia and England, if not also France, who could then amicably divide Asia among themselves.

The English are here said to have fortified the Baroghil Pass which leads from the Pamirs to Chitrāl, and to slowly prepare its annexation to India. The Amir of Afghanistan, who must, it is said, for his own safety, remain in touch with the Afghan tribes which are alarmed at British approach in various directions, is said to be greatly annoyed at the interference in Chitrāl and to ponder over the deposition of the Khan of Kelāt, Khudadād.† He is reported to have also, once for all, refused to receive a British military mission. General Kuropakine will shortly make a reconnaissance along the Afghan frontier, the Russian detachments at Murghab having been reinforced, as also the Pamir Mission, which will now be able to establish three little outposts.

I hope you will notice the English expedition to the Yenesei and the great future importance of Siberia and the North of Russia for English commerce.

Now that there is an Anglo-Russian Society under the auspices of the Imperial Institute, in which is also located what is left of the Northbrook Indian Club, the efforts of Lord Dufferin and of Sir M. Wallace to bring about in India a better understanding of Russia, ought to bear the happiest results in the friendship of the two greatest Empires of the world. This

* Although we have ourselves urged the Amir's coming to this country, it would be disastrous for him to do so now, for he has not only to contend with a renewed rising of the Hazaras, but he has also to be on the spot when Russian, if not British, aggression threatens his territory.—ED.

† Whatever the Amir's views may be about the Khan of Kelāt, he is not likely to say a word on that subject to the Government of India. His dislike, however, to our proceedings in Chitrāl is natural enough seeing that he thinks that Chitrāl ought to be under the influence of Kabul. This was never really the case, and the Government of India has long claimed independence for Chitrāl and the other Eastern States, and has for many years past objected to Kabul interference in this quarter. The reply sent to the Amir through his agent, Mr. Pyne, by the Government of India is, of course, a friendly one.—ED.

happy consummation is, moreover, inevitable, owing to the pressure on India, through Siam and Burma by a French Indo-Chinese Empire in the South, whilst Russia is installing herself in the North.

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ANGLO-RUSSIAN.

RACIAL DWARFS IN THE ATLAS AND THE PYRENEES.

IN my "Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" (David Nutt, October, 1891), a second letter from Mr. Walter B. Harris appeared, who stated that early in November he would visit Morocco, and clear up the subject. Had he carried out his intention, it is now plain that he would have put an end to all discussion on the question before the end of December, 1891; but when the time for his leaving for Morocco had arrived, he was on his way to Yemen as "special correspondent of the *Times*," where he wrote some very interesting letters as to that unknown country.

A year later, members of the Scotch Mission to Southern Morocco discovered that there were, beyond question, in the Great Atlas, and almost in sight of that city, *tribes* of dwarfs such as I had described; and one of the Mission subsequently gave an account in the *Times of Morocco* of pygmies that had been seen, men and women, bathing together in the sacred waters at the tomb of Mulai Ibrahim.

Mr. Harris, who accompanied Mr. Cunninghame Graham on a round trip through Northern Morocco, heard from the Scotch Mission that there were dwarf tribes in the Atlas, a statement which the Moors fully confirmed; and he subsequently met with fourteen of these dwarfs at Amzmiz, and other places, height 4 ft. to 4 ft. 6 in., with a reddish-brown complexion.

There is now no question raised by anyone as to the existence of dwarf tribes in the Atlas; but the *Times of Morocco*, in admitting the fact, tried to account for it by a theory which no anthropologist will accept, namely that these dwarfs are stunted descendants of big rebel Berbers, who, driven by tax-collectors to inaccessible mountain ranges, had become dwarfed by cold and hard living. No instance of mountaineers being dwarfed by cold into pygmies, smaller than Andaman Islanders, is known to science; and as the southern slopes of the Atlas and the secluded country below offered a safe home and refuge to these people, they must have lived in the Atlas voluntarily. Mr. Silva, an engineer formerly in the employ of the Moorish Government, several years ago discovered in some high ranges of the Great Atlas an independent and warlike race of Jews, who, so far from being stunted, were much larger and more robust than other Barbary Jews.

While the fact of there being dwarf tribes in the Atlas was being conclusively established, a similar discovery was made of the existence of precisely similar racial dwarfs in the Pyrenees and other parts of Spain. Mr. Macpherson, our consul at Barcelona, at my request, caused careful enquiries to be made in the Eastern Pyrenees, the results of which he stated were conclusive as to there being racial dwarfs there, principally in the Val de Ribas, 1 metre to 1 m. 17 c. in height, copper-coloured, with flat broad noses and red hair, active and robust.

Some years ago a writer in *Kosmos* described them in similar terms, and spoke of their hair as woolly, and their eyes as slightly Mongolian-looking.

An Austrian merchant has informed me that he saw in the market-place in Salamanca similar dwarfs.

My attention was attracted last winter by an old Murcian peasant-woman, who had very decided "*dwarf clicks*," similar to those that are in use in South Africa and Southern Morocco, and I suspected that she must have got the habit of "eating words" from dwarf ancestors. On inquiry I found that I was right; she said that these clicks came to her from some "*Nano*" or "*dwarf*" ancestors. In four out of six generations a "*nano*" had appeared. Her daughter and grand-daughter were under three feet eleven inches in height. In other half-breed Nano families dwarfs sometimes appear that look in every respect like African dwarfs.

We find in the Palæolithic and Neolithic ages traces of two dwarf races; those of the first era of an inferior type with a head projecting behind, and with oddly-curved thigh-bones, the joints of which, according to Huxley's acute conjecture, must have caused these *Neanderthal* or *Iberian* dwarfs to turn their toes in and to waddle in their walk. A very similar type is now found in parts of Central Africa, who are inferior to the Akka dwarfs, and who walk in the way mentioned. The dwarf on the monuments described by Wilkinson is one of them evidently, as he has a head projecting behind, in a singular way, and a flat forehead, probably the result of artificial flattening, such as is seen among American Indians. The Egyptian artist has also tried to give a full face portrait showing how the dwarf turned in his toes in walking.

The old Murcian half-breed Nano woman says that there are also two species of Nanos in Spain; one, a bad lot, of a low type, who are *Gitano-nanos*, and live in caves and who are called Tartari, and walk in a ludicrous way, with toes turned in.

The other, who are better-looking, are *Castillano-Nanos*, who came to Spain originally from an ancient city beyond Morocco, called *Poun*, where their business was washing sand for gold and silver. Their queen was very fat and was called *Mena*, and they were called *Pouni*, and *Ou Mena* (Mena's men), names still applied to dwarfs in the Dra Valley. In Ta-Pount is the tomb of "the fat queen *Hlema*," or "*Hlema-Mena*," where in times of drought offerings are still made. The ruins of the old city are called by the people of Southern Morocco *Poun* or *Pount*, or *Ta-Pount*.

Two Dafour dwarfs, whom I found in Cairo lately, and who had dwarf clicks in their speech, spoke of Ta-Pount and of *Hlema-Mena*, both of which they connected with the Dra Valley and *Ta-Pount*. One of the dwarfs would not come to see me a second time, she was so horrified at my mentioning the awful name of *Didoo* ("Didoo-Osiris"); "anyone who does that is sure to swell up and die, or to wake up dumb, or blind!"

The Sherif of Warzazat at the head of the Dra, in which district are the ruins of the Cyclopean city of Poun or Pount, has offered to take Mr. Harris there, who has been in correspondence as to his expedition with the Royal Geographical Society and myself. He is probably now in "*the Holy Land of Pount*," the cradle land of the Egyptian race, which

Champollion, Bunsen, and other early Egyptologists identified with Mauritania.

The last expedition to Pount mentioned on the monuments took place between 3 and 4,000 years ago; but Queen Hatasu's mission to that country, so elaborately and boastfully portrayed, will probably turn out to have been a romance on stone. If so, the last expedition was that of the Egyptian *Hannu* (Hanno!) between 4 and 5,000 years ago. If there are any vestiges, however slight, of that oldest of cities and of civilizations to be found in the Dra Valley, the results of Mr. Harris's expedition will be of much interest to the world.

R. G. HALIBURTON.

28, Pall Mall, June 14, 1893.

CHINESE PROGRESS—A CHINESE MENU.

CHINESE conservatism is perfectly compatible with progress: last year a hundred Chinese workmen were sent to study practical metallurgy in the workshop of Cokril, near Liège. The steam-factory of Hou-pee for weaving cotton-stuffs is well known. For 20 years has China used the telegraph, which is now being generally extended, the superstition wearing off of the shadow of its wires causing misfortune and that no funeral should pass under them. Indeed, the Government has published a dictionary of 7,000 cyphers—Chinese being ideographic and not alphabetic—which the merchants are now largely using. The wires are now being continued from Kansu through Chinese Turkestan unto the Pamir. The school formed for the training of interpreters at foreign Legations and Consulates is under both Chinese and European Professors. A few months ago prizes were awarded by the princes of the Chinese Foreign Office Commission to 55 students distinguished in English, 25 in French, 14 in Russian and 9 in German, after a three years' course in European as also various Oriental languages.

The Viceroy Li of Canton, to whom the Emperor sent, on red silk, the autograph word "Fu" which means happiness, has struck coins on the French system, putting on one side the Imperial dragon and on the other the name of the ruling Emperor and the value of the coin. Talking of coins, the Emperor has sent 100,000 taels (of the value of 4s. 2d. each) to the sufferers by the bad harvest in the province of Shansi.

A banquet was given at Peking to the Foreign Diplomats, the *menu* of which follows: First came four classic dishes, namely: swallow nests with pigeon eggs, shark fins with crabs, dogfish with wild duck, duck and cauliflower; then succeed delicacies served in cups placed before each guest: swallow nests, shark fins, plain morils, vegetables, mushrooms with duck feet, fried partridge, pigeon in slices; then there appeared four middle dishes, namely: ham in honey, a puré of peas, vegetables and dogfish; four side-dishes: haricot cheese with bamboo buds (a kind of asparagus), roots of bamboo, chicken, shellfish; four *hors d'œuvres* in duplicate; ham and chicken, fish and gizzard, pork tripe and vermicelli, duck and pork cutlets. Each guest had also placed before him plates of almonds,

pistachio paste, pears and oranges. Finally the following were the roast and boiled meats: sucking pig, roast duck, boiled chicken, boiled pork. There was a profusion of European and Chinese wines. No opium was smoked; for official China is not yet reconciled to the drug which it owes to the East India Company.

CHINESE MANDARIN.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE SIAM-CAMBODIA IMBROGLIO.

As neither the claims of France on Siam nor her determination to suffer no interference, either by advice or arbitration, in what only concerns herself and Cambodia, are understood in England, I venture to give to your readers the true facts of the question.

If Siam has any right whatever on the territories occupied by her, among an oppressed, unfriendly, but thinly-sown population, it is by our Treaty of 1867 with Siam in which we agreed not to annex Cambodia, whilst ceding to Siam its two finest Provinces, Battambang and Angkor, in which those marvellous ruins are found which puzzle the historian. Thus Siam has admitted that we had a right to give them away, but as the principal interested in the treaty, King Norodom of Cambodia, has protested against it, and as it has never been executed it is null and void, and we can resume what has never legally been estranged. If, however, it be alleged that by a still more ancient cession, these provinces were given to Siam by a King of Cambodia for services rendered, it is sufficient to reply that this remains to be proved, and that by the constitution of Cambodia no such cession is permitted.

The Siamese, under bad advice, have never delimited the territories on which they have encroached, but we want to settle the question once for always. Geographically and politically, Siam is indicated to become a French protectorate. We do not seek to destroy its independence but to make sure of its benevolent neutrality. Just as England did not, and could not, object to our Cambodian protectorate, so she will say nothing to our protecting our possessions in Annam and Tonkin, by taking Luang-Prabang and the valley of the Mekong. This we secure by making our influence paramount at Bangkok and on the Meinam, the short cut to the Upper Laos regions. There the establishment of a native neutral State from the Shans and Laos would also be a protection of our Indo-Chinese Empire, but it is easier to cut the Gordian Knot by a demonstration before Bangkok, which is 40 days' march to the Mekong Valley, where the warlike Cambodians will soon make short work of any troops that Siam could send to a country that cannot even feed its present sparse population. To reward King Narodom and his people for their support, we trust to raise a great Cambodia by reviving the ancient Kingdom of the Khmers.

That neither Lord Rosebery nor the Siamese should know what is going on, is simply a proof that the question is really foreign to them. Nor will any responsible official, English or Siamese, venture to argue the case. Travellers, like Lord Lamington, and commercial pioneers, like Mr. Holt Hallett, may well seek to stimulate public attention, but they are helpless to prevent the natural and inevitable extension of French influence and

commerce in its legitimate sphere. The annexation of Upper Burma has taught us what to do, though we have grievances against Siam, whereas there were none against Burma, except that it was required to consolidate the British Empire. Thus too will the existence of a French Indo-Chinese Empire be a factor in European politics and secure British neutrality in French questions, just as the approaches of England and Russia in Asia must secure British neutrality in Russian questions. The peace of Europe will, therefore, be assured in spite of any triple alliance.

Remains the possibility of Siam placing herself under a British protectorate. Its acceptance by England would be tantamount to a declaration of hostility against French Indo-China and may, therefore, be dismissed from present consideration.

CAMBODIAN.

VIVISECTION AND DISSECTION.

I STRONGLY protest against our Government identifying itself, in any way, with the brutalization of India by the introduction of Vivisection or by any interference with the time-honored Pinjrapoles in which old and disabled animals are fed and kept alive. The reverence felt for the sacredness of life by Indians should be rather fostered, for it is a feeling that is connected with their noblest associations, whereas with us mercy to animals, that have long served us, means to destroy them speedily, so as to be saved the trouble of looking after them, when they are "no longer of any use." The foolish slaughter of animals deprives our fields of manure and we have reached a state of things in England in which beer may be purchased for less than milk. The dissection of paupers who die in our Hospitals should also be stopped; I believe that few would subscribe to Hospitals if it were known that such an outrage might be committed on patients, ignorant of their possible fate. Charity may cover a multitude of sins, but it should no longer aid the experimentalizing, alive or dead, on the poor, without their previous knowledge or consent, for the very doubtful benefit of Medical Science and to the certain destruction of finer feelings in the operator and the public. In Bombay, the Muhammadans have protested against the way in which their dissected co-religionists are disposed of; in the Panjab, a College was—some years ago—emptied of its Central Asian students—all possible pioneers of British civilization—when Moulvi Abdullah of Bokhara died in Hospital and was dissected; but in England, the want of consideration towards paupers, "the beloved of God," awakens no protest.

AN ENGLISH DOCTOR.

OBITUARY.

ORIENTAL Learning and Art have sustained a heavy loss in the death of FREDERICK SALMON GROWSE, C.I.E., at the comparatively early age of 56 years. He was the younger son of Robert Growse of Bildeston, Ipswich, born in 1838. He was educated at Oxford (Oriel and Queen's Colleges) and was a scholar of the latter, where he graduated as M.A. Having joined the Civil Service, he went out to India in 1860, and was

posted to the N.W. Provinces, where he eventually rose to be Collector and Magistrate. Stationed first at Mathura, he worked zealously and arduously at the usual official routine, with a sympathy for the natives and a gradually increasing knowledge of their languages, ways and thoughts, which gave him an immense influence over them. This he exercised chiefly by urging the richer men to works of utility, both in constructing new wells and buildings and in restoring the splendid specimens of Indian architecture, existing in the district. His "Mathura, a District Memoir," is one of a series of government publications for the guidance of district officers; and here his erudition and love of Oriental art have combined to produce a work superior to most others of the class. It is illustrated with many photographs of personages and buildings, and published at the Allahabad Government Press; has run through three editions, and is still the standard work on the subject. His Essay on the principles on which town and village names have been formed shows the depth and extent of his study in Oriental languages, of which he has left another elegant monument in his Translation into excellent English Prose of the great Hindi poem—"the Ramayana of Tulsi Das," which reached a fourth edition in 1887: this also was published at the Allahabad Government Press, first in 8vo, then in 4to. He had been transferred to Bulandshahar, where he continued both his work and his studies, on the same lines as at Mathura. His failing health compelled him to leave India in 1890, after 30 years' service. He was nominated in 1879 a Companion of the Indian Empire for his excellent, if obscure, services, and a Fellow of the Calcutta University for his learning; and he was on the Committee of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Retiring to Haslemere, in Surrey, his health rapidly gave way; and after a long illness, borne with great patience and fortitude, he died peacefully on the 19th May, 1893. He was an accomplished scholar, a profound Orientalist, a learned archæologist, a sound critic, and a good administrator. His antipathy to the Public Works Department was not surprising in a man of his æsthetic tastes, to those who remember the Department's white-washing of the Pearl Mosque of Delhi. Mr. Growse, among other monuments of his zeal, liberality, and artistic taste, has left a very beautiful little Catholic Church at Mathura, himself bearing one-third of the cost. It is remarkable principally for being almost entirely in an Oriental style of architecture, its every detail elaborated with exactness and skill on the best models, yet without servile imitation. The effect is excellent, and if somewhat marred by the semi-Russian shape of the dome which rises over the intersection of the four arms of the edifice, the fault lies with the absurd prejudice of the priest in charge of the mission, who objected to the "heathen" Hindu elongated and quadrilateral dome which Mr. Growse had originally designed. His idea of utilizing Oriental forms for Christian art has unfortunately met with no response; and tawdry European china vases and cast metal candlesticks and French fiddle-shaped vestments are still obstinately used where Oriental pottery, Benares brasswork, and kinkobs stiff with wonderful gold embroidery can be got at much less expense. Mr. Growse, who had joined the Catholic Church, was a zealous observer of its precepts without any bigotry; and he received the last rites of his Church before his death. His

remains rest in the cemetery of Haslemere ; his good works still survive in the memory of his friends ; his books and buildings form a yet more lasting monument ; and his soul reposes, we trust, in God.

V.

Lord Chelmsford has favoured the public in this issue with a masterly account of the real "Defence of India," which is *within* its frontier. He has, however, in the course of his remarks on "the Madras and Bombay Army Bills" in the House of Lords on the 4th May last, also incidentally referred to the danger of any attempt to defend India *beyond* the Frontier, in sentences that are as terse as they are true, and of which the words, "those who were so persistent in advocating 'a forward policy,' were doing a great injustice to the natural features of our own Frontier and risking the loss of our Indian Empire" sum up the result of all careful topographical observations made in the countries beyond the Frontier. We trust to be able to show in detail in a future issue, how utterly unsuited are the countries beyond the Frontier to a military advance or occupation, and how unwise is the conduct of those who are breaking down one physical barrier after the other in order to join in a suicidal issue with a foe whom Nature had divided from us by almost unsurmountable obstacles. The whole extract from Lord Chelmsford's memorable speech runs as follows: "Running through the whole of the Despatch too, lay the presumption that, if we are to meet a formidable European enemy on our frontier, we must go outside the frontier to do so. He believed that would be a fatal mistake to make, unless it could be absolutely proved that by stepping outside we should find a better fighting position than inside our own country. But, he contended, after studying this question very closely for a great number of years, that the north-western frontier, which was the only strikable frontier for a European force, was as strong as it possibly could be made, and if they were to yield to those who were so persistent in advocating a forward policy, it would be seen, he believed, that they were doing a great injustice to the natural features of our own frontier and risking the loss of our Indian Empire."

We consider that Lord Chelmsford has not only saved his soul by putting the truth so plainly before his peers and the public, but that he has also rendered an invaluable and opportune service to his country by a warning, to which attention cannot be paid too soon.

Australia just now is under the storm-cloud of Bank disasters, but the sharp discipline was needed to restore banking from a kind of pawn-broking and to teach Australia to depend more upon herself.

MR. ADAMS ACTON, the well-known sculptor, who some years ago, at the request of the late Sirdar Bikrama Singh of Kapurthala, executed a fine marble portrait of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, for the Jullundhur Town-Hall, which was unveiled with great *éclat* on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, is now occupied on a bust of the late Surgeon-General Dr. H. W. Bellew of Indian fame, which is a speaking likeness of that eminent scholar,

traveller and official. A visit, therefore, to Mr. Acton's studio at 8, Langford Place, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, would not fail to interest the many friends and brother-officers of Dr. Bellew as also others connected with India. At Mr. Acton's studio they will also see other sculptures of eminent Anglo-Indians. We would suggest to our Indian guests now in London to visit a studio where they will find the busts of many friends and celebrities, which the genius of Mr. Acton has rendered immortal in marble. Certainly in the life-like delineation of the human face and figure, Mr. Acton is *facile princeps* among English sculptors. The Committee for a Statue of Lord Roberts cannot do better than secure Mr. Acton's services, if they desire an ever-vivid presentment of our popular hero.

THE *Pioneer* thinks there is an element of humour in the position which the Secretary of State has suddenly assumed in regard to the burden of the home charges. Lord Kimberley pictures himself as engaged in an unequal combat with the Treasury and the War Office, in which, of course, he is always defeated. But knowing, as we do, the ways of the India Office in regard to the contracts for stores and their method of meeting the indents sent home from this country, one cannot accept the Secretary of State for the time being as the champion of India. The fact is that India is considered fair prey by all the offices and departments in England which have any dealings with her. Whether it be the cost of an expedition to the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, or the sending of a handful of native cavalry to add to the glories of a pageant in the London streets, India must pay the piper, in whole or in part. It never seems to strike the home authorities that the Indian Treasury should not be called upon to meet charges connected with affairs which, in the cant of the day, are purely Imperial. What possible concern, for instance, could India have in the wretched muddle in Egypt and the Soudan? And yet her army was called upon to furnish fighting men, transport, etc., and to share in the barren honour of routing the Mahdi's forces. Did England ever offer to meet the indirect expenditure which the participation in the campaigns in the Nile delta and at Suakim involved? She gave grants of money, it is true, to cover to some extent the direct outlay, but there her generosity ended. The Indian taxpayer had to meet the other bills and to make the best of a bad business.

Turning to purely military matters, his lordship said the fact that India maintained a third of the British Army on active service gave her an undoubted claim on the help of the British reserves in any emergency. In Lord Ripon's time, when the Russian scare had caused general alarm, the question was plainly put from this country as to whether, in case of war, India would receive her quota of the reserve towards the cost of which she contributes. The answer was, we believe, that no such assistance could be promised, and it has never been modified. The most that could be expected was, it was said, that a few regiments would be sent out. This means of course that three or four thousand immature young soldiers would arrive at Bombay or Kurrachee to die off by the score, while all the

seasoned men would be enrolled to form the army corps in England—those corps which exist on paper only owing to the short service system. If Lord Kimberley will engage in earnest with the War Office on the particular point he will do the best service for India that a statesman is capable of performing at the present time, for when the time for campaigning comes the British garrison out here should be strengthened by trained men, capable of meeting the strain of active service, and not by “specials,” who will not be able to march a hundred miles beyond the frontier. This question of Reservists for India is one which Lord Roberts will doubtless bring forward in the House of Lords, and the facts which he will be able to quote should serve to convince Parliament that India is indeed being hardly treated under the present arrangement.

We congratulate Lord Kimberley and the India Office on the admirable manner in which the secret of the Lord Herschell's Currency Commission has been kept, till the time arrived for the simultaneous Proclamation of the Government decision in England and India. In a Money Market article in the *Times* a leakage was more than insinuated as an explanation of a temporary rise in Rupees and Rupee paper, but this rise was solely due to speculative guessing, and not to any knowledge or hint improperly obtained.

On the 15th June, in the House of Commons, Mr. S. Smith asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the attention of her Majesty's Government had been drawn to the recent statement of Lord Northbrook that India was for a period of 14 years, up to 1884, charged with a sum of four million sterling a year in consequence of the mode of adjusting military expenses between England and India, of which sum one half ought to have been borne by the Imperial Exchequer; whether, at the meeting of the new Legislative Council in Calcutta, Lord Lansdowne would be empowered to give any explanation on this subject; and whether, considering the condition of Indian finance, the Home Government would consent to a revision of the existing adjustment of military expenses.

Mr. G. Russell replied:—“Yes, sir. Lord Northbrook's statement referred to the system of paying the capitalized value of each pension, which was abandoned in 1884. (2) It would be open to the Viceroy to give explanations in answer to any question on the subject in the Legislative Council. (3) As any such revision would affect several departments of the Government, the Secretary of State is unable to give an answer to this question.” Comment is needless.

A splendid specimen of the Art-Industry of India has been prepared for the Chicago Exhibition; by the great carpet maker of Ahmedabad—Bakhtawur Singh Rajaram Singh. It is a carpet 20 feet long by 14 wide, and is valued at Rs. 2,000, which should equal £200, but alas! in these degenerate days go for only £125. It represents the labour, during 10 months, of 16 workmen who have been especially engaged in embodying into this carpet a design expressly made for it by a Deccanese artist.

This is a hunt in a dense forest : and it contains figures of lions, tigers, stags, *Nizgai*, and other wild animals, with horses, elephants and hunters. The details are most elaborately worked, even the clothes of the hunters showing splendid embroidery ; among the hunters are a European lady and gentleman. All the figures are clearly picked out, and the large number of colours used are admirably blended. The price tells a tale of low wages in India, for even skilled labour. The daily wage of each of these artisans would be only about 15d. a day !

The great Earthquake in Southern Afghanistan and the Quettah districts on the 29th December, 1892, was especially severe in the Kwaja Amran range, and produced a peculiar and rare result, which has not yet received the attention among scientific men that it deserves. Between the Khojak Tunnel and Old Chaman, at mile 643, the movement of the earth caused five rails to bulge out laterally, and all the joints, for a great distance, in both directions were found to be very tightly jammed up. The bent rails were, of course, at once taken up : but on trying to put on others they were found not to fit : the intermediate space was found *shortened*, by about 2 feet. This was due to a positive contraction of the Earth-surface at this point in consequence of the earthquake. Photographs were taken of the spot. Dr. Griesbach had been ordered up to examine the strange phenomenon, and his report will be looked forward to with much interest. A great crack in the earth has been produced a little East of the Meridian through Chaman Bezos and up to the Kwaja Amran main range.

Our withdrawal from the false position of forcing ourselves on our Ally, the Amir, so far from injuring, would vastly increase our "prestige" in Afghanistan as "possessors of faith and justice." The Amir would be dethroned by the Afghans, if we overrun his country with our politicals and soldiers. "X" writes in the *Times of India* that little more than fifty years ago an European could travel in perfect safety in Afghanistan. The Afghans were then neither fanatical nor "treacherous" to the stranger. These qualities have been developed, in self-defence, since alike Russian and British influence has swallowed up around them the whole of Muhammadan Asia: "Only Afghanistan now remains closed" to the omnivorous European. "The Pathan in his obstinate wisdom" will have none of our civilization. As a friend and ally he would be a source of strength to us ; as a subject, one of weakness. "The Amir has so far held his own firmly on the Pamirs" against Russia and his invitation to Major Yate to settle the Khushk Valley dispute, "proves that he recognizes the British as his helpers in any difficulty with a Foreign State ;" only he wants to be the judge of whether such difficulty exists and not to have difficulties found, invented or provoked for him by outsiders as an excuse for interference.

We greatly regret having to postpone many important articles announced in our last issue (as, *e.g.*, Pundit H. H. Dhruva's learned contribution to the Samvat Era controversy), and others since received. Our contributors and readers will, we hope, excuse the necessity laid on us by press of important current subjects, that often compel us to defer articles on matters of a more scientific or academical character, which, as of permanent interest, are of importance whenever issued.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE Imperial Institute was formally opened with a State ceremonial by Her Majesty in the presence of representatives of every colony and dependency of the British Empire. From India there were present their Highnesses the Chiefs of Bhownagar, Kapurthulla, and Gondal; and the squadron of Indian cavalry, picked men from various corps, received marked attention. The event notes an important stage in the development of our Colonial Empire. The jewelled key presented on the occasion to the Queen-Empress was made of materials from most parts of the Empire; but as far as we have learned, nothing from India proper entered into its composition. The Institute may be over-rated; but it fulfils an important office, as a perpetual Exhibition of the products and industries of the British Empire, collected in one central place.

The Gaekwar of Baroda is travelling in the north of Europe, and the young Nawab of Rampur is doing a tour round the world; the Raja of Bobbili is also visiting England.

The unaccountably tardy report of the Indian Currency Commission, signed only on the 31st May, was forwarded on the 2nd June to India, the government of which has just communicated its decision by telegraph. This is being discussed by the Cabinet, and will afterwards be laid before Parliament; but a guarantee was expressly refused that action in India should be deferred till the House of Commons has studied the subject. This would indicate that the Indian Government is allowed (as should be the case) a free hand to deal with the matter. The exchange has already begun to rise and has passed the official rate of 1s. 2½d. fixed for the year. How widely spread is the process of systematically fattening on the Indian Exchange was indicated by the impertinent protest of the China Trade Association against legislation for the benefit of India,—because, forsooth, it would injure *their* trade! Thus actually pretending that the interests of 285,000,000 should be deliberately sacrificed to the profit of a handful.

In Parliament, the *Madras and Bombay Armies Bill* has passed the Lords; but it is doubtful if there will be time to pass it through the Commons. Replying to a question, the Government declared that though theoretically it was important that judicial and executive administration should be separate, yet practically the finances of India could not, at least at present, stand the strain of the increase in the staff which it would necessitate. Lord Northbrook called attention to the excessive military expenditure of the India office; and it was admitted that this, and much else at that office, needed economy and improvement; but nothing was concluded. To a request for an early date on which to discuss the Indian Budget, Mr. Gladstone, while acknowledging its necessity, practically said that Ireland blocked the way. The absurd resolution regarding synchronous competitive examinations in England and India for the Civil Service, has been referred for report to the Government of India; but they are

allowed a free hand in the matter, which must then be resubmitted to Parliament.

In INDIA itself the Councils Act has come into operation on the lines mentioned in our last *Summary*. The Bengal Government has accepted all the nominations made; but we have to note the significant fact that at the election of Babu Sourindro Nath Bannerji by the Corporation of Calcutta, he received only one European vote. There has been, as was natural, some sharp criticism on the inadequacy of the representation granted; but the beginning made is good, and is capable of wide extension and great improvement. We hope yet to see a regular system put forward, to be worked up to, in a statesmanlike manner, for a good predetermined form of Constitutional government.

Sir Charles Elliot having taken sick leave, the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal is temporarily in the able hands of Sir A. P. Macdonnell from the Central Provinces, where he is replaced by Mr. J. Woodburn from Allahabad. The negotiations with China on the Sikkim-Thibet trade are nearly completed—the tea question alone remains. The Maharaja of Kashmir and his two brothers have contributed to Pundit Avinash Chandra's English translation of the Charaka Samhita. The Lucknow British Association has awarded Rs. 1,000 to Babu Pertab Chunder Roy for his English translation of the Mahabharata, three-fourths of which are already completed. The historic Lahore gate of Delhi is being pulled down to make way for a large square necessitated by the increasing size and importance of the suburb of Sulzi Mundi: the city is lighted with electricity; and last year saw the establishment of several steam flour and cotton mills, and of 4 iron foundries. Dr. Cleghorn, Mr. Ibbetson and Moulvi Samulla are named Commissioners to inquire into the Contagious Diseases Act. Though the winter has been unusually cold, stormy, and long, the rainfall has been almost everywhere somewhat above the average, and the reports on crops of all kinds—especially wheat—are very favourable. The new Railway Bridge over the Kistna at Bezwada was opened by Lord Wenlock. The S. I. Railway have contributed Rs. 50,000 as their share towards the new waterworks at Trichinopoly. The Hon. R. Thombee Chitty, Chief Judge of Mysore, has given Rs. 10,000 for a hospital at Bangalore, half being for a women's and children's ward to be named after his wife. Mr. Edulji Dinshaw has given Rs. 50,000 for a female Hospital at Karachi. A statue is being erected in Travancore in memory of Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., sometime Diwan of that state.

Disturbances by some aboriginals—Bhingas and Khonds—occurred in the Keunjar state, Orissa District. The Raja was besieged in his fort, and troops had to be sent to aid him. Heavy taxation was alleged as the excuse; but the rising seems to have been caused by the same leaders who raised similar troubles in 1891 and 1892. A series of executions by the Khan of Khelat, who is an independent Prince, has led to the intervention of the Suzerain Power. The Khan offered no resistance; and though no decision is yet published, he will doubtless be advised to abdicate in favour of his son. The detachment till now stationed in the Mekran has been withdrawn, as too far out of India, but political control will be continued over the region.

In the Military Department, Lord Roberts closed a long career of honourable service in India with a well-earned ovation on leaving the country ; and he has had an enthusiastic welcome home. Sir George White has replaced him in Bengal. Sir James Dormer's death (from the effects of mauling by a tiger), after good service done during his tenure of office especially in his scheme for reconstructing the Madras army in class regiments, leaves the Madras command in the hands of General Stewart, till General East's return from leave. As we write, the death of Sir John Hudson, by a fall from his horse, leaves vacant the Bombay command which he had but lately taken up. Thus the three Commander-in-chiefs in India have changed hands during the quarter ! The system of class Regiments has been extended to 16 more corps in the Bengal army. Sir George White has permitted subscriptions being raised in Sikh Regiments to aid the Khalsa College mentioned in our April issue. Complaints are made of negligence in the India Office, as the 6 Maxim guns ordered 4 years ago have not yet arrived. The British troops in India are armed with the new magazine rifle ; and the native army, now using the Martini-Henry, show a further improvement in their already excellent shooting. Disarmament progresses in the Chin hills, where 1,270 guns were lately given up, and four rebel chiefs were captured.

There is discontent in Assam, where the new Settlement has increased the assessment by 20 to 100 per cent. ; the people say that beyond 15 per cent. is not a just enhancement. The Kukis have raided the village of Sweny Naga near Manipur, carrying off nearly 300 heads. The Kachar district also has been disturbed, and a planter was murdered ; and it was not till repeated strong representations had been made, that the authorities took steps for restoring security and confidence : it would seem that energy in India is displayed only in our senseless action in the extreme north-west frontier.

In BURMA the Siamese delimitation Commission has ended its labours. The boundaries fixed are those mentioned by us (October, 1892), except that we have yielded to Siam the old Burmese state of Kyaing Chaing astride the Mekong, while Siam in return has ceded the trans-Salween Karenni to our loyal Karen chief. The affair, conducted on the most friendly terms, has given satisfaction to all concerned. To encourage the study of Chinese, large pecuniary rewards are offered, with leave on full pay for 6 months at Bhamo and 1 year at Peking. There has been further trouble with the Kachins near Sima. More gold has been found in Wuntho. The proposed university for Burma has met with opposition. From the 1st July, all habitual consumers of opium are to be registered, and it is forbidden to supply the drug to any others—the latter a very senseless enactment, due to the absurd interference of irresponsible agitators. In lower Burma, excessive rain has done some damage to the crops, which are, however, reported to be good. The question of the deputation to China is still unsettled, but it is decided that no tribute of any kind will be sent. The Tswabwa of Theebaw is coming to visit England ; his son who has just returned hence, carrying on the government during his absence.

French India is undergoing a severe financial crisis. For some unexplained reason--probably diminished prosperity leading to a lessened revenue--the chest at Pondicherry is empty, and it is found difficult to replenish it. The governor, M. Thomas, who was to have left Pondicherry, has been asked to continue in office, in order to help in finding a way out of the difficulty, by his experienced advice. Dom Teixeira da Silva, Governor-General of Goa is replaced by Dom Raffael de Andrade, whom he relieves at Mozambique.

The road and telegraph to Gilgit are opened; and things have been quiet there, as the threatened attack by the Kohistanis on Chilas has not occurred. Umra Khan of Jandol, having made peace with Nawagai, had been fighting with Dir. The Russian forces from the Murghabi Forth--where 1600 are said to be stationed--had appeared at Sarhad in Wakhan, and had called on the Afghan commandant of Kileh Panja to surrender: this, however, lacks confirmation. More troubles have arisen, in AFGHANISTAN, with the Hazaras, and there has been some fighting. Both sides claim success, whence we may conclude that nothing decisive has yet taken place. Colonel Yate, on his way to the Kushk river, has been everywhere received with great cordiality and marked honour, it is said, by express orders of the Amir. The Russian commissioners reached Viskuk on the 25th May; and a satisfactory termination may be soon expected of the dispute about the waters. The Amir is said to be still desirous of visiting England; and it is hard to conceive what possible reason the government of India can have to prevent his doing so, unless it be the danger of a revolt in Afghanistan when he is away. He has lately received 20 great packages of electro-plating machinery; but some difficulties were reported to have arisen with some of his European employés.

The accounts, for 1892, of the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS show a deficit of \$600,000, while at Perak there is a surplus of exactly the same amount. The Sultan of Johore, who is once more travelling in Europe, has been decorated by the Emperor of Austria with the 1st class of the order of the Iron Crown.

The King of SIAM opened in April the Railway from Bangkok to Paknam, its port at the mouth of the Meïnam. By a most unjustifiable and unprovoked raid, the French have seized Stung Tien, pushed up to the Kong rapids, and seized nearly all the Siamese territory on the left bank of the Mekong. They were organizing a "Cambodian militia with the best results." The Siamese have offered scarcely any opposition, and seem disinclined to maintain by force of arms their undoubted rights. The importance of the difficulty can scarcely be over-estimated; and as it has long been brewing, it is one more stain on Lord Lansdowne's administration, that it seems not to have been foreseen and averted. The French pretence is that all territory belonging to Annam in 1838 is theirs; the Siamese naturally say that the French can have no right except to what belonged to Annam at the precise date that the French protectorate was declared. Might, however, will probably overcome right yet once more in human history.

There has been some severe fighting in the DUTCH EAST INDIES with the Acheens who are still unsubdued.

JAPAN has annexed the Pelew Islands, lying between the Philippines and the Carolines, and is encouraging emigration to foreign countries. After reductions had been made and reforms promised by the ministers, the Diet voted the Budget and was closed; and the vacation is being utilized (as elsewhere) in stumping the country. The reduction amounted to only 493,743 yen, in place of the first demand for 10,000,000 yen. The Jiyuto party cordially yielded to the Emperor's proposals; and the Kashinto, who held out, could do nothing. The proposed 10 per cent. tax on salaries is calculated to yield 17,699,229 yen; and private individuals have generously contributed large sums to help their government. A fire at Kanagawa destroyed 2,000 houses. At the end of March, 551 miles of government railways were open; and the Austrian Lloyd's steamers now run to Kobe. The foreign trade of Japan in 1892 has exceeded that of 1891 by 20,000,000 yen, chiefly in tea and silk; in the decade the trade has increased 150 per cent. 35 cotton mills with 307,298 spindles were turning out 21,000 bales of yarn: two mills sent no returns.

From China, the trade for 1892 is reported at £47,530,000, of which £28,530,000 (or 60 per cent.) was with the British empire, £8,000,000 only being with Great Britain direct. From the interior come reports of a severe famine and consequent emigration of large numbers to Mongolia. This year the examinations at the Imperial College include the English, French, German, and Russian languages, the returned secretaries of the embassies acting as assessors. For the riots at Ichang in 1891 full compensation has been given in two cases,—the third, reduced by the Consul by 15 per cent., is not yet settled as the claimant and his friends indignantly decline to admit any reduction. Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who has just received a well earned Baronetcy, has prepared a scheme for a general Postal service all over China, but the edict for its promulgation will not be published till all the details are in order for actual working. In Korea disturbances have been raised by the Togukuts—a violently anti-foreign politico-religious body, numbering over 200,000 strong. Japanese and Chinese men-of-war had been sent to preserve order.

The Grand Duke George Alexandrovitch, second son of the Czar, has gone, under medical advice, to reside at Abas Tuman, in the Caucasus. The Russian Customs line has been abolished between Russia and Bokhara and one established between Russia and Afghanistan, along the Amu Daria.

PERSIA has granted to Poliakoff of Moscow, the contract, with a 99 years' lease, for a road between Kazvin, Resht and Enzeli—about 125 miles—with the right of cultivating the land on both sides of the road, not exceeding a total width of 70 feet. The road must be completed in 2 years, and is estimated to cost £100,000; no restrictions are put on the number of foreigners to be employed; heavy tolls may be levied and only a small royalty has to be given on profits over 12 per cent. He is also to have the refusal of a Railway to Enzeli, and will be indemnified if it is granted to others. A separate engagement is to provide for improving the Enzeli port by dredging and establishing a tug and lighter service by the river to Resht. Russia is trying to force Persia to expropriate the owners

of the land required for the road at a special price, instead of the current market value : as yet the Shah has not yielded. The Belgian Co.'s Railway and Tramways in the environs of Teheran have been transferred to Russian hands. There have been riots at Shiraz owing to dearness of bread and trouble about the copper coinage. Gavan-ul-mulh, who seems to have exercised much pernicious influence, has been recalled ; and the people have quieted down. An insurrection near Bunder Abbas, accompanied with much pillaging, has been suppressed, and the rebels driven into the hills north of Bunder Abbas will have soon to surrender as they are in straits from want of provisions.

In TURKEY the Sultan has ordered the release of all the Armenians lately imprisoned for riots ; and an Imperial Iradé has restored to Mgr. Kremian, now Catholicos of the Armenians, his rights as an Ottoman subject of which he had been deprived on his deposition from the see of Constantinople. The brigands who attacked and wounded the agent of the Rothschilds, proceeding to the Jewish Colony of J'amieh, were captured by Yahia Bey and sent to prison at Beyreuth. The Emir Mustapha Arslan has been appointed Chief of the Druses, and Abdur-Rahman Pasha, transferred from Smyrna to Adrianople, has been succeeded by Muhammad Inaladdin Pasha. At Tel-el-Hesi (Lachish) excavations conducted for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Prof. F. J. Bliss of the American College, Beyreuth have disclosed 8 superimposed towns, like Schlieman's Troy. The German Emperor has conferred on the Grand Vizier the Order of the Red Eagle, and on the Minister of Public Works, that of the White. Some Arab disturbances are reported from Al Adan on the Turkish side of the Persian Gulf ; and the Russian explorer, Baron Nolde, has returned safe from Central Arabia. Cholera is reported from Mecca.

In EGYPT, a new steel bridge over the Damietta branch of the Nile at Mansourah was opened by the Khedive, who is about to pay an official visit to Constantinople. Prince Aziz Hassan has gone to Germany to study, travelling *via* Marseilles. Riaz Pasha has had to warn several native papers for their seditious tendency. An amnesty was granted to all prisoners with over 3 years' sentence who had put in $\frac{1}{3}$ of their time : the prisons were said to be overcrowded. Some policemen sentenced to imprisonment for shooting down a notorious brigand trying to escape were pardoned : subsequently an attempted escape by 50 other prisoners ended in the shooting of no less than 30. The annual statistics of the work done by the native tribunals show that there are no arrears of cases, and that murder and brigandage are both diminishing. Tigrani Pasha, the foreign minister, has addressed to the European Powers a circular proposing alterations in the Mixed tribunals. The motion in Parliament on the evacuation of Egypt ended in the declaration of a continuance of the policy hitherto pursued. The matter was hotly debated in Egypt ; but the results are distinctly good, as announcing the definite resolution of England. The European officials interfere less in details, confining themselves to supervision ; and Riaz Pasha is acting now as cordially as he always has done honestly. There seems to be a rising

demand in some quarters for a representative government, on the ground that Egyptians are at least as fit for it as Bulgarians and Serbs. The *Figaro* of Paris has lately given a bold and clear justification of the English occupation of Egypt, from the pen of M. Felix Dubois, who declared he had visited the country for the express purpose of fault-finding, but had to come away converted. Another raid by Osman Digma has been repulsed, and the booty taken by him recaptured. The dredging of Alexandria harbour has been completed.

The negotiations for delimitation between TRIPOLI and TUNIS have failed through the exorbitant demands of the latter under French influence. In MOROCCO, the Sultan has recovered from his illness. Caravan robberies have been perpetrated with impunity by French-protected tribes; but an ample apology was exacted for the uncivil treatment of two British subjects at Fez. Locusts have done much damage. Mr. Satow has been appointed British Minister at Tangier.

At Niambatung (Bathurst district, GAMBIA) the English flag, hoisted by Mr. Llewellyn was hauled down by a French officer; no steps have, of course, been taken. Fighting has occurred in LIBERIA at Rocktown, but without definite results. The territory hitherto known as the OIL RIVERS' PROTECTORATE is henceforth to be styled THE NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE, the right bank of the Rio del Rey forming its boundary with the German Cameroons. The affairs of Dahomey still await settlement, and Behanzin has not yet come in; but Col. Dodds has, of course, received an ovation in France. Samoury has been defeated in the French Soudan; and Col. Achinard has opened the way to Timbuctoo, *via* the Niger, and subdued the Macina country. M. Mizon has been filibustering, and slaying many Africans. The French are still quarrelling with the CONGO STATE about some territory, and they declare they will not submit the dispute to arbitration. Lieut. Dhanis has defeated the Arabs and captured Nyangwe. M. del Commune reports having traced the Congo to a mountain chain running from the S. shore of Tanganyika to the N. shore of Nyassa. Hence, under the name of Chambesi, it flows into Lake Benguelo: thence, as the Luapula to Lake Moero. Issuing hence as a river 800 metres broad, it descends by a series of waterfalls to the village of Ankorro, then meets on the west the Lualaba, increased by several affluents. From this point the stream was well known. The deaths are reported of M. van der Kirkhoven and Dr. Montanzi; and the rumours of the death of Emin Pasha are still current, but very conflicting and unreliable.

The CAPE ministry has been reorganized; Mr. Cecil Rhodes is still Premier, with Sir J. Gordon Sprigg as Treasurer, forming a much stronger government than before. The revenue for 11 months was £4,500,000—an increase of £500,000. The NATAL responsible government party having got a decisive majority, have carried their project into operation. Mr. Kruger has been finally declared President of the TRANSVAAL, the rival claimant, Joubert, having only 7,009 votes to his 7,881—majority 872. He advocates a reduction of tariffs; and failing that a joint Customs' Union of all the South African states is proposed, as also a Mint Union, under joint control: the mint is to be at Praetoria. Sir H. Loch and Pre-

sident Kruger held a conference at Colesberg concerning SWAZILAND—M. Joubert at the last moment failing to attend as he had promised. This conference (for exclusion from which Natal seems very sore) was resumed at Praetoria. There have been conflicting rumours of the result, but nothing positive is yet known as we write. Meanwhile the Transvaal government has notified the termination of the present convention, on the 8th August. Copper has been discovered in Demaraland, where the Germans have had some fighting with predatory tribes who attacked protected tribes. The South Africa Co. reports new and rich finds of gold, and has taken up the making of the Vryburg-Mafeking Railway. A good waggon road is completed from Beira to Manicaland. A company has been formed for conveying goods from Beira to Fontes Villa up the Pungwe, whence a railway is already completed for 50 miles, with earthworks ready over 25 more; and another for a railway from the Bay of Benba to Lake Nyassa. The British Commissioner for Central Africa was attacked at Mwpa but was rescued by a party from the *Mosquito* and the *Herald*, after a forced march of 22 miles, over the hills. Lt. Edwards had arrived with 100 Sikhs. The *Philomel* captured a dhow with 42 slaves, going northward from German East Africa. Over 200 slaves had been liberated in April, and some Arab vessels were seized with slaves under the French flag. The report on ZANZIBAR shows considerable financial progress; the old fort has been abolished as a prison, for which purpose it was quite unfit, and 300 of the late Sultan's slaves have been liberated. The clove crop is very good; but as the liberation of slaves has seriously diminished the number of work hands, fears are entertained that it cannot all be gathered. Herr von Schele has succeeded Baron von Soden as Governor of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. Sir Gerald Portal has reached Uganda, and proclaimed a British Protectorate; and news reliable, if not official, has been received thence. Capt. Williams had had to attack Uvuma, in consequence of outrageous raids; 3 islands had submitted, and 300 slaves were released. Bishop Hannington's remains had been found and were to be interred in the chancel of the new Church; and the King with 5,000 of his people had been attending Bishop Tucker's service. Sir Gerald had engaged for Government service nearly all the Soudanese troops and several of the officers in Uganda—Major Eric Smith, Grant Wilson and Reddie. Captain Williams had reached Kubuyu with those who were not so engaged. The two furthest garrisons in the Toru country had been transferred to the two nearest forts in it, and Major Owen and Capt. Portal remained there to organize the troops; 100 soldiers, with their wives and slaves, had been brought to Kampala, where Captain Macdonald, R.E., had been appointed Resident. There are indications that the territory will not be abandoned; and Sir Gerald is expected at the coast in August. The British E. Africa Co. have held their general meeting. The expenditure was stated at £448,000, and assets at £287,000, leaving a deficit of £181,000, and it was said that their affairs could go on satisfactorily, if government would grant a fair and reasonable readjustment of the Zanzibar Protectorate Revenues.

In AUSTRALIA the successive failure of bank after bank has led to

a deplorable financial crisis showing a deep-rooted evil in the Colonies. A conference of Premiers took place ; and Sir J. W. Downer of Adelaide was asked to frame a common Bill for all the Colonies, and it was resolved that all the Savings Banks should be put under government control. The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce had nominated a Committee to report on the crisis ; and this declared it inadvisable to issue Treasury notes, as had been done at Brisbane and Sidney, and considered it better that Parliament should aid really sound banks with negotiable government securities. The interference of the legislatures does not seem to have given much aid in the crisis, if it did not intensify it. The Cape government offered assistance to Australia, but the offer was declined with thanks. The precise nature of the offer is not known—only that it was a proposal to invest a large sum in Australian securities. Considering the enormous indebtedness of the Australian Banks to the public, no such loan could have prevented the inevitable smash resulting from bad system, rash speculation, large dividends and the locking-up of great part of the capital. In January there were 21 Banks with deposits amounting to £140,000,000. Seven with £57,000,000 in deposits still stand. Fourteen have gone, with deposits up to £83,000,000, Notes and Bills to £3,500,000 and share capital to £21,000,000 : total indebtedness to the public £91,500,000. In nearly all these colonies, deficits and borrowings have to be chronicled each quarter, in spite of numerous retrenchments. In QUEENSLAND, the new ministry, led by Sir T. McIlwraith has a good working majority after a general election. The revenue for the quarter was less by £130,000 than last year. At MELBOURNE the retrenchments, amounting to £885,000, include £50,000 in the military vote : railway privileges have been greatly reduced : and the Governor's salary is to be reduced from £10,000 to £7,000 a year. Revenue for last quarter shows a decline of £150,000 on that of last year. The estimated deficit for the year is £1,068,000, with £960,000 from last year. The SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ministry was reconstituted in May. On opening the XIVth Parliament, the Governor noted the end of the drought, a good prospect for the crops and a fair vintage ; the Adelaide Bank was safe, and no legislation was needed for it ; by continuing the income tax, by increasing death duties and duties on some items in the customs and by economy all round, further taxation would be avoided. A deficit of £50,000 was expected ; and last quarter's revenue had declined £20,000. Sir J. Downer's Government was defeated by 2 votes, and Mr. C. C. Kingston is now Premier with a new ministry. Sir Robert William Duff has succeeded the Earl of Jersey as Governor of NEW SOUTH WALES, where the revenue of the March quarter had shrunk £14,000. A "patriotic gentleman" had paid £1,000 into the treasury to meet the expenses of Sir G. Dibbs' journey to Europe. By May, the customs were £50,000 less than last year, the railway receipts £39,000, and the number of sheep less by 3,500,000 chiefly due to increase in the export trade of meat. WEST AUSTRALIA on the other hand has a surplus to show of £115,000, and seems flourishing. The Australian traveller Guy Boothby has arrived in England after traversing the continent with his secretary. The total increase of population in Australia in 1892 was the smallest since 1878.

IN NEW ZEALAND, Mr. R. J. Seddon has succeeded to the Premiership, by the death of Mr. Ballance. The finances are in a very prosperous condition, and the receipts exceeded the estimates on almost every item. There was a net surplus of £300,000 after paying off £100,000 of the floating debt and £74,000 of the Land Fund deficit. The railways show a large clear profit. It is not considered prudent however to reduce the taxation. The fruit industry is thriving; and iron has been discovered at Wanapara in the North Island. Some floods had caused much damage at Wellington. Australian fruit is finding its way to India, where it ought to find a good market.

TASMANIA issued a loan of £1,000,000: of this £200,000 were by Treasury Bills; £800,000 were taken up through Banks; and the remainder was withdrawn. Viscount Gormanston, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Tasmania; Sir C. C. Lees, K.C.M.G., goes from the Mauritius to British Guiana, and Sir Herbert Jerningham, K.C.M.G., becomes Governor of the Mauritius. Sir C. B. H. Mitchell, K.C.M.G., from Natal will succeed Sir C. Smith at the Straits' Settlements, being replaced by Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, K.C.M.G.

The Earl of Aberdeen will be Governor General of CANADA on the return of Lord Stanley of Preston now Earl of Derby by the lamented death of his brother. General A. Montgomery Moore assumes the duties of Commander in Chief. The conclusion of the treaty with France is indefinitely postponed; but that with Spain grants to Canada the same terms as to the United States in trade with the Antilles. Mr. Mercer made an explicit pronouncement in favour of Canadian independence, which is unlikely to produce any effect except some inter-religious animosities. A new line of Steamers to Australia *via* Hawaii has been subsidized to £25,000 a year by Canada and £10,000 a year by Sydney. The owners are Messrs. Huddart, Parker & Co.; and the pioneer steamer the *Miwera* started from Sydney on the 18th May, arriving at Vancouver on the 9th June, a passage of 23 days. The revenue and trade continue to expand satisfactorily. For the 10 months, the exports were \$93,500,000 an increase of \$4,100,000 over the corresponding period of last year; and the Imports \$97,334,000, an increase of \$7,500,000. A serious misunderstanding is pending regarding the claim to priority made by Her M.'s ships over all others at the Esquimault Dock, on account of the imperial grant towards its constructions. The Labrador seal fishing has this year been comparatively unsuccessful. Two steamers brought in 25,000 skins, but 17 others engaged in the trade have had varying success, bringing only from 200 to absolutely no skins; it has been the worst season for 30 years. The Behrings Sea Arbitration is dragging on. As nothing has been concluded about the British sealers now some time ago seized and ill-treated by Russians, that power has proceeded to prohibit all sealing within 10 miles of her coasts and 30 miles of her islands; and our government has agreed to this, but only as a temporary and special concession. We hear only that the discussions caused by these proceedings "continue to be amicable." The Canadian Pacific Railway shows a net earning of \$8,420,348; and after paying dividends a clear surplus of \$2,221,933:—551

wooden bridges were replaced with permanent works. The increasing Eastern trade has led to the appointment of special agents at Yokohama, Hong Kong and Shanghai. The province of Quebec failed to raise the \$10,000,000 loan to pay off loans, etc. becoming due, as the province owes already \$65,000,000: a trial is to be made in Paris. In Prince Edward's Island the former two houses of Legislature have been abolished in favour of a single chamber of 30 members, half of whom are elected by manhood suffrage and half by a £65 qualification: a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ is required for passing a measure.

The NEWFOUNDLAND legislation has sanctioned a Railway from Exploits Bay to Port Basque Bay—250 miles—via Bay of Islands and St. George's Bay—to be finished in 3 years at a cost of \$4,000,000. Messrs. Reid of Montreal are the contractors. The annual cost to the public funds will be \$170,000, but the line is of great promise, as it taps the best timber, mineral, and agricultural lands. There has been a fresh quarrel with the French, who pretend to receive their supplies duty free.

OBITUARY.—We record with regret the following deaths during the quarter. His Highness the Maharaja of Bettiah, K.C.I.E.; Col. Andrew John Macpherson, (2nd Punjab and Mutiny Campaigns); Alan William Macpherson, author of *Procedure in the Civil Courts of India*, and Secretary to the commission for codifying the Laws of India; R. L. Bensley, M.A., Lord Almoner Reader in Arabic; A. M. Monteith, late Postmaster-General of India; Ti Kooti, the Maori chief on whose head a price was once fixed of £5,000 for having committed a massacre, but who was afterwards pardoned; Shorabji Shahpurji Bengallee, C.I.E., a Parsi gentleman who did much for female education and social reform; the Hon. Krishnaji Luxmon Nulkar, C.I.E., successively Dewan of Bhooj, and member first of the Bombay and then of the Governor-General's Council; W. Cotton Oswell, Hon. E. I. Co.'s Service, and an African explorer; Sir R. J. Pinsent, Kt., D.C.I., Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland; M. Barrot, who explored Korea in 1888; the Hon. John Ballance, Premier of New Zealand; Lt.-Gen. Sir James Charlemagne Dormer, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of Madras, who had served in the Crimea, India, China and Egypt; Prince Dondukoff Korsakoff, Commander-in-Chief in the Caucasus; Gen. John Pitcairn Sandwith (Sindh Campaign); Gen. James Burns (Burmese War 1852-3, Sonthal war 1855-6, and the Sassiram Field Force, 1858); Edward K. Moylan, Attorney-General of Grenada, then of the Rangoon Bar, and *Times* Correspondent in the Burmese war; W. G. Romaine, Judge Advocate-General in India and English Controller-General in Egypt till 1879; Col. James D. Carmichael, C.B. (Mutiny); Hon. Sir W. H. White, Auditor-General of Hong-Kong, and on financial Commissions of inquiry in Egypt and S. Africa; Gen. Henry Duncan Taylor (Burma war, 1852-3, Mutiny, and China 1860, and Inspector-General of Police in the Central Provinces); Chung How, once Chinese Ambassador at St. Petersburg, author of the ill-starred Treaty of Livadia, which China declined to ratify; Quinton Mackinnon, a New Zealand Explorer; Charles Rudy of Paris, a Chinese scholar; Frederick Salmon Growse, of whom we give a special notice elsewhere; Lt.-Genl. Sir John Hudson, K.C.B.,

Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, who had served in the Mutiny, the Abyssinian war, the Afghan war (1878-80), and the Soudan (1885); and General Samuel Black long connected with the Punjab Government; Mir Ghulam Baba Khan, C.I.E., of Surat; General Sir Frederick Edward Chapman, R.E., G.C.B., who served in the Crimea and was afterwards Governor of Bermuda; James Claudius Erskine, Oriental Translator to the Indian Govt., Director of Public Instruction, and author of a History of the two first Timur Kings of India; Sir Elliot Charles Bovill, Chief Justice, Straits' Settlement; the most Revd. Christopher Augustine Reynolds, D.D., Archbishop of Adelaide since 1873; Prince Iskandar Ali Mirza Bahadur of Murshidabad; Resaldar Major Gopal Singh, Cent. Ind. Horse, Ad. D.C. to the Viceroy; Rao Bahadur Yeswantrao Kilkar, a very valuable revenue officer and Oriental translator to the Bombay Government; General W. R. Gordon, B.S.C. (Burma war 1852-53, Sonthal war 1855, Mutiny, Bhutan and Assam); Col. G. B. Messediglia Bey, an African explorer, and a friend of General Gordon, whom he helped in his administration; Genl. Sir Edwin Beaumont Johnson, G.C.B., C.I.E., (both Punjab wars, and Mutiny); Genl. Sir William Payn, K.C.B. (1st Punjab and Crimean Wars and Mutiny); Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., the South African statesman; Genl. Mounsey Grant (Crimea, Mutiny, Fuzufai and Umbeyla Campaigns); and Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., four times Premier of New Zealand. V.

As we are going to Press, we learn with deep regret that Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., C.I.E., died at 10 a.m. on the 22nd June, 1893, at the Burlington Hotel in London. He laid the foundation of one of the greatest shipping Companies in the World, the British India Steam Navigation Company, but he is, perhaps, better known as the founder of the Imperial British East Africa Company, to which our article on "Ibea" endeavours to do justice. We hope that with him has not died the last hope of his Company becoming in Africa, what the East India Company has been in India, whatever Government may do with Uganda.

The terrible disaster on the 22nd instant to our troopship "Victoria," whilst manœuvring off the Syrian port of Tripoli, which has involved the deaths of Admiral Sir G. Tryon and of 360 brave men, concludes our Obituary in a manner, the loss and gloom of which we are not able immediately to realize. Admiral Tryon was eminent both with the pen and the sword and as an organizer, but it is his Imperial work in connection with the naval defences of Australia, not to speak of his services before Sebastopol, in the Abyssinian Expedition, at Tunis and elsewhere that will render his name illustrious in the naval annals of Great Britain.

P.S.—The decision of the Indian Government on the Exchange is just published: the Indian mints are closed to free coinage of silver, and the exchange is provisionally fixed at rs. 4d. As an immediate result, the Rupee has gone up $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the price of silver has fallen nearly 4 per cent. We reserve the subject for our next issue—27th June.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of my Indian Career*, by SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1893, 2 vols. ; 21s.) Sir George Campbell's long and meritorious service in India, in both the Judicial and Administrative Departments, has left distinct marks in more than one part of that country, all of which he travelled over if he did not live in : he even visited Singapore, Hong-Kong and Canton. A Haileybury man, of the old type, he understood the people over whom he ruled, sympathized with them, and was generally understood by them. He was distinctly conservative in India, whatever he may have been in Parliament ; and his object was to improve on the old native institutions rather than to abolish them in favour of our newer civilization. He read much, thought soundly as a rule, and wrote well. These memoirs, which he did not live to complete, end with the Bengal famine of 1876 ; and his style is familiar and clear, sometimes witty, often humorous, always pleasant to read. They are not full of himself, as such memoirs usually are ; but in tracing his own career he furnishes a fund of information on India. He has a thorough command of his subject. He discusses the Mutiny, successive viceroys, Lord Clyde and Sir C. Napier, native character and ethnology, judicial systems and codes, a proposed new Metropolis for India, the village communities :—but he is particularly interested in what concerns the land and its cultivators. His thorough knowledge of India, both from experience and reading, enables him to treat his numerous subjects with exactness and correctness,—even though we have *gaolies* for *gwalas* and *Chuddahs* for *Chuddars*. Space forbids our saying much in detail of this interesting book which should be read by all who wish to extend their knowledge of India—for it is a country that requires much study. Excellent, each in its way, are, a comparison between village communities and our own municipalities (p. 81), a sad and over-true tale (p. 85), a touch on the jury system (p. 136), the Edlingham Burglary with reference to India (p. 158), Sir H. Ramsay of Kumaon and the Exchange (p. 169), a sound policy about native States (p. 180), the proposed abandonment of Peshawur (p. 237) where he does justice to Lord Lawrence for what we have always considered a parallel to Napoleon at Mantua. In vol. 2, he touches on “European-educated rulers” (p. 86), on the chronic absence up to his time of statesmen in Madras (p. 114) ; on Ethnology (p. 130 and *seq.*). Good instances of Sir George's outspoken criticism are at p. 130 : “The Sonthal rebellions were not without much provocation,” at p. 157 and *seq.*, on the Orissa famine, and on “Eye-wash” at p. 172. Clyde, Napier, Nicholson, Edwardes, Hodson, Broadfoot and some others get some sound knocks, but neither malicious nor undeserved ; Lawrence, Thomason, Colvin, Mayo and others have new and favourable light cast upon them ; Kaye, Malleson and Canning come in for good criticism. We conclude with a characteristic anecdote. In Kashmir, “I had occasion to say to a man ‘Are you the head man of the village?’ ‘Well,’ he

said, 'if there is any one to be beaten for anything, I am the man: if you call that being headman, I am,' " (ii. 122)—which tells a tale.

2. *The Oxford Teachers' Bible*, with *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, as an appendix. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893.)

3. *Helps to the Study of the Bible* (as a separate volume). (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 4s. 6d.)

4. *The Cambridge Teachers' Bible*, with *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, as an appendix. (Cambridge and London: C. J. Clay and Sons.) *The Companion* (as a separate vol.), 3s. 6d.

These new editions of the Bible, according to the Authorized Version, are splendid specimens of the printing and binding of the great Universities' presses. Our copies are 8vo, minion type; and the paper though thin is so good in quality that the type does not show through. Each Bible (the Oxford of 1,000 pages, the Cambridge of 998) has, as an appendix, what would form a goodly volume in itself: and indeed each is printed also separately. Both the Oxford *Helps* (pages 378 + 6 + 15) and the Cambridge *Companion* (405 + 6 + 9) contain a good concordance, indexes of subjects and proper names, with the Natural History and antiquities of the Bible and Biblical History and its connections. The two books, however, are not the same, but are similar or parallel works, of recognized value. The *Helps* has a Harmony of the Gospels, the *Companion* is rich in Introductions to separate books; each has a good atlas and geographical index: both contain much common matter, given in different form; but each has its specialities. The *Helps* has more maps and illustrations, the *Companion* treats the text more fully. There is not much to choose when both works are, in every respect, excellent. Students of the Bible should provide themselves with both.

5. *Comparative Philology of the Old and New Worlds in relation to Archaic Speech*, by R. P. GREG, F.S.A., etc. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1893; 31s.), indicates wide reading, deep research and close attention, and is of the highest importance to both the student and the proficient in Comparative Philology. The author modestly puts it forward as an attempt to show that an archaic substratum underlies all languages now in existence, and is also visible, therefore, in the hitherto little considered languages of America. Accordances had already been long known between certain languages; and later researches by Dr. Edkins, Professor Abel and others had shown their existence where they had not been generally suspected. Mr. Greg carries the matter a long step further, by his extensive and classified tables of accordances, which include African and American languages. He advocates the comparison of words, and especially of roots and cognate meanings, in preference to that of sentences and grammatical niceties, in spite of Prof. Sayce's paradoxical statement that language consisted of sentences before it did of words. The author's erudite introduction naturally includes disquisitions in anthropology and ethnology, besides philology; and Mr. Greg thinks that all these tend to show a common origin of the human race. Our limits preclude any detailed analysis of the contents of this large 4to volume of over 400 pages, of which the Introduction—a mine of information, taking 73 pages of

rather small print, is followed by a table of accordances for African, English, Accadian, Chinese and American, with a separate column for "Sundry" languages. An accordance between Chinese and Accadian is then given from the Rev. C. J. Ball. Next we have Aryan and Semitic accordances, with American and "Sundry"; some from the Basque; and others between Ancient Mexican and Aryan, from Biondelli. The next part deals with accordances between Turanian and American languages. The last part consists of comparative philological tables of certain selected class words representing such primitive notions as must have formed part of the earliest archaic languages,—under the supposition that speech is a gradually developed attribute of the savage man. The author does not give any definite conclusions; but he has with infinite pains and great skill put together the materials which, with additions by himself and other hands, will enable scholars to arrive, in course of time, at something even more conclusive than comparative philology has already set forth. The study of archaic speech is only in its infancy; but the infant promises well for the future.*

6. *James Thomason*, by SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 3s. 6d.) Uniform with the lives of the "Rulers of India," though not itself forming one of that excellent series, we have here the biography of an estimable man and a good governor, from the ready and graceful pen of Sir Richard Temple. His materials are carefully collected from the oral and written reminiscences of many who knew James Thomason intimately and had worked with him, including Sir Richard himself. The book is eminently pleasing; for it not only gives a full portrait of the man, but presents also a carefully filled in background of the work he did and the circumstances of the times. The land settlement, the Ganges Canal, the efforts for elementary vernacular education, the founding of the Rurki College are among the deeds which have cast around Mr. Thomason's career a halo of well-merited renown; and Sir Richard, like a good biographer, carefully and accurately details all this, with the incidents of his hero's life, without prolixity or undue partiality. Men of James Thomason's stamp are sadly needed in India, instead of the present root-and-branch reformers; and our author quotes a passage at p. 174, which many in India should study: "I want to do something in a manner consonant with Native institutions and ideas, and also to induce the people to work with me and exert themselves in the cause." Of Thomason, Sir Charles Napier wrote—and he was not apt to praise Civilians—"He is an able and good man, but wants to polish and clean without change." Many think that is just all that should be done. The problems of Indian statesmanship are by no means yet solved; and the study of lives and of sayings like these of James Thomason are useful to read for their solution. We heartily recommend the book to our readers.

7. *Philistines and Israelites*, by H. MARTYN KENNARD. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893; 6s.) It really is a long while since we saw so wonderful a book, in which one knows not what most to admire—the

* Especially if it were to really study what has already been done on the field of Indo-Germanic research.—ED.

author's astute detection of a most fearful conspiracy against truth, or his astounding discovery of hitherto unknown facts, or his marvellous powers of making things "massively evident." As by a touch of Ithuriel's spear, he transforms what mankind have hitherto blindly accepted as history, into mere sophistry. He exposes the horrible system of priestcraft, which, by wholesale, continuous and subtle falsifications, had corrupted every source of information; but Mr. Kennard, carefully "reading between the lines," succeeds in sifting out truth in spite of such books as Smith's "Bible Dictionary, which may be regarded as the concentrated essence of sacerdotal sophistry" (p. 198). We can note only a few of these disinterred "truths." All history merely reports the struggle between only two races—the Cushite and the Elamite;—wherever there is a fight, it can be between these two only, for of course civil wars are impossible;—Abraham, who is also Father Ham, was a Cushite, ruling from the Euphrates to Thebes, and was a Pharaoh;—so was Moses (Apepi);—so was Joseph (Aohmes, who is an Elamite, by the way, though his great-grandfather was a Cushite);—so was David (Horor); so was Solomon; so was nearly everybody that was anybody, including "The Lord" and "God" of the Bible. There were two Josephuses, and two Exoduses; and Saul, son of Kish, was Rameses XII.;—Solomon accepted office under Shishak, who is also Sargon. Jesus Christ was the head of a rebellion of the Elamites against the Cushites: "He undoubtedly led a large and organized party; and we might conjecture that the Lord's prayer was a prayer for his restoration"; p. 253. "Peter succeeded Jesus as the recognised head of the house of Elam. It therefore follows that the present Pope Leo XIII. represents the same flag"; p. 254. *Punch* and *Ally Sloper* pale before Mr. Kennard as a source of amusement.

8. *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, by A. H. Sayce, LL.D. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893; 2s. 6d.) This small book, forming No. xviii. of the series styled *By-paths of Bible Knowledge*, is a reprint of articles contributed by the learned Professor to *The Sunday at Home*. That they are the result of long, deep, and varied studies goes without saying. With many details taken from the cuneiform inscriptions and other archæological data, Prof. Sayce professed to give a picture, popular and exact, of the peoples of Assyria and Babylon, of their ways of living, their surroundings and their civilization. He has succeeded admirably in enabling the reader to form as clear an idea of those remote times, as a good traveller can give us of distant regions which he has visited. Among others we may point out here data proving the falsity of the modern theory that all mankind have risen gradually from a savage state. As early as 3,700 years B.C., civilization is found existing in the East; and many things supposed to be modern are seen in an advanced stage of progress in the early history of the human race. Among these are, the spread of general education, the study of languages, the elaboration of legal documents, the cultivation of many other sciences besides astronomy, the advanced state of working in metals and the thorough development of trading and banking operations. We are able even to calculate the wages of labour, the fluctuation in price of most articles, and the value of lands,

houses and rents. There is a chapter, full of interest, on the condition of slaves. The conclusion, dealing with the religions of the people, is perhaps somewhat vague ; but the book gives otherwise a very ample account of the people, clearly and well told.

9. *New Lights on the Bible and the Holy Land*, by B. T. A. EVETTS, M.A. (London: Cassell and Co., 1892.) Mr. Evetts' goodly and well-illustrated 8vo. is meant to give to the general reader a detailed yet brief history of recent discoveries in the East, shorn of mere technicalities interesting only to learned Orientalists. The remains of the Empires of Assyria and Babylon form the subject of his work, to which he has brought a deep knowledge, clear ideas, good method and a plain style. He records the discoveries and decipherment of ancient monuments and inscriptions and the difficulties which attended both operations. By the information which they convey, he illustrates many passages of Scripture, which are thus placed in a clearer though perhaps not quite a new light. Two points stand out prominently. One is the utter absence of proof of any savage state in Assyria and Babylon: when those empires first come before us, they are already in an advanced stage of civilization. The other point is that whenever the history of these states comes in contact with the Bible narratives, these are confirmed and illustrated. Even the defeat of Sennacherib is indicated, if not by the admission, at least by the very reticence of the usually boastful Assyrian inscriptions, to a greater extent than Mr. Evetts has here shown. His book is of importance to Biblical students and readers; and it should suggest to some one, who has the leisure, the yet unaccomplished task of illustrating, one by one, all the passages of Scripture which the present stage of discoveries—Accadian and Sumurian, Assyrian and Babylonian, Egyptian and Hittite—has touched. In face of the confirmations already furnished—many of them unexpected and startling in their clearness,—we may confidently anticipate that future discoveries also will but increase, externally, the trustworthiness of the inspired narratives.

10. *The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity*, by ARTHUR LILLIE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1893; 2s. 6d.) The author's attempt to prove that Christianity is nothing but a modified and plagiarized Buddhism and our Lord only an Essene—a Buddhist monk, has not even the merit of novelty. Ogre-like, Mr. Lillie begins with the "cracked human bones, 240,000 years" old; and having disposed of the old Testament by making Yahveh out to be a ghost, and trotting out *Totems*, he draws "parallels" in the events of the lives respectively of Buddha and our Lord. Many of these parallels exist only in a vivid imagination; as when at p. 61 a terrible bandit confronted and converted by Buddha in his mountain retreat is given as the prototype of the Penitent thief. When again, at p. 64, the Buddhist false disciple, carried down to hell without accomplishing his meditated treachery, is compared to Judas, most human beings will fail to see any resemblance. Mr. Lillie next gives his own peculiar version of the origins of Christianity and its sacred books—very different from what history tells—and gets hopelessly lost in Apocryphal writings and Gnostic teachings, while he persistently disregards

the very books on which Christianity is based. He is one more—and we fear will not be the last—writer, who leaves the obvious truth for recondite illusion, and who fails to see that the remains of ancient patriarchal traditions and the identity of human nature in all ages and climes account easily for much of the similarity not only between Buddhism and Christianity, but among all the religions of the Earth.

11. *The Recrudescence of Leprosy*, by WILLIAM TEBB (Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1893), contains very full information regarding Leprosy, brought down to date, from official and professional reports and from private information, including the substance of the report of the Leprosy commission in India. It proves conclusively that the disease does exist in very many places, and infects very many persons,—that no cure has yet been discovered for it and that there seems little hope of such a discovery in the future,—and that the unfortunate victims are often experimented upon by some medical men in charge of them, in a manner and to an extent which should bring them within the grasp of penal servitude: a horrible instance is given at p. 348. But Mr. Tebb fails completely to establish that Leprosy is on the increase. Cases have doubtless been brought more prominently forward, since Father Damien's lamented death; but closer examination does not mean increase. The only comparative statistics given are those from the Indian census of 1881 and 1891; and these show a clear decrease. But Mr. Tebb, who has a prejudged point to prove, at once tries to twist this startling fact. His purpose being to cast discredit on vaccination, he supplements his very interesting and useful researches into Leprosy with wholesale condemnation of vaccination as the principal agent in its increase. To this, too, the Indian statistics give a clear contradiction. Vaccination, however, can hold its own, from its usefulness, acknowledged by the profession. The dangers so much insisted on are being gradually reduced to a minimum, and are due to culpable and avoidable negligence, rather than to the operation itself. Divested of its anti-vaccination bias, Mr. Tebb's work is very important as a manual of the present state of Leprosy, for those who take an interest in the unsavoury subject.

12. *Japan as we saw it*, by M. BICKERSTETH. (London: Longmans and Co. 1893; 21s.) The reader must be prepared to find that the greater part of this book deals with Japan as a field of missionary labour, the remainder treating pleasantly of the country and its people, with the usual travellers' episodes of journeys and difficulties, feasts and receptions, etc. There is also a good deal of detail on the great earthquake of October, 1891, which is of interest. The numerous illustrations, too, are very good, even though they include such un-Japanese things as photographs of Europeans; and there is much entertaining reading, even if there is little if anything new about Japan itself. The details of missionary work given are of importance to the understanding of the case. There is some unconscious humour,—as when the Anglican Bishop informs his English relatives that a certain learned Buddhist priest—a Japanese by birth—preaches “in very good Japanese!” The book is particularly valuable to the thinker who wishes, from a comparison of various authors on Japan, to

form a clear idea of the country and its future. This makes Miss Bickersteth's work of great importance, though "Japan as we saw it" was seen through a pair of extra strong missionary spectacles, as befitted the daughter and sister of Bishops and the Secretary of the Guild of St. Paul. Still, even so great a personage might restrain her pen a little more from a rather excessively Pharisaical self-laudation, and write with more respect of those who hold different opinions. At p. 108, she admits that "Christianity though present in greater force than in the days of Xavier, is, alas, not proportionately stronger," and then alludes to the "endless 'splits' of Non-conformity," as though the Anglican Church was free from "splits"; and next dares to stigmatize the Christianity of the great Xavier as "imperfect truly." Is it not in "The Newcomes" that Thackeray asks us to imagine "Queen Guinevere's lady's-maid's-lady's-maid patronizing Sir Launcelot"?

13. *The Children's Japan*, by MRS. W. H. SMITH (Tokio: T. Hasegawa, and London: Sampson Low and Co., 1893), is a pleasantly written little description of Japan in a style suited for children. It is beautifully illustrated, and is printed on a cream-coloured Japanese paper which looks and feels very like crêpe—extremely strong, and practically indestructible. The illustrations, all Japanese in style, show great multiplicity of colour combined with much delicacy in the tints. The leaves are bound together with blue silk ribbon. Not only will the book serve as an interesting and instructive present for a child and be a novel and lasting toy, but it will be welcome to all as a splendid specimen of æsthetic work, which we hope will find many imitations. Why should not most of our books for children be got up in this manner?

14. *Rhyming Legends of Ind*, by H. R. GRACEY. (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 6s.) Here are ten Indian stories related pleasantly enough in jingling rhymes, which recall memories of Ingoldsby, though Mr. Gracey falls short of the go and ease of that master of comic versification. If legend mean a venerable traditional tale, none of these ten is a real legend; but they are ten tales, funny in their degree, in very good verse. The reader who takes them up in the hope of finding accounts of Rajput chivalry or Moslem valour will be somewhat disappointed; but the book, of which the style reflects the greatest credit on its publishers, will help to amuse much and also to instruct a little. Among others, we find the rather stale tale of the griff who shot a buffalo in mistake for a Nil-gai, the point of which, though we are not Scotch, we are still unable to perceive, though we have heard it repeated, with many variations, more times than we care to count.

15. *Letters from Queensland, reprinted from the "Times"* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 2s. 6d.), open to the reader in 6 chapters a mine of information on the actual state and future prospects of an important colony. The question of Kanaka labour is boldly faced; and from personal observation the writer explodes much exaggeration regarding its alleged evils: the more interesting question of Indian coolie immigration, however, is not touched. We learn much concerning the Sugar industry of Queensland—in fact, except gold-digging and stock-rearing, there is no other.

The mineral resources of the country are detailed ; and these show a mass of wealth in other things besides gold. The political aspects of Queensland and the proposed subdivision of its legislature are clearly stated ; and the author makes out a good case in favour of division into two if not three parts. Well written and full of information, the book is a welcome boon to all who wish to study our Colonial Empire. It is a little strange, though not surprising to us, to note that even in the last letter which appeared in the *Times* in February last, there was no prognostication of the terrible financial crisis, which, like a typhoon, has wrecked almost every Australian Bank.

16. *More about the Mongols*, by JAMES GILMOUR. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893 ; 5s.) We reviewed favourably the lamented author's "*Among the Mongols*," just one year ago ; and the present companion volume, edited from Mr. Gilmour's papers by Mr. R. Lovett, scarcely yields in interest to that charming book. Sketches of native manners and character, the reflection of the writer's own simple and devoted life, a chapter on Mongol meteorology and another on Mongol Camels form the best part of the book. The tirade against tobacco (chap. x.) seems a little fanatical. The whole is very interesting and pleasing.

17. *Indian Wisdom*, by SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.S.I. (London: Luzac and Co. 1893 ; £1 1s.) This is a new edition of Sir Monier's well known work, in which he fulfils his purpose of giving a compendious summary of Sanskrit literature, with select specimens, translated into English. The learned professor's thorough mastery of his subject enables him to deal effectively with his difficult task, and his book enables the outsider not only to form some idea of the immense extent and depth of this literature, but to gauge its greatness and (as must occur in all things human) also its incidental littlenesses. The Vedic hymns are followed by the Brahmanas and Upanishads, and the 6 systems of Philosophy. Readers who are not well versed in Indian studies will be surprised to find here that scarcely a Greek or even modern metaphysical or logical speculation is to be found, which has not its prototype or counterpart in ancient Sanskrit. The Bhagavadgita, the Smritis, the Vidangas are touched upon, including Panini's grammar and Patanjali's Great Commentary on it. The various Sutras are discussed ; and at greater length the Dharma Sastras or law books of the Hindus. The Indian Epics and the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata are considered, and in chap. xiv. are compared with each other and with Homer, a very interesting operation ; and choice specimens of religious and moral sentiments are given, with their parallels from Scripture. Sir Monier goes on to the Indian Drama, then to the Puranas. He omits nothing that enters the scope of his work ; he is choice in his selections and accurate in his comments ; and the result is a work as instructive and sound as it is pleasant to read, full of matter for reflection. It tells of the immense stores of wisdom, sometimes mixed with the follies of the frailty of human nature, which the ancient sages of India accumulated, and which still in part await excavation.

18. *Official Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great*

Britain and Ireland. (London: C. Griffin and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.) This—the 10th annual issue—is a very handy book of reference, and a very useful one. It is divided into 14 sections, each dealing with a special class of societies, and giving in alphabetical order all the societies entering into its scope, the principal officers and the address of each society. In many cases the papers read during the last year are mentioned, and in general the book is very complete.

19. *Bimetallism and Monometallism*, by the MOST REV. DR. WALSH. (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1893; 6d.) The Archbishop of Dublin gives us a pamphlet of just over 100 pages, in which he discusses this vexed matter, especially in its bearing on the Irish land question; and he puts his views with clearness and vigour. His study of the question is seen to be both deep and extensive. His Grace is, of course, a Bimetallist; and his special object is to show how Monometallism with its fluctuating price for silver, though beneficial to the rich, is disastrous to the poorer country. The special circumstances of the farmer in Ireland, with rents judicially fixed for 15 years, and annual payments to Government fixed for 49 years, must lead to ruin. His Grace brings forward in support of his views a cloud of authorities,—including Mr. Balfour and Mr. Giffen,—and shows, by a practical consensus, that permanent charges are becoming more burdensome. There is only one defect in His Grace's utterance:—no practical solution is offered, though several are discussed. Few doubt that something should be done: the real question is, What? *

20. *The Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies*, by F. C. DANVERS. (London: The India Office, 1893.) The investigation, rather tardily ordered by the India Office in 1891, of the Portuguese archives regarding Indian records, has been ably made by Mr. Danvers, who praises the Portuguese system of preserving them, and their courtesy in allowing him every facility for his object. In his preface (entitled Report) he explains what are the documents in the Portuguese archives, their locality and condition, and the *hiatus* that occur in them. He then gives, in 168 pages, summaries and extracts from these documents. That they contain much that is novel and interesting, goes without saying. For instance, it is not generally known how conscientiously Philip II. of Spain, on getting Portugal also in 1580, kept the two administrations separate, and nominated none but Portuguese to offices in what had been Portuguese territory (p. 2). The present flourishing state of Bombay justifies the refusal of De Mello e Castro in 1662 to surrender it to the English: he calls it “the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared” (p. 65). The king, however, insisted on the honourable fulfilment of his engagement; but loud complaints follow that the English did not fulfil their part in it with equal exactness. The records extend beyond India. They give the Portuguese operations in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, in Ceylon and Malacca, Macao and Formosa, China and Japan. At p. 114 is Albuquerque's quixotic scheme in 1513 for carrying off Muhammad's body from Medina, with the view of holding it to ransom in exchange for the temple of Jerusalem. The book does not, of course, do more than skim the archives, and even that but partially; but we are very

grateful for it, especially with the gratitude which consists in a longing for more favours to come. The Secretary of State spends much money on worse things than continuing the efforts of which the book under review is only the first result.

21. *Primitive Religions*, by G. T. BETTANY, M.A. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1891; 2s. 6d.)

22. *The great Indian Religions*, by the same Author and Publishers (1892; 2s. 6d.).

These are the first two volumes of the Series "The World's Religions," of which the 3rd, on Muhammadanism and other religions of Mediterranean countries, we reviewed in our January 1893 issue. As a rule, most people have very hazy ideas of all religions, except their own,—and very frequently even of that,—and few things tend to make men bigoted and one-sided so much as want of knowledge on this point. Hence one of the most fascinating of studies is that of comparative religion,—by which, however, we do not mean indifference or laxity in the observance of one's own. This series of text books by Mr. Bettany will be of great help to the general reader; for he gives in them very fair summaries of his wide reading, among many competent authorities, on the subject of each religion. The first of the series deals with Primitive Religions. There is a general introduction treating of various observances and forms, such as Animism, totemism, and a host of other 'isms, together with explanations of various terms used in the study of religions. Next follow the lower forms of the subject, gradually rising through Australian, Polynesian, Milanesian and African religions, to those of America, and of the Aborigines of India. Confucianism, Tao-ism and Shinto-ism conclude the volume. The other book deals with Hinduism and Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. The treatment of all these subjects indicates much reading and thought, a good method, and a simple and clear style; and the descriptions of the religions are accurately and well detailed, for Mr. Bettany follows reliable writers. Here and there we have noted a little vagueness in giving the pith of a system, though the details are numerous—notably in Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto-ism. But these are rather philosophic systems of ethics, than real positive religions, and what there is of distinctive religion in them, may perhaps be due to the deposit left on them, like the silt of an Oriental flood, by the high tide of Buddhism. The series, as the author justly remarks, rather furnishes the material for comparison than offers any system of comparative religion. This, however, was not his object; and the science is still young, and its students are by no means agreed even on its first principles. Personally, we think this is due to the fact that most of them regard the higher forms of religion as gradual developments from a crude state, instead of considering them as the renewed growth of primeval traditions, after they had been overlaid by barbarism. The savage man was and is the degradation of the original civilization.

23. *A History of Currency in the British Colonies*, by ROBERT CHALMERS, B.A. (London: H.M.'s Stationery Office, 1893; 10s.) This painstaking and exhaustive volume on the currency of the British possessions throughout the world, comes particularly opportune just now, when the

tardy report of the Indian currency Commission is not yet published. A general survey of the question is followed by separate sections on the currency of the American, African, Australian, Mediterranean, and Oriental possessions of Britain. One appendix, short but full, treats of various foreign coins circulating in our possessions; the other gives the Imperial legislation on the question; and a copious and well-digested index concludes a most interesting and valuable book. Incidentally it furnishes a grave accusation of continued neglect on the part of the Imperial Government, in the treatment of the currency question of the colonies. Safe in her own currency, England has never done anything for that of her possessions till fairly driven to it, and has even then acted with a bad grace and often with egregious shortsightedness. No such thing as gradually working up to an Imperial coinage, suitable for the whole empire, seems ever to have dawned on her Majesty's advisers, though before the dislocation caused by the present so-called depreciation of silver, the matter could have been easily settled. Just now while the £ circulates in Australia and the Cape, dollars prevail on the W. Coast of Africa and in Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore (in the last they form the currency, but the Government accounts are kept in Rupees!!!), and the vanishing Rupee supplies India, Ceylon, and the Mauritius. From the nature of the case, some of the histories are more interesting than others, but all are complete: that of Malta takes us back to the Knights of St. John. The Indian coinage is judiciously begun with our own coinage; and at pp. 344-5, is matter for serious reflection on the criminal folly which has led to the actual disastrous state of the Indian exchange. The book is of the utmost importance.

24. *Epochs of Indian History: Ancient India*, by ROMESH CHANDER DUTT, C.I.E. (London: Longman and Co., 1893, 2s. 6d.) This is the first volume of a new series of Indian Histories, edited by John Adams, M.A. The plan is to entrust each distinctive epoch to a writer specially qualified to deal with it, and to treat rather of the peoples of India, their manners, customs, civilizations and religions, than with mere details of historical facts. Mr. Dutt takes the epoch B.C. 2000 to A.D. 800—a pretty wide one; and, so far as the scope of the work is concerned, he leaves little to be desired. He writes good English—a rather rare qualification nowadays—but he is both prolix and verbose, and sometimes ultra-pedantic; at p. 146 we have *Haridvāra* for what even pundits call Hardwar. Mr. Dutt's special failing is in attempted parallels with European History; and here his mistakes are sometimes ludicrous. He often mentions the Dark Ages, but has no clear idea of their duration. He credits Cluny and Clairvaux with being centres of learning for France, ignorant of the fact that they belonged to a branch of the Benedictine order whose rules substitute manual labour for study. He is unnecessarily dogmatic on subjects still *sub judice*, as the date of the Samvat era. We hope the Editor will use his pencil a little more freely in the subsequent volumes of this series. In spite of the faults we have noted, we can honestly say that this little book should be perused by all students of Indian History, as giving the results of the varied studies and systematized conclusions of a good Sanskrit and English scholar.

25. *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, par ERNEST RENAN, tome 4^{ième}. (Paris : Calmann Levy, 1893.) This is the posthumous and therefore final volume of Renan's History, characteristic of the author in every way. The same charm of style, the same extent of reading, the same picturesqueness of grouping, the same anti-Christian spirit, the same almost atheistic tendency, the same boldness of statement, the same dogmatism of prejudiced conclusions, the same mixture of greatness and littleness. Beautifully written, it continues to give us not the real history of the Jews, but what Mr. Renan chooses to decide that this history should be. It is a polished and cultured guide, but a very untrustworthy one, in all except beauty of diction.

26. *The English Baby in India*, by MRS. HOWARD KINGSCOTE. (London : J. and A. Churchill, 1893 ; 2s. 6d.) Like all the technical publications of this well known firm, this is a very useful handbook of the subject of which it treats. Mrs. Kingscote presents to the European wife and mother in India the results of her own experience and study ; and in addition to general directions for preservation of health, she treats of most of the ills that infant-flesh is heir to. It promises to be a useful handbook, but she is careful to say that it cannot supersede the necessity for which the proverb honours physicians. It is odd to find it said (p. 96) that "the mother should carefully enquire into her child's diet ;" we should have thought it was always known. There is a bitter anti-Indian spirit throughout the work, which we hope will be eliminated in succeeding editions : instances are at pp. 35, 101, 110, etc. The useful instructions given by Mrs. Kingscote will carry greater weight without this kind of twaddle. There are expressions which show that her experience in India has been comparatively limited, as "going away to eat *rice*." She is extra dogmatic too ; and while learned men of medicine are still in doubt, she knows all about cholera (p. 130). Her prescriptions, which are generally innocuous, have the fault of not specifying the age of the child, or giving any directions for regulating doses according to age.

27. *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, by the REV. C. SWYNNERTON, F.S.A. (London : Elliot Stock ; £1 11s. 6d.) The importance of popular tales can scarcely be overestimated. Modern folk-lorists deduce from them many important and true conclusions with many more just the reverse ; and they are always pleasant to read. Mr. Swynnerton, therefore, has done a great service, in collecting from a corner of the Punjab and publishing 85 such tales (of varying length) in a large volume of 368 pages. In the Introduction—short and to the point—he classifies them under (1) Nursery tales, (2) Drolls, (3) National and professional tales, (4) Fables, and (5) Miscellaneous ; but in the book itself he judiciously intermixes them, and thus avoids fatiguing the reader by monotony. In such collections the tales must, as a matter of course, vary considerably in interest ; here, however, nearly all are very good. Many are easily traceable ; of many we know the congeners in other climes ; and several are old friends with scarcely a disguise on. The book—which reflects great credit on the publishers and printers—is splendidly illustrated. Almost every page has a picture by native artists, executed with their characteristic minuteness and exactness of detail : a most interesting series, which will do much to

familiarize Indian ways to the eyes of those who have not the chance of visiting distant countries. These illustrations form a very important item in the book, which is itself written in a clear and simple style. While amusing and instructing the young, and furnishing good materials for work to the student of folk-lore, it will be especially welcome as an old and valued friend to those who have resided in India. We can heartily recommend it.

28. *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China, in 1891.* (Shanghai: "North China Herald" office; London: "The London and China Telegraph" office, 1892; 6s.) Over 300 closely printed pages in 8vo. are filled with reprints from the *North China Herald*, and a few other sources; and from these the reader may learn all that it is possible for a foreigner to gather and understand, regarding the causes and occasions of these unfortunate periodical riots and the means of preventing them in the future. But of more consequence still is the insight which they give to the thoughtful reader, into Chinese character and idiosyncrasy and into the by no means blameless system adopted by foreigners towards Chinese. If the Chinese are absurdly touchy and conservative and their officials often culpably apathetic and negligent, the foreigners frequently are equally unreasonable and aggressive. It is, therefore, hard to apportion justly the amount of blame attaching to each. We may, however, ask how the express command of our great Master (Mark vi. 11) is fulfilled by the persistence of missionaries in thrusting themselves into places which do not want them: is there no such thing as a particular country not being yet ripe for the harvest? At p. 104 is a letter from a Chinese, severely criticizing missionary deeds; and among the rest, he brings a direct charge—with chapter and verse—against French priests, of having acted as spies for the French troops. Now, though his other statements were traversed by other writers, this particular one has not been yet met, much less refuted. Since the Crusades taught us to supplement the tardy workings of divine grace with the sharper action of steel, and later on, of gunpowder, and since missionaries have taken to reconciling God and Mammon by simultaneously advocating Christianity and the "influence" of their own country, it is no wonder we have to deplore the comparative sterility of missionary work. This book, deserving of attentive and patient study, is, in general, of a rather anti-Chinese spirit; but the careful and just reader will be compelled to sigh over many of its disclosures, and to blush over not a few. The appendix on Hunan is of special interest.

29. *The Simple Adventures of a Mem Sahib*, by SARAH JEANNETTE DUNCAN. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1893; 7s. 6d.) This book is not meant to be a novel in the usual acceptance of the word; for the inevitable marriage takes place early in its pages, only for the purpose of introducing the reader to a typical Indian household. On this peg the authoress hangs numerous happy and amusing sketches of Indian life and manners, into which her experience gives her a good insight. The scene for the most part is in Calcutta. The book is full of truthful sayings, lively descriptions, gentle satirical strokes, and finely touched delineations; and there is much lively and pleasant reading in its pages which are plenti-

fully interspersed with good illustrations. The reader, however, should remember that Calcutta is not all India.

30. *The Origin and Growth of the Healing Art*, by EDWARD BERDOE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893; 12s. 6d.) Dr. Berdoe gives us a carefully-prepared history of medicine and surgery, treated with a thorough mastery of his subject. He starts with the medicine of primitive man; and it is an evidence of the exhaustive nature of the work, that he begins with the healing art as practised by the lower animals, and includes in his history, which quotes works as late as 1892, many living masters in his profession. No age or country has escaped his research; and almost every subject, even indirectly connected with his purpose, is treated with more or less detail. Hence the book contains much curious matter, and is of interest not only to the professional but also to the general reader, who will find in its varied pages much both of instruction and amusement. After tracing the art from primitive man, through the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Asia (with an excellent chapter on Hindu medicine), and Greece, he brings it to mediæval Europe, and the modern "scientific" period, from its dawn in the XVIth century to the present time. In their respective places, are short biographical notices of every name of note in the profession,—from the most ancient to Pasteur, Virchow, and Sir Andrew Clark, with mesmerism, and the germ theory. The work is well studied, well digested and well written, clear of prejudices, full in details, just in its judgments, and pleasant to read.

31. *Recollection of an Egyptian Princess*, by Her English Governess, MISS E. CHENNELLS. (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 2 vols., 1893; 6s.) This is a faithful picture of life and character as described by an intelligent observer who conveys her knowledge in an agreeable form.

Miss Chennells' pupil, Princess Zeyneb, is the favourite daughter of Ismael Pasha, the ex-Khedive, who, not adverse to European ideas, allows her to be entirely under the influence of the English governess. The Princess, therefore, grows up little of a good Muhammedan. She does not keep the fast of Ramadan, takes to wearing European dress, etc., which, owing to the orthodox ideas of most of her people, was not looked upon by them with favour, still, she was much liked because of her kindly disposition to all around her. She marries Ibrahim Pasha, and is the only wife of her husband. Miss Chennells continues to be her companion after her marriage and till her untimely death. She has, therefore, every opportunity to make herself thoroughly acquainted with Harem life in all its phases, and she entertains the reader with almost every possible variety of its customs, such as betrothals, processions of the bride, curious superstition about brides, royal trousseaux, wedding fêtes, the etiquette observed on certain occasions, popular superstitions and strange stories, dancing and other amusements, purchase of slaves, the distinction made between black and white slaves, the treatment of European servants, etc.

Photography is popular in the Gynæceum. The Ramadan and Kurban Bairam festivities are faithfully observed in the Harem even when the mistresses are not orthodox or are disinclined to the exertion. The 2nd volume ends with a full account of the pomp and circumstance of the

funeral of the Princess. Miss Chennells' work is in fact a collection of chatty little essays on Harem events, which are well written and delicate in tone and matter. The book is well got-up, and contains photographs of the chief personages concerned. The authoress avoids all scandal and thus sets a good example, not only to other writers, but also, and above all, to those who being admitted to positions of trust in Oriental families are bound, both by good taste and duty, to abstain from retailing "tales out of school." Ismael Pasha is still alive, but is detained at the palace of Emirghian on the Bosphorus during the Sultan's pleasure, watching the events in Egypt which he can no longer control. •

32. *Arabic-English Dictionary*, by the late W. T. WORTABET, with the collaboration of J. WORTABET, M.D., and H. PORTER, Ph.A. (London : Luzac and Co., 1885.) This Dictionary, printed in Beyrout, may be recommended to scholars, students and travellers as a carefully compiled work, containing a large number of references within a comparatively small compass (8vo., 814 pp.). Derivatives are invariably enumerated under their respective root-forms and there only ; if the latter were distinguished from the former not merely by an asterisk, which does not always catch the eye, but also by being printed in larger and more prominent type, much trouble and confusion would be saved to the user of the dictionary ; at present the "guiding" words at the top of each column are positively distracting. One looks, for instance, through *Ā*, and is suddenly startled by words beginning with *A* being printed in the corners of the pages, simply because some derivatives of each root beginning with *Ā* necessarily commence with *ĀA*. It is impossible to express how annoying these supposed "guiding words" are, and how advantageous even their mere omission would be. The grammatical peculiarities, meanings and usages are well and carefully set forth ; occasionally illustrative sentences or current idiomatic phrases are added. The only instances of omission which we have discovered are *لَطَسَ* and *لَطَّسَ* which ought not to be absent, especially not the former. It may not be out of place here to remark that since the publication of the Arabic Dictionary by Dr. F. Steingass (London : W. Allen and Co.) no Arabic-English Dictionary has come into our hands, which for thoroughness and scholarship joined to convenience and "all-round" usefulness even distantly approaches the excellence of that work.

33. The Sanskrit Monthly Magazine *Vidyodaya* entered in January last upon the 22nd year of its existence, a long lease for an Indian literary journal. Originally established at Lahore, it has appeared since April, 1882, at Calcutta, and continues to be largely subvented by the Oriental University Institute, Woking. Its object appears to be to place, at a very moderate price, in the hands of Sanskrit students selections from Sanskrit literature ranging from the Upanishads down to a translation of "Hamlet," and from abstruse philosophical treatises to the pleasant tales of the Purushaparikshā. In the 5 fasciculi that have appeared in the current year we note especially instalments of Udayana's Kusumānjali and Ātmatattvaviveka (of both of which works good printed editions already exist), and of an Advaitaprakaranam, the author of which is not specified. There are also

instalments of some Alankârasûtram, of a Purushalakshanam (from the Bhavishyapurâna?), and of the well-known grammar Paribhâshendus'ekhara, the text of which has the advantage of "a new explanatory gloss." The editor has adopted the good plan of giving to each work a separate consecutive pagination. We would suggest the further improvement of a brief literary introduction to each work, and the addition where desirable of a critical apparatus as is done in the "Kâvyamâlâ," which is in every respect a pattern of good editing.

REINHOLD ROST.

34. *The Chinese Classics*, with a translation, critical and exegetical, notes, prolegomena and copious indexes, by JAMES LEGGE, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Second edition. Revised. Vol. i. containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893.)

In the revision of this work it is pleasant to notice that Professor Legge has reconsidered his verdict on the greatness of Confucius. In the first edition it was said, "I hope I have not done him injustice; after long study of his character and opinions I am unable to regard him as a great man." In the Oxford edition now published, we read in place of this the words, "I hope I have not done him injustice; the more I have studied his character and opinions, the more highly I have come to regard him. He was a very great man." In the first edition he said, "He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away." In the new edition Professor Legge says of Confucius, "His influence has been on the whole a great benefit to the Chinese, while his teaching suggests important lessons to ourselves who belong to the school of Christ."

That Confucius was a great man is clear by the fact that he has been so greatly honoured by his nation, that his books are studied till the present time, and form the groundwork of education throughout China, and that he placed morality above royalty and aristocracy as that controlling power which ought to rule in the individual, the family, and the State. As a champion of morality he occupies a unique position. He loved teaching, and his disciples made him happy by their progress. His meditations on the decline of virtue and manners in his day made him sad. He thought of duty, right, purity, disinterestedness, sympathy with the people as all of the highest importance. He aimed consistently to show that covetousness and injustice, insincerity and oppression, are to be heartily condemned. He has become by this teaching the brightest example of a morally great man that China has produced, and by combining the work of the political and social teacher in one, he is without a rival the "uncrowned king."

The books of Confucius, in fact, hold the country together, and constitute the realized ideal of Chinese thinking. They show for example, that politics must be essentially based on moral principle, and that the sage must be uniformly a warning voice to incline great men and common men

to virtue's side. The government of China, whether Manchu, Mongol, or Chinese, has never failed to recognise the necessity of maintaining the stability of the state on moral principles, nor has it ever ceased to honour Confucius as the national sage because he taught these things. Intellectual greatness is inferior to moral greatness.

This renders it very important to have an accurate translation of the Four Books in the English language. This we have in Professor Legge's work. The English reader can acquaint himself here with the inner thought of the Chinese nation. This is how they think, the standard on which to this day they still model elaborate books, literary essays, and state papers. An ordinary Chinese scholar or diplomat knows every sentence of these books by heart; and he judges the words and actions of his foreign visitor by their principles, which touch every point in the daily life of the people, and in the administration of affairs by every local magistrate. China, therefore, is best understood by combining a knowledge of these books with a practical acquaintance with things as they are in China at the present time.

In the translation now beautifully reprinted at the Clarendon Press there are not many changes. The orthography for Chinese names is altered so as to suit that of the Sacred Books of the East, and also the system of Sir Thomas Wade. There is one numbering of pages carried through the introductions and the text. Also the chapter headings are printed along the upper margin of the pages. In the old edition the lack of this was always inconvenient. Reference to passages is now much easier than before.

I regret that Professor Legge does not see Persian influence in the worship of the South-west corner mentioned in page 159. I had written to him contending that we ought to find in this place a reference to fire-worship as having been by the time of Confucius introduced from Persia into China. He prefers not the Chinese view as represented by Chu hi, who recognises that there was a sacrifice, but an older explanation which does away with the idea of sacrifice. I appeal to the *Ti li* as proving that burnt sacrifices were offered to the spirit of the South-west corner, and to Tu yü's comment on the *Chün Chün* corresponding to pp. 174, 176, 177 of Professor Legge's Translation. Tu yü says expressly that the human sacrifice there described was in accordance with the rites of the Persian religion. The spot was not many miles distant from the home of Confucius. A modern writer, Kiang yung, says in *Sì shu tien tin*, ch. 19, p. 20, under the word "burnt sacrifice," that the worship of the South-west corner was offered to an aged woman. It was a burnt sacrifice. The men of that time regarded this as sacrificing to the god of fire. By the aged woman was meant the personage who taught the art of cooking to mankind. Confucius condemned this. It was the first cook, and not the god of fire, and therefore in the opinion of the sage, a contemporary officer, Wen chung in using a burnt sacrifice on the occasion, was in the wrong. He then adds from one of the authorized imperial comments that the sacrifice to the kitchen god is properly offered every summer, and that an aged woman is also sacrificed to at the same time as his wife.

The whole subject of the ancient worship of China may be illuminated

by careful research into the contemporary religions of Asia, and this is an instance of it; for Tu yü lived about sixteen centuries ago, and the Ti li is a classic. So also with the old Chinese writing. It needs to be made plain by adducing parallel facts respecting contemporary foreign scripts. Old Chinese characters are identical with Accadian characters, and the tadpole writing existing in China in the time of Confucius, was so called because it was similar to the cuneiform writing of Western Asia. When mentioning the tadpole writing, Professor Legge does not allude to this. To my mind the shape and colour of the tadpole were to the Chinese scholar suitably suggestive of the appearance of cuneiform writing. The Chinese in their written character, as in their seals, their war-chariots, their astrolabes, their clepsydras, and their sundials, were borrowers, and they were always borrowing. Every intelligent nation should and will borrow.

Yet while lacking such improvements as these, the translation of Professor Legge is of very great value for its fulness and accuracy, and may be strongly recommended.

J. EDKINS.

35. *Where Three Empires Meet*, by E. F. KNIGHT. (London: Longmans and Co., 1893: 18s.). This book ought rather to be called "Where Three Empires do *not* Meet," where they cannot meet, in any real sense of the term, and where, if they meet, there are mainly sheep and dogs and their Khirghiz keepers to be described. "Where Three Empires Meet" is supposed to be that debatable portion of the barren Pamirs to which neither China, nor Russia, nor England has yet reached. The Pamirs and their nomadic inhabitants are, however, not described by Mr. Knight. His travels were chiefly in Kashmir, Ladak and Skardo, countries which have been fully described since Vigne wrote in 1842 and Cunningham in 1853. To Mr. Knight, however, his predecessors did not exist, for he apparently had the ambition of writing a new revelation. For this purpose Mr. Knight was not fitted by merely being the author of two naval cruises and the correspondent of some English newspapers. He left England on the 26th of February 1891 and was already in Ladak by the middle of May, so he saw little of India. He also took part in our attack on Hunza-Nagyr and, naturally enough for an amateur, glorifies it. Were our perennial frontier campaigns similarly accompanied by a newspaper correspondent, there would be many deeds to chronicle even more heroic than that of Aylmer in putting gun-cotton under the gate of the Nilt Fort. We there played Russia's game in going to expense and alienating the tribes because of the mare's nest of Grombcheffsky's visit, and there we have also destroyed an ancient landmark of Aryan civilization when we broke up the Fairy-Land of Hunza and Dard forms of polity generally, not to speak of the Vandalism of selling the Manuscripts of the Hunza Library by auction to the Sepoys at Gilgit, where also went the ancestral family axes of prehistoric lore. It is a great presumption in this journalist to ride rough-shod over facts and peoples, that he had not the preliminary training for rightly appreciating. Indeed, unless his going to India was a *coup monté*, as were, undoubtedly, the respective Russian and British advances, we fail to understand how a person, unacquainted with Oriental languages and totally ignorant of Dard history, can dare so to mislead British opinion as not only to justify the

encroachments already made, but also to encourage further collisions to the injury of our Indian Empire. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," but to be an authority on Kashmir, Tibet, Dardistan, and the great Indian Frontier problem, one should be more than "a fine fellow," fond of port, and whose main hardship appears to have been the absence of beef. Indian Officials, compromised in the present policy of approaching Russia through the destruction of inoffensive intervening autonomies, eagerly seized on him and gave him much one-sided information, which he has used in their interests. Thus it was easy to convert him into an advocate of the official view. Kashmir he saw through the spectacles of the Settlement officer, visited the (to him) "mystic" land of Ladák with Capt. Bower, "took part in Col. Durand's expedition against the raiding Hunza-Nagyrs" (the Nagyris have never raided at all) and has come to the conclusion that "the Indian Government can be trusted to do everything as heretofore," and that "it is foolish for people at home to airily criticize" its policy. We cordially agree with him that it *was* "foolish for one to do so who has spent but a year in the East and who, therefore, has just had time to realize what a vast amount he has yet to learn;" still, so thoroughly does the book hit off the superficial taste of the ordinary reader, so well has it been got up by the publishers, so cleverly and so profusely is it illustrated, that it is almost a pleasure to discover old facts with new faces or events in their disguise. So true it is that there could be no Achilles without his Homer and that the imagination of the latter might easily dispense with the existence of the former. Here is a man, who reprints the articles that he has sent to English newspapers, serenely unconscious of their refutation in many important particulars in the Press and at public meetings, and who yet is a welcome guide, philosopher and friend to a public that has forgotten this fact.* Anticipating, as it were the labours of the proposed Pamir Delimitation Commission, he gives us the following *explanation* (!) "*where* Three Empires meet." It is, at the same time, a good specimen of his tone and style: "Kashmir has been *called* the northern bastion of India. Gilgit *can be* described as her *farther* outpost. And hard by Gilgit it is that, in *an undefined way*, on the high Roof of the World—what more fitting a place?—the three greatest Empires of the Earth *meet*—Great Britain, Russia and China. Hence the title I have given to this book;" (the italics are ours). Having thus found, and made the most of, a catching title, he now leaves the subject severely alone throughout the whole of his book. We cannot more thoroughly expose its failure than by repeating the praise which it receives from a leading Indian journal, which represents official opinion: "It was certainly a stroke of good fortune for the Indian" (official) "world that sent Mr. E. F. Knight to these shores in the spring of 1891. Of how few 'globe-trotters' can this be said. . . . Mr. Knight does not seem even to have gone through a 'Griffinhood'. . . . That

* It is lucky that an injunction is not taken out on behalf of the good old Raja of Nagyr who is confounded with "ignorant and blood-thirsty scoundrels, faithless to treaty obligations, . . . who murdered and sold their subjects," etc., and that too after these mis-statements had unconsciously, indirectly and incidentally, been disproved by a letter of the Raja written years ago, which we published in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1892.—ED.

Mr. Knight is essentially *bon camarado* is only what one would have guessed from his previous books. On his way out he met Mr. C. Spedding, of Kashmir fame, who at once took him in charge as far as that State was concerned. At Srinagar he was *seized upon* by the Settlement officer, Mr. Lawrence, who showed him the realities of life in the Maharaja's dominions. . . . It is needless to say of such a man when he comes forward in the capacity of author that he has used his opportunities with equal *loyalty* and good taste." [The italics are ours.] A non-official Indian journalist writes: "The routes taken by Mr. Knight, as marked on the convenient if not very detailed map, prefixed to the work, although travelled over before and under much less favourable circumstances, are not so neck-breaking as would appear. We specially refer to the Indus route from Skardo to Astor. He did not make his way single-handed through a new or hostile country, as did some of his predecessors, but he strutted along, ever strongest on the stronger side that required a willing pen in order to justify the most suicidal of encroachments. We regret that his demeanour towards the natives seems to show that off-hand and contemptuous manner, which more than any Russian aggression weakens our hold on India. He admits on page 258 that he does not even know why Dardistan, on which he poses as an authority, is so called, and the 'unexplored' country in his map has been pretty well known for the last 28 years. He is astonished at the sight of an Indian Fakir, but, fortunately, finds no 'Mahatmas' in Tibet. None of these things, however, detracts from the interest of the book to the general reader, any more than does the fact, patent in its pages, that the author is as loud in the praise of his friends, as he is strong in his abuse of whatever does not commend itself to his approval. So far as his ignorance of the languages enabled him, he travelled with his eyes and ears wide open and he has much to tell us which is decidedly worth reading regarding the Tibetan miracle-plays, or other matters which depend more on observation than judgment or knowledge. On the policy of further annexation in the fastnesses of Dardistan and of further construction of military roads we do not agree with Mr. Knight, any more than we do in his general contempt for the people and their ways, which he expresses sometimes with benign pity, oftener with savage condemnation. He repeats many stories to the discredit of some of these peoples, without allowing for the fact that they are inventions of their hereditary enemies. The recent invention of a certain Chief's descent from Alexander the Great is treated seriously. Nor are we inclined to be too sympathetic with his descriptions of military operations, where disciplined and well-armed men defeated those who were the reverse. Still, we recommend the book to the general reader, in spite of its failures, or our differing from its conclusions, for it has the great merit of stimulating curiosity, of retaining the attention of the reader on subjects hitherto unfamiliar to him and of preparing the way for a more exhaustive and judicious work on regions which from every point of view offer the greatest interest to the scholar and the statesman." What the Hunzas think of us, and we of Mr. Knight, may be inferred from their pantomime in which they describe a rampant Anglo-Saxon who after failing to hit an ibex

within two inches of his gun, turns on his Shikâri or native Gillie and kicks him! Mr. Knight sees the fun, but not the irony on our disregard of natives and our worship of red tape, when an anglicized Babu, a type to which we are reducing our subjects, evidently wishing to please his masters, suggests that some grain that he suspected of being poisoned might be given to the Balti coolies "and watch if they thrive on it," or when another Babu proposes that we might offer terms of peace to the enemy, take our native allies to the Conference, and then blow all up together by a Sahib inserting the famous gun-cotton and a lit fuse into the wall, who then "retires with careless slowness as if nothing was up," or to tie up a big batch of prisoners in a bunch and "slay them with shrapnell shell. I have carefully looked through the regulations, and find nothing to forbid this plan."

36. The second volume of "*Entartung*," (Degeneracy) by DR. MAX NORDAU (Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1893) on literary aberrations and eccentricities from a scientific standpoint, has just appeared. It is impossible within the limits of space at our disposal to give more than a general indication of this remarkable inquiry. Hosts of writers from various countries, with characteristic passages, are passed in review by Dr. Nordau, including many names that are not known to the English public and whose influence on their age is yet undoubted. We, therefore, reiterate the hope already expressed at the appearance of the first volume, that "*Entartung*" may be suitably translated into English. Starting with "egotism," as distinguished from "egoism" or selfishness, as the basis of the morbid developments of our *Fin de siècle* Literature, Dr. Nordau shows that mental disease can alone explain them. Its symptoms are compared with those of medical practice and we find the lunatic or the idiot, in various stages, in the monomaniac of whatever kind, the voluptuary all as frantic, the poetaster's eye rolling not in the fine frenzy of genius but in that of incipient or advanced madness, such as a physician would be bound to recognise. Typical words and sentences, supposed to contain a thought, from modern writings are examined with the result of showing the vacuity, intellectual exhaustion or perversion, with which vice and hereditary degeneracy are identical. His analysis of Ibsen's plays similarly proves that their author, beyond a powerful grasp of their technical *mise en scène*, is a man of one—and that the poorest—idea (the revolt against the marriage-tie) which is repeated *ad nauseam* in ever-recurrent similar passages and names and thinly disguised reiterations of the same personages and plots. It is not merely greed and vanity that create a Zola, but disease. Dr. Nordau dissects his works and shows how largely they are indebted to his use of the judicial record of a criminal family. When the eye, the ear, the nose, the touch are vitiated in disease, then arise those literary peculiarities of bad or strange taste, that are the admiration of a public already debased by those national or social processes of decay which Dr. Nordau shows at work in our gangrened civilization. Thus he introduces us to the Psychology of Egotism, which is the exaggeration of the individualism that characterizes modern tendencies, but which is the destruction of Society that can only be maintained by *altruism*, ranging from sympathy to patriotism or other forms of conformity or self-abnegation for the common-weal. The egotist-reformer destroys for the

sake of destroying what may not please his passions or the narrow range of his conceptions; the altruistic reformer builds even where he reluctantly destroyed. Dr. Nordau then examines what is practically the School of the so-called Parnassians and Diabolists with Catulle Mendès and Gautier at their head, who sacrifice matter to manner, sense to sound and feeling to form or "impassibility," for which the English mannerism of *nil admirari* has much to answer. Baudelaire leads the "demoniacs" in singing of lust, crime, disease and corpses, but why add to the publicity of these decrepit specimens of humanity, unless it be to dissolve their following? The Chapter on "Decadence and Estheticism" deals with the inversion of the moral sense, of which Huysman's "*à rebours*" is typical. His hero stimulates crime in order to foster his own indignation with Society, but he lives in an artificial manner, which discloses to Dr. Nordau the secrets of his diseased imagination. We wonder what Oscar Wilde would say to finding himself among the egotists as well as æsthetes, but Dr. Nordau's criticism of his idiosyncrasies seem unanswerable. To Nietzsche and his School in Germany Dr. Nordau assigns a special chapter and the lunatic asylum, to which, we hear, he has been consigned, whilst the Schools that follow Zola and the "young Germany" that also apes Realism before it is even emancipated from leading-strings are similarly dealt with critically, humorously and pathetically. Altogether we are in a bad way, but the twentieth century may see the revolt against the hysterical follies of our age which threaten to bury all the conquests of past culture.

How this is to be done by the association of physicians with high-minded literary men to make immoral popularities impossible and how far more probable is the gradual disuse of Railways, telegraphs, books and everything requiring attention by an exhausted and diseased generation, what is the lower deep in these depths and what the details of the added gloom of further degeneracy, are described in a masterly manner by Dr. Nordau, whose appeal in favour of the maintenance of ancient traditions in Art and Literature and of healthy conceptions of life and duty, will make his "*magnum opus*" doubly acceptable to the Critic and the Philanthropist.

37. *The Nine Circles; or, the Torture of the Innocent*, being Records of Vivisection, English and Foreign. Compiled by G. M. RHODES. 2nd and revised Edition. With Introduction by EDWARD BERDOE, M.R.C.S., etc. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893; 1s.)

We quote the following from its preface and are glad that the present edition has rendered the case unassailable for the anti-vivisection society by eliminating the mistakes of the previous edition. "The extracts of which this book is composed do not describe exceptional experiments, but are samples selected out of hundreds of similar character, showing the different kinds of vivisection practised in England and other countries and illustrating the mental attitude of the professional physiologists. . . .

"That any immediate benefit to mankind is not contemplated by ordinary vivisection has, over and over again, been demonstrated. . . .

"The justifiable impulse to demand some proof of the useful results to be derived therefrom, has recently been characterized by a leading vivisector as 'the miserable spirit of *cui bono*?' Another has told us that science

must advance, and the 'question of the animal being sensitive, cannot alter the mode of investigation.' This book will sufficiently show that even where care is used, the infliction of pain amounting to torture is unavoidable in this method of research."

38. *A Pargiánya, Inno di Väsista, per Guiseppe Turrini* (Bologna: Regia Topografia, 1892; L. 4.) This short hymn of only 3 lines (27 words) is translated literally into Italian, preceded by two versions of its text. That, however, is the least part of this *édition de luxe*, splendidly produced by the Royal press of Bologna. The notes and Glossaries which form its greater part, prove (if proof were needed) the varied learning, the deep erudition, and the careful study of the learned Professor of Indo-European Philology in the University of Bologna. A good specimen of the style of his work is given at p. 49, in the word "putra," of which he traces the derivation through various languages to the root *pû* = cleanse, to purify. We understand that the learned professor has long been engaged on similar work, and that the fragment under review is only one of many translations already achieved.

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF 1891.

39. *Sommaire des études turques, par M. Clement Huart* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893). M. Huart has revised and brought up to date (end of 1892) the statement which he prepared for the Statutory IXth International Congress of Orientalists of London 1891, of the work done in Turkish literature during the period 1886-91. It forms one of the excellent series of similar Summaries for which that congress was remarkable. M. Huart, whose position as Dragoman of the French Embassy at Constantinople gives him exceptional opportunity for such a work, has elaborated this summary with a care and diligence which leave nothing to be desired. This little work should be in the hands of all students of the Turkish language, who will find in it notices of many useful books which might otherwise escape their attention.

40. *Aperçu des études philologiques des langues malaises, par J. J. Meyer* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893) is another of the same series of summaries, and deals with the work done in the Malayan language during the years 1886-91. Its author, Mr. Meyer, who is an official in the Dutch East Indies, gives an exhaustive list of all the publications in this branch of linguistic studies.

41. *Sommaire des travaux relatifs à l'Indo-Chine, par M. E. Aymonier* (Woking: The Oriental University Institute, 1893) is another of the same series of Summaries,—the 3rd published during this quarter. The able pen of the Director of the Colonial School of Paris has treated his subject in the most thorough manner; and all the principal works and writings bearing on it, which have been published from 1886 to 1891, receive due notice in his pamphlet.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for having sent us their set of *Chinese Religious Text Books*, forming volumes XVI., XXVII.,

XXVIII., XXXIX. and XL. of the Series of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by Prof. Max Müller, and the *Book of Enoch*, translated from Prof. Dilmann's text, and edited by R. H. Charles (1893). We have received these valuable books too late to give, in this issue, as full a review as their importance deserves; but we hope to do them justice next quarter.

* We have before us a *fasciculus* of Messrs. Funk and Wagnall's (New York, London and Toronto) *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, consisting of specimen pages culled from the work. It is in three columns on each page,—size, and type similar to Messrs. George Bell and Sons' *Webster's Dictionary*. On comparison we find p. 309 of the latter corresponds to p. 384 of the former, which shows how much more matter has been incorporated in the later work. The illustrations are very good; and under its very efficient staff of Editors, including a great number of names well known on both sides of the Atlantic, it promises to be a very useful adjunct to all good libraries.

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of: 1. *The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co.); 2. *El Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (1st Quarter of 1893), which contains a good article on the Cabots; 3. *La Minerva* (Roma, Società Laziale), a good monthly specilegium from many English and other reviews; 4. *The Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon); 5. *Biblia*, a New York monthly magazine of Biblical and Oriental research; 6. *The Review of Reviews*; 7. *The Strand Magazine*, always fresh and interesting; 8. and *The Picture Magazine*, the beautiful companion of *The Strand*; 9. *The Religious Review of Reviews*; 10. *The Missionary Review of Reviews* (Funk and Wagnall's, New York); 11. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris); 12. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie); 13. *The Library Review* (Hutchinson and Co.); 14. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (Archibald Constable); 15. *Tung Pao*, the bimonthly publication of the learned Professors G. Schlegel and H. Cordier (E. J. Brill); 16. *Journal of the East India Association*; 17. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which maintains its reputation as the leading Catholic Periodical—occasionally rather bitter in tone (Rome, A. Boffani); 18. *Comptes-Rendus de la Société de Géographie de Paris*; 19. *Lucifer*; 20. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 21. *The Antiquary* (Elliot Stock); 22. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, U.S.A); 23. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh); 24. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires*; 25. *The Journal of the Society of Arts*; 26. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York); 26. *Ueber Land und Meer*; 27. *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1893.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

PART II—ALSO A REPLY TO CRITICISM.

BY GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.

IN my article on "the Defence of India" which appeared in the July number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and in letters of mine which have been lately published in the *Times*, I pointed out that India possesses on her north, and north-west, frontier a natural defensive strategical position, exceptionally strong, admirably adapted to the present condition of our Indian military and financial resources, and capable of the highest artificial development. I asserted that it would be the height of folly, not to use a stronger term, to ignore the advantages which that position affords; and to endeavour, by an advance beyond that position, to try and find another, which must necessarily be a weaker one.

I also drew attention to the fact that if, as Mr. George Curzon most positively asserts, we have pledged to the Amir of Afghanistan the integrity of Herat, Maimana, and Andkui, (which are situated in the extreme north of his dominions, the nearest point, Herat, being 784 miles distant from the Indus,) the serious military question must necessarily arise:—How are we to fulfil those obligations?

Mr. George Curzon has given no answer to that question, and I doubt his ability to do so. To my mind there is

but one safe course to adopt, in order to ensure that integrity, to safeguard the interests of our Indian Empire, and to prevent its resources being squandered in, what Mr. George Curzon has so aptly described as, "a wild goose chase over Afghanistan."

That course must be what I faintly sketched out in the concluding portion of my article; viz.—a firm attitude on the part of our Home Government; a fixed determination to make any infraction of the integrity of Afghanistan by Russia a "casus belli"; and the certainty that, in such a case, our fleets would be sent into Russian waters.

The views expressed in that article, and in those letters, produced a goodly crop of criticism, some of which was not couched in the most courteous terms. Sarcasm and ridicule however are not argument, and should not have found a place in a discussion which was dealing with so important a subject as the best means of defending our Indian Empire from attack by a European Power. Not one of those, moreover, who find fault with my scheme of Indian frontier defence, has ventured to recommend in lieu of it any definite scheme of his own. Mr. George Curzon in his reply to my letter of the 19th August, says—"I am as much against embarking upon a wild goose chase over Afghanistan, at an immense distance from our own base, as is Lord Chelmsford, and have argued strongly against it in my book on Central Asia. But I know of no strategist who now recommends such a rash proceeding, or who advocates what Lord Chelmsford calls—"pushing forward our own frontier some 700 miles."

What then does Mr. George Curzon, and those who support his somewhat hazy views on this important subject, consider ought to be done, in the event of an infraction by Russia of our treaties regarding the boundaries of Afghanistan? They are one and all silent on this point; or only venture upon vague generalities, which are no solution of this very difficult question. Mr. George Curzon when asked point-blank by an interviewer of the "Pall Mall

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AND
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THE MANAGER,

"Asiatic Quarterly Review,"

WOKING.

Gazette"—“Where do you think the battlefield will be”? is reported to have replied—“It’s hazardous work predicting a battlefield, when one still hopes to avoid the necessity of a conflict; but the exact locality of the battlefield would depend on whether the Russians adopted the northern or southern line of advance.” “And if the southern line?” says the interviewer—“I don’t think they’ll be in a hurry to hurl themselves upon the almost impregnable position of Quetta.”

Why then, if such are the views of Mr. George Curzon, is he so astonished that I should have seriously advocated a scheme of defence for India in which the intrenched camp at Quetta plays so prominent a part; and in which I recommend that two similar camps should be formed at Peshawur and on the road from Ghazni to the Indus. If Quetta can be made impregnable, why should not the other two be made equally so? and if the Russians, according to Mr. George Curzon, would hesitate “to hurl themselves” upon the one; why should they not be equally reluctant to “hurl themselves” upon the others?

The advantage of the position, which I have advocated, must be patent to the meanest capacity. It must either be regarded by the Russians as so strong that they would “hesitate to hurl themselves upon it”; in which case it has fulfilled its purpose; or, if they determine to advance towards the Indus, they must either first make a direct attack upon the intrenched camps, and endeavour to capture one or more of them; or they must pass them by. In either case we should be able to come to close quarters with our enemy, which of course would be the object of any other plan of campaign that might be adopted. In the one scheme however we should be fighting on our own selected ground, within comfortable distance of our supplies and reserves; which would not be the case in any more “forward” scheme. Now the above scheme of defence which I have just described, is identical with that which was recommended most strongly in 1878 by our great

English strategist, Sir Edward Hamley ; who again in 1888, in the House of Commons, pointed out the advantages of it.

In the face of this fact however Mr. George Curzon, for the sake of a little smart writing, in his letter to the "Times," of the 25th August has caricatured that scheme in the following terms :

"Meanwhile the British are to fortify Peshawur, as they have done Quetta, and are to sit still, . . . twiddling their thumbs, until at some time in the next century, Russia sees fit to step down to the Indus."

It would be absurd to take notice of such criticism, were the question not one of such moment. The safety of India however is involved.

Assuming therefore, for the sake of argument, that it would be dangerous to await an advance of Russia towards India in the strong defensive position just described ; what is to be the alternative scheme ?

Mr. George Curzon deprecates "a wild goose chase over Afghanistan," and considers any pushing forward of our frontier some 700 miles would be "a rash proceeding" which no strategist of his acquaintance now advocates.

If we accept such an opinion as sensible and sound, which I believe it to be, then the idea of occupying Herat, in the interests of the Amir, or, of recapturing it, in the event of Russia taking possession of that fortress, must be abandoned, for it is, as I have already pointed out, 784 miles distant from the Indus.

How then, again I ask, does Mr. George Curzon intend to secure the integrity of Herat, Maimana, and Andkui ?

He has stated that the non-fulfilment of our promise to do so "would signify a gross breach of faith to the Amir, who relying upon our pledges, has subordinated his foreign relations to our control, and who will, undoubtedly, call upon us to defend him from unprovoked attack." It is surely not unreasonable that he should be asked to make his meanings clear.

An advance towards Herat being abandoned, what other defensive positions are to be found on the Indian side of that fortress? I know of none other but Kandahar and Kabul. Let us see then what advantages these two cities possess as defensive positions.

In 1881 General Sir Donald Stewart, than whom no more competent authority could be found, wrote a memorandum "on the strategical and political value of Kandahar as a position."

"Covering as it does," he says, "the roads from Eastern Persia and Herat, as well as that from Kabul and Ghazni, Kandahar is no doubt a position of much importance. The features of the country in the immediate vicinity of the city are favourable for defence; but its occupation by us would entail the establishment of strong posts on the Helmand and at Kelat-i-Ghilzai *at least*, bringing the intervening districts under our control" (I may here mention that the distance from Kandahar to the Helmand is 76 miles; and to Kelat-i-Ghilzai 88 miles)—"Assuming however the retention of the country embraced within the limits here indicated, we do not thereby obtain a satisfactory frontier, because it would be impossible to guard such a long and exposed line without a series of military or police posts as connecting links." "The political objection to the retention of Kandahar in opposition to the wishes of the Afghans seem to me to be very strong." The occupation of Kandahar therefore, either from a political, or from a military point of view, would clearly not be a strengthening of our military position, and it would seem therefore clearly desirable to remain in, what Mr. George Curzon admits to be, "the almost impregnable position of Quetta."

The position at Kabul was found to be an exceedingly weak one during the time that it was occupied by the force under Sir Frederick, now Lord, Roberts, in 1879-80. The intrenched camp at Sherpur was so situated as to command nothing but the actual ground on which it was placed.

The spurs of the Pagman range on the West, and of the Hindu Kush on the North and East, close it in on three sides and render extended reconnoissances difficult and practically useless. It is separated from the road to Jellalabad by the Kabul river, and does not therefore cover the line of communications along which the supplies and reinforcements from India must come. It does not command the town of Kábul, nor practically any of the roads leading to that town. It is difficult to conceive a weaker position. This was so fully recognised that after the successful repulse of the attack made upon the camp, a scheme of defence, which had been long prepared, was commenced. Captain Hoskyns, Royal Engineers, in a lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution May 5, 1882, gives an interesting account of what that scheme was. It consisted of the building of 10 Forts; 15 detached works; 3 large trestle bridges; numerous small ones; 4000 yards of defence; 45 miles of road; 2 posts; also quarters for 8000 men, followers and baggage animals. It must also be borne in mind that on the 30 June 1880 there were 14,854 men keeping open the line of communications between Peshawur and Kabul, a distance of only 173 miles. A position which requires such a scattering of the defending force, and such a number of troops to keep open its communications, is clearly not a desirable one to occupy. There would be evidently no advantage in going beyond the Peshawur valley for such a poor result.

I have studiously avoided thus far mixing up political with military considerations. What I have been all along anxious to bring home to the minds of my readers is the extraordinary military strength of, what I must call, our *natural* line of defence on the North-West frontier of India, and the serious weakness of those defensive positions which are to be found beyond it. Mr. George Curzon however has in his letter of 19 August, summarised his objections, political as well as military, to my policy, which policy, he says, "cannot be, and never will be adopted." I feel bound therefore to answer them seriatim.

1st. "It would signify a gross breach of faith to the Amir."

As Mr. George Curzon does not advocate any advance upon Herat, Maimana, or Andkui, in the event of an occupation of those places by Russia, I do not see where his policy differs from mine—which is, as I have already said, to avoid any forward movement of troops into Afghanistan, and to look to the Home Government as the "*Deus ex machinâ*" to help the Amir out of his difficulties.

2nd. "It would alienate from all possible alliance with us the entire Afghan people."

I must repeat, assuming that statement to be correct, that Mr. George Curzon's abstention from advancing to Herat would have precisely similar effects. Our experience however of the Afghan people in the past has been that they are always inclined to resent, very forcibly, any occupation of their country by our troops.

3rd. "It would turn against us the whole of the Border tribes."

I cannot admit this assertion; as we should be in direct communication with all those on the line of a Russian advance; and actually living amongst a large number of them.

4th. "It would hand over gratis to Russia a priceless base of operations."

The value of this priceless base of operations is seriously discounted, by the line of operations, leading from it, being blocked by intrenched camps, practically impregnable, and which could not be passed by, without serious risk to an invading army.

5th. "It would give her the finest recruiting-ground in Asia."

The Afghans are a most insubordinate people. The Indian official report of the Anglo-Afghan war of 1879-80 gives a list of 48 different tribes, into which they are divided, some of whom in religion are Shiah, and some Sunni; they are

consequently bitterly opposed one towards the other. The Afghan is, as a rule, reluctant to leave his own part of the country, and, if enlisted, would prove himself very unreliable, and probably more dangerous to the Russians than he would be to ourselves.*

6th. "It would enable her to threaten the long and vulnerable line of passes through the Suleimans."

Threatened men, it is said, live long; and considering that *before* a Russian army could reach the Suleiman range it would have to reckon with the whole strength of our defending force, supported by two strongly intrenched camps, I do not think that the objection in question can be considered a strong one!

7th. "It would entail upon India an entirely new and enormously expensive scheme of military fortification."

This is a statement not borne out by facts. One intrenched camp situated on a selected spot, somewhere on the Gomal or Tochi passes, between Ghazni and the Indus, would be required; and one somewhere between Peshawur and the Khyber pass. The expense of these would not be large.

8th. "It would involve a corresponding addition to the frontier garrisons."

I do not consider that one extra man would be required, until it was ascertained along which line the Russians were advancing. With our present border railway lines, reinforcements, supplies, and material, could be furnished in very short time wherever required.

* Duránis are opposed to Ghilzais; Turis have perpetual feuds with Waziris; Waziris raid upon the Povindahs; Khostwals, being half Sunnis and half Shiah, are constantly fighting among themselves. The north of Afghanistan is the stronghold of heterodoxy. The Hazaras are bigoted Shiah; and the inhabitants of Badakhshan and Wakhan are divided among themselves, those residing in the hill country being Shiah, and those in the valleys being Sunnis. The first Afghan recruits would be consequently Shiah, and this fact would be sufficient to render all Sunnis bitterly hostile. These initial difficulties may possibly be overcome; but the serious consideration must always remain that, in case of any reverse, these Afghan recruits will, most undoubtedly, to a man, prove broken reeds, which will pierce the hand of Russia.

9th. "It would secure for us the well deserved contempt of the Indian Princes, and would provoke an ultimate, if not an immediate, rising in our rear."

With regard to this allegation, Mr. George Curzon has, in the concluding paragraph of his letter, so far forgotten the ordinary courtesy of controversial correspondence, as to accuse me of recommending, what he is pleased to designate, "the inestimable advantage of the white feather"! Putting on one side however the personal aspect of such a charge, it is to be regretted that the loyalty and good faith of the Princes of India should have been so seriously called in question. If, as Mr. George Curzon suggests, the plan for the defence of India is not one that meets with their approval, he assumes, most gratuitously and offensively, that they would ultimately, if not immediately, rise against our rule. I feel sure that the Princes would repudiate with indignation so unjust a slur upon their honesty.

I have thus far replied to the several objections by Mr. George Curzon to my scheme for the defence of India. The scheme is supported by the highest strategical authority, and is one which, in my opinion, would effectually checkmate any attempt to invade India from the North West.

It now rests with Mr. George Curzon, and those who advocate a "Forward Policy," to submit an alternative scheme, and to show, by something better than a negative criticism, that they have really thought out to some logical conclusion the very intricate and difficult question of "The Defence of India."

THE ALLIANCE OF CHINA AND INDIA.

BY ALEXANDER MICHIE.

SINCE writing on this subject (See *A. Q. R.* Jan. 1892) the natural relationship between the two great Eastern Empires has been rendered clearer by the course of events. It is no longer a speculative opinion that the interests of the two greatest human aggregations on the earth are, for practical political purposes, identical. To educe from this community of interest harmony of sentiment, and from that, unity of action, would be a work worthy of all the statesmanship and all the political genius of England. The welfare of 600 millions of men and the future progress of the world, in its deepest sense, are perhaps more closely wrapped up in the "policy" which Great Britain may follow in the Far East than in any other of the many questions which now clamour for attention. For although the interests not of Great Britain only, but of the race in other quarters of the globe are vast and vital, yet in the American and Australasian continents these interests are in the safe keeping of men of our own blood whose instincts may be trusted to guide the course of events aright. In the midst of passing aberrations, the general direction of the affairs of Greater Britain is forward and upward;—whether with or without formal leadership. The federation of the English-speaking world progresses steadily, and, in any case, our prospects in the West may be discharged from the burden of our anxieties.

In the East the case is different. There the two great nations whose permanent interest and common safety are to stand shoulder to shoulder are absolutely dependent on the skill of their respective rulers to effect the alliance which is so essential to their joint welfare. India and China are being rapidly hemmed in by two aggressive Powers, Russia on the North and France on the South; and these two Powers, whether in official alliance or not, are drawn towards common action by what they conceive

to be common interests. This alliance may never bear a serious strain, but it will nevertheless serve a temporary purpose, so long as the two Powers have no points of contact with each other. The German and Austrian States form convenient buffers in Europe, while India and China answer the same purpose in Asia, and while Russian and French projects are thus kept far from the risk of clashing it is an obvious game for the two to play into each other's hands to the prejudice of third parties. A simultaneous attack, for example, on the Northern and the Southern frontiers of China might seriously embarrass that country; and the renewed activity of France in South-eastern Asia brings the possibility of such concerted movement within very measurable distance. Both the French and the Russian Press were eagerly calling attention to their opportunities of helping each other during the Siamese crisis, and the call was a warning to all whom it concerned. India and China occupy the same position between the upper and the nether millstone, and the question which of them shall, at any given time, feel the pressure, will depend solely on the amount of resistance which may be expected from them respectively. The statesmen who rule the destinies of the two Eastern Empires have now, if they never had before, a clear case. The problem is simplicity itself—in principle—for the movement of both France and Russia is now a factor that can be absolutely reckoned on. Their forward pressure, though fluctuating in degree, will be constant in direction. Their rate of advance will be simply a balance between the amount of force, moral and material, which they are able to throw into the movement and the solidity of the obstacles they may encounter.

India and China are in this matter but one country, different halves of the same body. Their business, therefore, in view of the approach of the two invading Powers, is simply to place, if they can, impassable obstacles in their way, and this they would do with the greatest effect if they could work on a mutual understanding. A combined

defence would be both cheaper and stronger than any separate defence could possibly be. In short, the offensive alliance, or whatever it may be called, between France and Russia ought in reason to be met by a corresponding defensive alliance between India and China.

There are men in China who see this, as there are men in India and England who see it, but they do not see one another, eye to eye, and so the fruitful interaction of the two currents of thought remains in the condition of pious aspiration. On which side the fault chiefly lies might be difficult to say; but we suspect that India has, so far, proved the more backward of the two. China has at least done something to cultivate relations with India, but if there has ever been any reciprocation of friendly advances from the Indian side the fact has been skilfully concealed. No doubt, through our large commerce in China, and the specially trained Consular staff which supervises it, a considerable amount of more or less friendly intercourse has been kept up. But it is of a commonplace order, and whenever we get above the modest level of clearing ships, registering land, New Year dinners, and the like, the intimacy ceases. In the higher diplomatic sphere the case is virtually the same, for the very structure of Chinese society and the status of the Foreign Ministers preclude confidential relations. In acquiring general information the British Government has no doubt done a good deal by facilitating the travels of Consular officials who explore and write books, etc.; while even the routine commercial reports which the Consuls compile every year are full of carefully collected notes on a variety of practical subjects, varying of course in interest according to the personal equations of the writers. It is nevertheless a question whether in matters concerning the inner machinery and motives of Government, the methods employed by other Powers do not yield fuller results. On that obscure subject, the military resources of China, for example, we allow ourselves to be satisfied with such undigested information as may be picked

up by any clever traveller, while France and Russia both maintain trained agents to keep their intelligence departments carefully posted on these subjects. The military attachés of both Powers are men of high professional attainments, with a roving commission to see and learn everything that is possible, and to make confidential reports to their Governments. By this means the War Offices of the two Governments in question possess details concerning the Chinese militant capacity more exact and authentic than, perhaps, even the Chinese Government itself. Since the journey of Colonel Mark Bell some six years ago through North China and Turkestan, and that of Captain Younghusband later, it is doubtful whether the Indian or British Government have obtained anything more authoritative than what is to be found by attentive reading of the newspapers. It cannot be deemed a satisfactory state of things that the natural foes of the Chinese empire should have all the information while the natural friends have none. The lack of interest thus shown by England and India cannot but impress the Chinese unfavourably as to the intelligence of our governing men.

The events of the past two years in the Pamirs and in Siam, have brought Great Britain and China into line without pre-arrangement, by the sheer force of circumstances. Finding themselves twice on the same spot, at the same time, remonstrating against the same aggression, the fact of their possessing common interests at opposite extremities of the two empires was made plain to themselves and to all the world. The anxiety of Russia at one end of the line and of France at the other to exclude third parties, *i.e.*, England, from their discussion with China and Siam respectively, proved conclusively the importance they attached to an Anglo-Chinese understanding. Were it not wise to accept this object-lesson as a basis of action? What all the world knows it would be useless affectation to ignore, and a scheme of policy so much in harmony with actualities would seem to be justified by the legitimacy of its origin.

It is no ingenious contrivance of the brain of man, but a combination existing already in fact and only waiting for shape to be given to it. How?

Of course, the value of China in any such combination is sufficiently uncertain to be perplexing. In one sense, her resources for defence are unlimited, as she has got the men, and the money, if she has not got the ships, but the action of her Government will always be more or less incalculable in any given case. Her haste to conclude peace with France at the moment when M. Jules Ferry withdrew from the negotiations because he thought that her military successes would render her impracticable may be cited as an instance of China doing just the opposite of what might be reasonably expected. We should need to be more behind the scenes before attributing even such a sudden move as that to mere caprice.

A noteworthy re-awakening of China during the past twelve months should not escape our attention. After seeming to allow her interests in the Pamirs to lapse by default, leading the Russian agents to believe that she was in truth "the negligible quantity" which she had been mistakenly affirmed to be by a French statesman, she has asserted her rights in the Pamirs in a way that has caused considerable annoyance in St. Petersburg, where it seems a diplomatic campaign has commenced over a matter which Russia supposed the Cossacks had already disposed of.

The steadiness with which China has been pushing forward her strategic railway in the direction of Manchuria also indicates her distinct recognition of the requirements of national defence in that direction; and it is interesting to see that the easternmost section of the Siberian railway has been opened to traffic in the same year that witnesses the completion of the Chinese line as far as the Great Wall.

The most unexpected evidence, however, of Chinese national vitality, has been given in connection with the recent French proceedings in Siam. It is evident that the

French Government and its agents abroad were reckoning without their host in proceeding to the dismemberment of Siam under the belief that both China and Great Britain were negligible. Small blame indeed to the French, for when China began to emit signs of solicitude on the subject her pretensions were pooh-poohed even by those sections of the English press that thought the matter worthy of notice at all. Yet it appears to have been the attitude taken up by China that caused the French to pause in mid career, and to listen to reason. No doubt it is more politic of the French to put their sudden access of moderation on the diplomatic ground of deferring to English feeling and of respecting English interests ; but there was no thought of either until China showed her teeth and brought up unpleasant reminders of the campaign of 1884-5.

But divide the honours how we please, the broad facts stand out clear enough that Great Britain and China are at this very moment engaged in a common effort to save a friendly kingdom from being broken up ; and that their interest in its preservation is one and the same,—that it keeps a restless Power at a distance from their own frontiers, and is a profitable outlet for their commerce.

One would imagine that out of a condition of affairs like that it would not exhaust the resources of statesmanship on either side to bring to a definition that which is at present shapeless. But when one comes to study the said statesmanship in the concrete, the road which seemed plain, when seen from a distant height, is found at close quarters to be broken and fissured. On the Chinese side there has been for many years a conscious looking towards India, but with no one to take hold of the outstretched hand, or make reciprocal advances. There have been troublesome questions on the frontiers of Sikkim and Burmah, if not also at Hunza, which served to keep up irritation ; and there are sources of irritation within China itself, where the room of the foreign residents would be at any time preferred to their company. But what would probably constitute the greatest

obstacle to a practical, operative friendship between the two Empires is the personal policy of the leading statesmen. The only man that we know much about at the present time in China who deserves the name of statesman, Li Hung-Chang, is undoubtedly alive to the value of an Anglo-Indian friendship, and he would probably sacrifice petty concerns to consolidate it. But the prevailing anti-foreign, and of course anti-English, feeling among Chinese officials is very strong, and it leads some of the most influential among them into such extravagances of action and utterance as not only spread hatred of foreigners all round them, but seem also to react on themselves, causing their feelings to become intensified into passion. The most conspicuous example of a fanatical foreigner-hater among the higher officials in China is the present Viceroy of the Hu Kwang, the two large central provinces. Chang Chih-tung who for some years occupied the corresponding high office in the Kwang provinces (Canton) is a brilliant and trenchant writer, and it is to his literary force that he owes his rapid promotion. There is no reason to doubt the honesty of the feeling, which he shares with the whole official class, that the foreigner in the country is a danger and a curse. It is the common error of literary men in all ages and countries, when placed in positions of authority, to try to put their book-born theories into immediate execution without regard to practical conditions. That is the pit into which this distinguished man seems to have fallen. The regret that foreigners should ever have got a footing in their country, and the desire to get them out again is natural and probably universal among the Chinese ; it would be hard indeed to conceive a Chinaman with a true sense of patriotism who did not share to some extent these sentiments. Wise men, however, acquiesce in the irrevocable, and try to take what advantage they can out of the actual state of things, while the fanatics, like caged animals, beat themselves to death against the bars. The Viceroy, Chang, who seems to

be one of those fanatics, is resolved on making an effort to get rid of foreigners.

The Chinese usually divide all foreigners into the two classes, merchants and missionaries, and Chang had his methods of expulsion appropriate to both. The merchants, he thought, might be starved out by China's making herself independent of them. It is a favourite notion of Chinese, and Japanese, and one to be commended, that they should make their country self-supporting. Chang sought to combine the gratification of this ambition with the national defence by manufacturing iron and cotton cloth. He plunged headlong into schemes of this kind and spent vast sums of money, of course without the most elementary knowledge, and he has exhausted his resources without having produced a bar of iron. So much for the suppression of foreign traders.

The missionaries occupied a quite different position, and could not be subverted by any law of supply and demand, nor induced by any other considerations to leave the country alone. They must therefore be worried, persecuted, and, if necessary, murdered until they evacuated the sacred soil. Such is the truculent scheme attributed to Chang under which it is supposed the rioters within his government have been encouraged during the past two years to carry on their plan of campaign, being assured of immunity from the consequences by the ultimate protection of the Viceroy. While Chang was in Canton, the persecution of Christians within his government was rampant. When he was removed to the Hu provinces the persecutions ceased in Canton, and commenced in Hupeh. The coincidence is at least remarkable. It is now reported from China that there was a combination between the two Viceroys who together hold sway over the whole Yangtze Valley having for its object the expulsion of the missionaries from their governments, and that it was under this arrangement that the riots of 1891 were fomented; and that the success of these led to a repetition, on a scale of yet greater

atrocities, in 1893. It is, moreover, announced by one of the newspapers that Chang has actually presented a petition to the Throne recommending the slaughter of all foreigners, especially the English, to prevent the partition of China among the foreign powers. Such a suicidal conception would be quite in keeping with the perverted ideas of this fierce and conceited bookworm. It would appear as if these high Chinese officials, blind to all the remoter—and yet not very remote—consequences of their proceedings, were bent on bringing about a state of things in China which will not only justify, but compel, the intervention of foreign Powers in the mere interests of humanity, treating China as they would Dahomey.

Now, with men of that stamp occupying the highest positions in the land, the constitutional advisers of the Throne, it may well seem hopeless for any Western nation to cultivate relations of real intimacy with China. But, influential though they be, these Viceroys are not omnipotent, and Chang Chih-tung himself has had recent monitions from the Throne, based on certain Memorials reflecting on his inordinate conceit and glaring mismanagement, that he had better mend his ways.

If we turn now to the other side, do the personalities which make up the British or Indian governments afford much greater hope of a comprehensive grasp of international affairs? What do we find, what would any stranger find who came to study the present English government? An old man, strong as Samson, as desperate, and as blind—to all that he does not wish to see—laying hold of the two middle pillars of his own house, bowing himself with all his might to bring the structure about his ears, making sport for the Philistines of the civilized world; and by his side that same Chinese element of philosophic pedantry, so fatal to sane government, palliating outrages in the spirit of the mandarins, and, like the great Chang, resolute in putting crude theories in force, regardless of consequences. No reasonable outlook on the affairs of the world—largely

British affairs—is to be expected from such a quarter. The Dictator, moreover, as we know on the authority of the great interpreter, has an instinctive partiality for sleek headed men, who sleep o' nights; and anything sleeker than the Foreign Office, in its parliamentary aspect at least, it would be difficult to discover in any organized government in the world. The capacity for taking things easy is undoubtedly a valuable one,—the incapacity to do so was insisted on by Mr. Bagehot as the cause of much financial disaster. But it is not the quality which conquers new worlds, or that may be implicitly trusted even to preserve the old. Real or affected ignorance of what is going on, the ready wit which flouts pertinent enquiries with a gibe, admirable in the placeman or political rope-dancer, are by no means so admirable in the patriot who is expected to place his country before himself. To give everyone his due, however, it would be manifestly too much to expect of any Foreign Secretary representing a Cabinet wholly engrossed in problems of destruction or re-construction, of the United Kingdom, to give effective attention to the vital interests of the Empire. A Foreign Minister must speak and act with more than his own individual authority, and where is the authority which strengthens the hands of Lord Rosebery? True, he got out a strong and admirable despatch about Egypt in the beginning of the year, before the Government was immersed in the Serbonian bog, from which it has had to extricate itself by violent and unnatural means, but the Siamese negotiations have not, so far as is known of them, redounded to the credit of either the Foreign Office or the Government. English statesmen under the circumstances before us seem to have too great a resemblance to Chinese statesmen in losing sight of the great in the small, and the remote in the near, and more particularly in thinking more highly of themselves and their interests than they ought. It is hardly out of such material that you can hope to evolve a national policy that will resist wind and weather.

FACTS ABOUT THE ALLEGED AFGHAN TREATY.

BY AN EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL.

INTRODUCTION.

As it has been asserted by several ex-officials, that there is a Treaty between England and the Amir of Afghanistan, or pledges equivalent to a Treaty, obliging us to defend Herát, Maimena and Andkui against Russian aggression and obliging the Amir to subordinate his foreign policy to us, I beg leave to state that, up to this date, the 19th September 1893, there exist no such Treaty and pledges. No British Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, has entangled this country in any arrangement from which it cannot in honour withdraw and Sir Henry Norman (like any other Viceroy) has neither to undo the policy of his predecessors nor to carry out any new or old policy of his own or of the present Administration that has so wisely appointed him.* What exists is "the wish" that is "father to the thought," according to personal predilections or interests, either to fight or to avoid Russia on the studiously vague, conditional and "open" negotiations that have ever left us free to force ourselves on, or to disappoint, the Amirs of Kabul, according to the dictates of the policy of the moment, as influenced by the ambition or cautiousness of a Viceroy or of his "Foreign Department."† No text of Scripture has ever lent itself to wider interpretations than our correspondence with Kabul. Personally I am in favour of attacking Russia in Europe, on her first aggression, however excused, on Afghanistan, believing that her power, like the supposed granite-walls of Bomarsund at the

* Since this was written, Sir Henry Norman appears to have been worried into withdrawing his acceptance of the Viceroyalty of India, for which, in the present state of things, he was a good selection.

† Lord Hartington observes in a Despatch of November 1880: "The question is one on which those who are responsible for the government of India must form their own judgment upon two absolutely conflicting lines of policy, between which there is no room for compromise."

first shot of the Allied French and English Navies in 1854, will vanish for, at all events, offensive purposes and that long before she can come to an effective aid of her then enemy France, that country runs a serious risk of being dismembered by Germany and England, should the latter join the Triple Alliance even without pledging herself to all its obligations. I also believe that it is to the manifest interest of France and Russia to involve us in distant and costly operations in Asia in order to have a free hand in Europe. I submit, however, that, so far as the question before us is concerned, neither the honour of England nor the interests of India are in any way affected by the capture of Herát, Andkui and Maimena, deeply as the seizures may be deplored. Further, knowing the native Indian feeling better than the alluded-to ex-officials, I maintain that it is precisely service in Afghanistan and increased taxation for military or political objects which will alienate it from us, whatever certain demonstrative Chiefs may proclaim to the contrary. Finally, I hold that our prestige in India has never, in the native mind, been associated with the defence of Afghanistan, its hereditary foe, except in so far as *any* failure of whatever scheme—home or foreign—on which the Indian Government may set its heart is, in a sense, a loss of prestige.* We now keep India more by her weakness than

* It is *going* to Kabul that is looked upon by natives as an act of folly and fear and it gratuitously advertises Russia. If our numerous past disasters in Kabul have not destroyed our prestige in India, our non-interference in Afghan affairs will certainly not do so. Even in 1880, in spite of Lord Roberts' march from Kabul to Kandahar, for which the far more glorious march of our Bayard, Sir Donald Stewart, from Kandahar to Kabul, had prepared the way, we had to evacuate Afghanistan after we had deported its King, Ya'kûb Khan, and the country was in a process of dismemberment. We then preferred rather to incur the political fiasco of recognizing the Russian nominee, Abdurrahman Khan, than an inevitable military fiasco with our discontented native troops in the midst of a fanatical population "bravely struggling to be free." Our native soldiers, pining for their homes, complained of our gross neglect of them, especially as regards food and clothing. I knew Post Office Vans returning empty from the Frontier rather than take with them weary and wounded Sepoys on leave struggling to get home and imploring in vain to be taken in the

by our strength or ability, but we should keep her by our and her united virtue, if we were to administer her on Oriental lines, including the reduction of our expenditure to an Oriental, or a Russian, scale of payments to public servants. That the pendulum of opinion among Indian and British authorities, when it does not stand still, now swings more to this or that interpretation of our Afghan obligations has already been implied, but it may be well to quote their actual TEXT, premising that the confusion on the subject in the public mind has been "worse confounded" by mixing up three different policies with a purely strategical scheme :

(a) The truly "masterly inactivity" of Sir John Lawrence* which stood aloof from all interference in Afghan affairs, welcoming with gifts of arms and money whoever happened to be the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, provided he was not unfriendly to us. This policy, in my humble opinion, can alone establish a strong and independent native Government in that country, suited alike to the genius of its peoples and to its physical conditions—

(b) The "scientific frontier" *pis-aller*, as initiated by Lord Lytton, which includes, but, unfortunately, does *not*

Vans. How can we expect recruiting for Afghanistan to be popular under these circumstances? It has ever been most unpopular. In every Bazar in Northern India the show is performed of the Monkey Marôr Khan who, dressed in a red coat with a general's hat, struts up to Kabul, but totters back from it with his tail between his legs, lame and utterly crestfallen—a variation on our "went up like a rocket and came down like a stick." Another common joke is the Afghan beating the Hindu. At every blow the latter says : "*Ab mârâ, to mârâ ; ab marè, to jânun*"—"You have struck me, well you have struck me (once) ; do so (again) and I will take notice (know it)." But the blows go on all the same and are followed by the same remonstrance, like our "one step more and you will rouse the British lion."

* Even when we were in possession of Kandahâr, Her Majesty's Government (Nov. 1880) were "of the opinion that recent experience has done nothing to strengthen the arguments of those who desire, as a military measure, to advance the Indian frontier, and much to verify the forebodings of those who were opposed to that policy. The advances of the Russian frontier which have taken place in recent years were foreseen, and their influence upon our position in India was deliberately considered, by Lord Lawrence and other Indian statesmen on whose advice the Home Government repeatedly declined to permit itself to be committed to a policy of military extension."

stop, at the present truly scientific; because purely strategical, line of "the Defence of India," which has been so irrefutably defined by Lord Chelmsford in the last *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.*

(c) The "Forward Policy" which, with few exceptions, is the last refuge of those patriots, who, having no other line of defence to suggest, as, indeed, no other exists, vapour about pledges which they misunderstand in order to further their personal interests in the general wreck of India. This so-called "policy" is, in the vaguest way, a "Defence of the Afghan Frontiers" as distinguished from that of India, which, whatever its outposts, is on the Indus.

I have already pointed out how, by small steps at a time, the ambition of our military and political frontier officers has drawn Russia out of the attitude of reserve which she imposed on herself in consequence of the Granville-Gortschakoff arrangement; how the intervention in Kashmir, first nibbled at by Sir Henry Durand, the father of the present Sir Mortimer, led to a corresponding move on the part of Russia; how the degradation of Kashmir from the position of an independent Frontier Ally to that of a dependent Indian Feudatory drew Russia's attention to that quarter and, finally, how Colonel Grombcheffsky's tour in Ladák, thwarted by our Kashmir Resident, enabled him to involve us and the Thám of Hunza in a campaign under a third Durand, which has broken down one of the barriers of India and has *inter alia* left the Baroghil pass "OPEN" to a Russian incursion of Chitrál. I will now address myself to the larger question of the so-called "pledges" to defend the Afghan Frontier:

OUR AFGHAN POLICY.

Our Afghan policy, whether Conservative or Liberal, is based on "the assurances which were offered in 1873

* In his Minute, Afghanistan (1881), No. 2, C—2811 Lord Lytton was, to a certain extent, satisfied with our present Quetta position, but he also advocated the occupation of "Kabul, Ghazni, Jelalabád, with the possession of the passes over the Hindukush" and in one place deprecated, whilst in another he proposed, the occupation of Hérát.

by Lord Northbrook to the Amir" Sher Ali, who had in vain asked that Viceroy to give him positive pledges against external attack. Sher Ali had similarly failed with the Conservative Lord Mayo, though the latter's personal influence kept him from seeking a Russian alliance. What he wanted, and the present Amir wants, is to be guaranteed by *treaty* the integrity of his dominions and this is precisely what we did *not* give him. It was mainly this failure, coupled with a vexatious interference *quand même*, which drove Sher Ali into the arms of Russia and it is a similar failure that must compel the present Amir, or his successor, to ally himself with whatever other power gives him the desired guarantee. Whether Sir Mortimer Durand has the long-looked for treaty in his pocket is a matter of doubt. The constitution of his mission would rather indicate that he is only commissioned to give explanations as to the minor matters of stealthy surveys, of the Zhob Valley, Kurum and Chaman encroachments, the abandonment of the Amir as regards the Pamir outposts, if not also of Shignan and Raushan, the interference with Chitrāl and the formal recognition of the Amir's son and heir as his successor to the throne. Till then the existing pledge, such as it is, is the following *statement* on *our* side, which, like every other one-sided promise, has not the binding nature of a treaty or contract on both parties, if indeed it has any on either of them, say even only on us, considering how we have fenced round our position by all sorts of conjectural conditions in the following diplomatic communication of what is merely *our* "pious desire":

THE SO-CALLED PLEDGE* OF 1873 (REPEATED IN LORD HARTINGTON'S NO. 23 OF MAY 1880).

"The British Government does not share the Amir's apprehensions (about Russian aggression), but it would be *the duty of the Amir, in case of any actual or threatened aggression, to refer the question to that Government,*

* Webster defines a pledge (apart from hypothecation, law uses or a tea-totaler's "pledge") as: "Anything given or considered as a security for the performance of an act; a guarantee, as *mutual* interest is the best pledge for the performance of treaties."

who would endeavour by negotiation and by every means in their power to settle the matter and avert hostilities. It was not intended, by insisting on such previous reference, to restrict or interfere with the power of the Amir as an independent ruler to take such steps as might be necessary to repel any aggression on his territories, but such reference was a preliminary and essential condition of the British Government assisting him. In such event, should their endeavours to bring about an amicable settlement prove fruitless, the British Government were prepared to assure the Amir that they would afford him *assistance in the shape of arms and money*, and would also, *in case of necessity, aid him with troops*.* The British Government held itself *perfectly free to decide as to the occasion* when such assistance should be rendered, and also as to its nature and extent; moreover, the assistance would be *conditional upon the Amir himself abstaining from aggression*, and on his *unreserved acceptance of the advice of the British Government* in regard to his external relations." (The italics are mine.)

Sher Ali naturally considered this to be insufficient. He wanted a Treaty, as also did the present Amir Abdurrahman, to whom an equally vague assurance was given by Lord Lytton in July 1880 in a letter* through Mr., now Sir, Lepel Griffin, which was confirmed by Lord Hartington in his Despatch of December of the same year:

PRESENT SO-CALLED PLEDGE.

"Your Highness has requested that the views and intentions of the British Government with regard to the position of the ruler at Kabul *in relation to foreign powers*, should be placed on record for your Highness' information. The Viceroy and Governor General in Council authorizes me to declare to you that *since* the British Government admits no right of interference by foreign powers within Afghanistan, and *since* both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all interference with the affairs of Afghanistan, *it is plain* that your Highness *can have* no political relations with any foreign power except with the British Government. *If* any foreign power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and *if* such interference should lead to *unprovoked aggression* on the dominions of your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you, *to such extent and in such manner as may appear to the British Government necessary*, in repelling it; *provided* that your Highness follows *unreservedly* the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations."† (The italics are mine.)

* Mr. Griffin himself defines the letter in his official Report of the 4th October 1880 as "the document was not an agreement between two States, but merely a memorandum of obligation granted to the Amir by the British Government."

† In his "interview" in the "Pall Mall Gazette," Sir Lepel Griffin stated: "So no treaty was made and I do not think that any formal agree-

Can such a letter be called "a *pledge*" and what is an "unprovoked aggression" in dealing with Russia? The Amir very soon discovered of what interpretation the above "pledges" were capable. He resisted the unprovoked Russian aggression at Pandjdeh, and was defeated with heavy loss. The Sarik and Salor Turkomans became Russian. The Amir came to Rawalpindi in March 1885 to consult Lord Dufferin and there "THE POOR AMIR" was made to swallow his resentment, but he was told the old story, which follows on every successive British failure and will, we fear, ever continue to do so that "ONE STEP MORE and you will rouse the British Lion." He there, in my hearing, offered in public Durbar to place his sword at our service in order to fight our enemies and not, as Sir Charles Dilke states in his "Problems of Greater Britain": "The Amir was told by Lord Dufferin that as long as he conformed to our advice his enemies would be ours," which is a different thing, for, it might be replied, that, as this promise can only refer to external enemies, if the Amir does *not* conform to our advice, Russia will not be his enemy and, therefore, Russia is our friend, which is arguing in a vicious circle.

No doubt the demarcation of his frontier by our Commission gives the Amir a *claim on our good offices* in times of need, but this and other acts of an *amicus curiæ* have not the effect of a contract or Treaty signed both by our Government and the Amir. Indeed, the latter is not held to any reciprocal engagement as long as he avoids the error attributed to the Amir Sher Ali of receiving at Kabul a *distinctly hostile* mission to England. In 1885, as in 1873 and as in 1880 "the Government of India required no

ment has since been concluded." He considers, however, that the above letter pledges the honor of England as fully as a Treaty and adds: "This engagement the Amir, in default of a treaty, freely and fully accepted. It has been enforced ever since. It was confirmed in Rawal Pindi in 1885 by Lord Dufferin, and the demarcation of the northern frontier was arranged in accordance with it."

pledges, concessions or reciprocal engagements" from the Amir. Mansion House speeches by Lord Dufferin or newspaper articles by Sir L. Griffin merely express their convictions as to what *we* are bound to do, but they have obviously not the effect of a Treaty. Sir C. Dilke unconsciously puts the matter very well, when he says: "The Amir *understands us to have promised him* to see that the Russians do not take his country." There is not much virtue in a "pledge" which does not promise, but is "*only understood to promise.*" Indeed, the Amir Abdurrahman's peculiar obligation to Russia has been recognized by us from the beginning. He was sent to try his fortune for the Throne of Kabul by General Kaufmann, the famous Governor of Russian Turkistan, where he had enjoyed Russian hospitality. He was also supplied with that *minimum* of arms and money by Russia, which she ever finds sufficient to involve us into endless expenditure and complications. When we asked him his intentions in advancing towards Kabul and showed our willingness to recognize him as Amir, he replied (15th April 1880):

THE AMIR'S ORIGINAL VIEWS.

"Now, therefore, that you seek to learn my hopes and wishes, they are these:—That as long as your Empire and that of Russia exist, my countrymen, the tribes of Afghanistan, should live quietly in ease and peace; that these *two States* should find us true and faithful, and that we should rest at peace between them (England and Russia), for my tribesmen are unable to struggle with empires, and are ruined by want of commerce; and we hope of your friendship that, sympathizing with and assisting the people of Afghanistan, you will place them under the honourable protection of the *two powers*. This would redound to the credit of both, would give peace to Afghanistan, and quiet and comfort to God's people." (The italics are mine.)

Without "entertaining or discussing this suggestion," Lord Lytton fully recognized the honorable feeling which had dictated the above frank reply, and whilst impressing on the Amir that he could hold no relations, except such as were unavoidable with a neighbouring power, reminded him that *Russia was pledged to Great Britain* to regard Afghanistan as "entirely beyond the sphere of its action."

Here we have a statement that refers to the pledge of Russia to England, but it surely is not a pledge of the Amir to us ; on the contrary, Lord Lytton says :

“This Government has never ceased to impress on them (the rulers of Kabul) the international duty of scrupulously respecting all the recognized rights and interests of their Russian neighbour, refraining from every act calculated to afford the Russian authorities in Central Asia any just cause of umbrage or complaint.”

As for the Russian Government, it had

“Repeatedly, and under every recent change of circumstances in Afghanistan, renewed the assurances solemnly given to the British Government that ‘Russia considers Afghanistan as entirely beyond the sphere of her influence.’”

Indeed,

“Not even when forced into hostilities by the late Amir Sher Ali Khan’s espousal of a Russian alliance proposed by Russia in contemplation of a rupture with the British Government, did we relinquish our desire for the renewal of relations with a strong and friendly Afghan power.”

(I do not believe that this alleged Russian proposal can be produced.)

How is the cleverest Asiatic to understand the intricacies of such diplomacy, or of Parliamentary tortuousness in explaining, or explaining away, a fact or a statement ? It is bad enough that *we* have not produced the *ipsissima verba* in Persian of our letters to the Amir and of his letters to us. I remember how Sher Ali was puzzled with what our Foreign Department deemed to be extreme righteousness when it at one time recognized him as the *de jure* ruler of Afghanistan and simultaneously his then temporarily successful opponent, as the *de facto* ruler.

He looked upon this as a sign of duplicity or weakness. He said to me that Afghanistan was “the shield of India,” and when I ventured to point out that India had always trusted to her own sword for her defence he replied to the effect : at any rate, let her not “perforate the shield.” This is precisely the attitude which every truly friendly ruler of Kabul must wish us to assume, for, if he is not independent, he ceases to be strong with his people, and the moment our interference is suspected, the tenure of his Throne is en-

dangered. This is why we have "*pledged*" ourselves not to station a British Resident in any part of his dominions.* It is, therefore, that the Amir was careful in explaining to his people that he owed his Throne neither to Russia nor to England, but that it was ever "*Khudádád*," or "given by God." This is why a recent Persian pamphlet, which was republished in part in the "*Asiatic Quarterly*," explained that he had every right to enter into relations with Russia if he chose to do so, as he was perfectly independent. This is why, after his outpost at Somatash had been shot down by Yanoff's Kossacks, whilst he was loyally giving us a *quid pro quo* for our subsidy, he proclaimed his intention to "call in the English in order to avenge him on the Russian infidels" (we there neglected a great opportunity); this is, however, also why, when we again left him in the lurch as after Pandjeh, he refused to meet our Commander-in-Chief with a large BRITISH escort at Jelalabad and that Commander-in-Chief being, moreover, Lord Roberts, who was identified in Afghan opinion with the Kabul executions, and who had actually proscribed the very Afghan Generalissimo, Ghulam Hyder Khan, who had to meet him. This is why again he only too gladly welcomed Col. Yate

* This is the *only* clear "pledge" that we have given to the Amir and it is the only one that the advocates of a "Forward Policy" to nowhere in particular would like to break. These self-constituted defenders of Afghanistan against Russian aggression, which *their* interference alone provokes, would station British Residents at Kabul, Kandahar and Herat; they would compel the Amir to construct Railways and Telegraphs in his dominions where they could not be protected, and to allow us to occupy certain places in them by British troops, as also to regulate his commercial imposts for him better than this shrewd prince can do for himself; they would generally render it impossible for him to administer Afghanistan as an independent Prince and thus to keep it out of embroilment with Russia. Yet "the pledge" is clear and runs as follows (letter to Amir Abdurrahman July 1880): "The British Government has no desire to interfere in the internal government of the territories in the possession of your Highness, and has no wish that an English Resident should be stationed anywhere within those territories. For the convenience of ordinary friendly intercourse, such as is maintained between two adjoining States, it may be advisable that a Muhammedan Agent of the British Government should reside, by agreement, at Kabul."

to delimitate the Khushk boundary between him and Russia, a matter which has now been so admirably settled to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned. This is why also he is ready enough to meet *anyone*, even if it be the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, provided he comes under the protection of an *Afghan* escort. I only hope that Sir Mortimer Durand will have the wisdom to protect the Amir against any sacrifice of independence that he may be ready to make in order to secure the succession of his son. He must be defended alike against himself and against British interference, for the moment he ceases to be really independent, his rule among a people like the Afghans must come to an end. On the contrary, it is to be desired that our Envoy will remove any misconception regarding our encroachments in the South in order that the Amir may be all the stronger to fight, if need be, our battle in the North. "The maintenance of an independent and united Afghan Kingdom under a friendly ruler" and the avoidance of "territorial annexation and of the further extension of our administrative responsibilities" (Lord Lytton to Viscount Cranbrook: January 1880) has been the key-note of the avowed policy of every Government, Conservative or Liberal, that has had to do with Afghanistan, whatever may have been the latitude or narrowness of interpretation of the various Governments of India.

When it, however, comes to the positive assertion that we guaranteed to the Amir Abdurrahman the possession of Herát, Andkui and Maimena, I deny it *IN TOTO*. As regards these places, we are only bound by the general promise of defending him against "unprovoked aggression" by such means as we may think fit at the time. The Amir therefore, wisely leaves *no* troops in these places, so as to remove even the shadow of a suspicion of aggression on his part, and he will similarly, no doubt, retire from his Pamir outpost unless we defend him there by force of arms. As long as he was not made responsible for depredations on the Pamir except to undefended Kirghiz, Wakhs and the like,

he could trust to "*Kismet*" never to pay any indemnity at all. The case is very different when Russia stands behind her so-called Kirghiz subjects and I have no doubt that he will give up the profitless possession of Panja and leave the Baroghil pass open to a Russian incursion of Chitrál, especially if Russia permits him to retain the more productive parts of Shignán and Raushan in return for his retirement from the Pamir which he had only fringed in our interests.

Now to come to Herat, as a matter of fact we *could* not have guaranteed it to him at the time of his accession to the Throne, for it was then in possession of an unfriendly cousin and we even thought "to make over Herát" "unconditionally" "to Persia" and even "to recommend a revision of the Seistan boundary, also in favor of Persia" in the event of certain events happening. Indeed, we had already, in the most formal manner, announced at public Durbars at Kandahár and Kabul the separation of Kandahár under Sirdar Wali Muhammad Khan from Kabul, and it was only due to Abdurrahman's determination not to have Kabul without Kandahár and to the above Sirdar's inability to maintain himself without British troops, that Kandahár is now re-united under the present Amir of Kabul. Kandahár is the store-house of Kabul, without which the ruler of the latter could not pay the expenses of its administration, whereas Herát is more of a "sentiment" for the maintenance of Kabul prestige, though not of its actual power. Our good friends, the Hazaras, whom we abandoned to the tender mercies of the Amir, will require many more decimations before they cease to give trouble. What applies to Herát, also applies to Andkui and Maimana.

The following extract from a despatch to Lord Cranbrook in 1880 as regards the Oxus provinces of Afghanistan may still be read with advantage :

"That country is divided from Kabul by a strong natural boundary, and our interests, whether strategical or political, in these Districts are comparatively of minor and less pressing importance. So long, therefore, as

Russia observes the engagements which place all Afghan-Turkestan beyond the sphere of her political action, we should deprecate interference with these provinces, which might remain *nominally* subject to the Kabul Governor, though enjoying *practical independence*." (The italics are mine.)

So much for the alleged guarantees on *our* side. As for those of the Amir there is no pledge signed by him "to subordinate his foreign policy to us in return for our guarantee to defend his territories with our troops" as is now alleged by an extreme Jingo out of office.

There *is*, however, a country with which we *have* a Treaty and that we have broken on the flimsiest of pretences. I refer to Kashmir, which was ceded by us "*in independenti sovereignty for ever*" to Maharaja Ghulab Singh and his descendants, in return for a sum of 90 lakhs which he paid us when we were hard up and wished to have a counterpoise to the Sikhs of the Panjab. The present prince, since created a K.C.S.I. !!!, was accused of plotting the murder of the British Resident and this it was sought to prove by a *correspondence* between himself and an utterly illiterate body-servant, who was *in constant attendance* on him!* Kashmir was on the footing of an independent Trans-frontier ally, like Kabul, not that of a dependent Indian feudatory, with the only difference that we had a Treaty with Kashmir defining its status and boundaries and none with Kabul. Was all this done to facilitate *inter alia* the advance of a Durand *frère* on Hunza-Nagyr under the pretext of these States being subject to Kashmir, whereas they were nothing of the kind? If any power had a shadowy right to Hunza it was China and, although we sought to soothe Chinese susceptibilities *after* the *coup monté* of provoking Hunza and Nagyr into self-defence, we never consulted China *before* our most wanton war or rather "raid" took place. Who invented the "treacherous" *correspondence* (found *unopened* in the Hunza Library) between its perfectly independent Chief and the Russian Colonel Grombcheffsky; and why is that correspondence not pub-

* See in "Papers relating to Kashmir" (1890), letter from Maharaja to Lord Lansdowne, and the latter's reply.

lished or what was "found at Kabul?" I assert that Grombcheffsky's own account, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly* of October 1891, itself disproves his statement of having visited Hunza. Be that as it may, we there broke down one of the insurmountable barriers to a Russian advance and we must now leave another Durand to break down another. .

Sir Lepel Griffin in his "Pall Mall Gazette" "interview" when asked, whether English Frontier Officers did not "intrigue much the same as those of Russia," replied: "They do; but the difference is that intrigue is discouraged by the English Government, who are as nervous at a forward policy as the Russian Government applauds and rewards it. I think that most of our frontier complications are caused by the excessive zeal of political and military officers, whom the Central Government cannot keep in hand." I fear, however, that even a Viceroy, or a Foreign Secretary occasionally gets out of hand.

As for the supposed evil results which Mr. Curzon anticipates from our announcing to the Chiefs and people of India our determination not, on any account, to advance beyond our frontier, this can only have the effect of convincing them that we have at last come to our senses; that we are going to keep our money and our men to preserve order *in* India, to develop her resources and to give her the best possible administration.* Everybody then,

* Lord Hartington in his Despatch of Nov. 1880 understood the natives of India better than some of the present clamourers regarding British prestige: "Apprehensions are entertained by some that the retirement from Kandahár would be regarded by the people of Afghanistan and of India as a confession of weakness." But in their opinion (Her Majesty's advisers), convincing proof given to the people and princes of India that the British Government have no desire for further annexation of territory, could not fail to produce a most salutary effect in removing the apprehensions and strengthening the attachment of our Native allies throughout India and on our frontiers." Lord Hartington then shows that the occupation of Kandahár would only lead to a still more extended system of Frontier Defence and would not "satisfy those who are now disposed to apprehend danger from foreign invasion." "The Government are convinced of the grave evils which result from this cause, and from its

European or Native, Chief or ryot, will be put into his proper place and attend to his own business instead of obtaining the good will of the *Sirkār* and a cheap reputation for loyalty by fooling us to the top of our bent and by helping himself to plunder and position at the expense of the already exhausted public purse. With any further extension of our frontier or of our engagements, there will be intrigue, if not sedition, all over India and, within the newly annexed territories, whereas if there is no further advance, our military expenditure may be reduced and prosperity, with every prospect of peace for many years to come, will strengthen India against any possible attack that Russia may be foolish enough to deliver against the united millions of our free and contented Indian fellow-subjects. There will be fewer K.C.S.I.'s and K.C.B.'s. fewer "saviours of India," fewer "only Generals," less promotion, less fishing in troubled waters, but there will be more roads, more railways, more education, more justice, more trade, a greater revenue, less taxation, better agriculture and a concentration, instead of a scattering, of our strength. With the probable reduction of our income from Opium, the disaffection created by "cow-killing" and other internal anxieties, we have enough to do at home without setting everything wrong abroad. This does not mean that we are not to help the Amir with arms and money, as hitherto, or with men, should *he* ask for them. but it means that we are not to increase our present responsibilities.

tendency to distract the minds of those who are engaged in the administration of the Government of India from the important questions of internal policy, of finance, of the construction of necessary public works, and, above all, of the agrarian condition of the people, which are so closely connected with the prosperity, and even the security, of our Indian empire. Nor can they feel any confidence that the experience which has been gained during the last two years will have any more lasting effect than that which had been acquired 40 years ago, or that a similar combination of circumstances may not again lead the Government of India into a similar policy and be attended with similar results."

THE SPOLIATION OF THE LANDLORDS AND TENANTS OF BEHAR:

THE CADASTRAL CORVEE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE real “inwardness” of the Behar Cadastral Survey is now at length fully disclosed. Under the pretext of a Survey mainly for administrative purposes, Sir Charles Elliott and his little band of followers are determined to impose on Behar, and ultimately on the whole of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Irish Land League system of “Fair Rents” or “Judicial Rents”—that is, Rents forced down the throats of zemindar and ryot alike, by the *amla* of the Revenue Officer—in defiance of the feelings and interests of the whole agricultural community that utterly abhors and dreads these pestilent modern heresies. In this paper I propose to show, out of the mouths of the defenders of the Survey, that while it professes to be a beneficent measure, useful to the zemindar and a protection to the ryot, in reality it is an ingeniously-contrived device to place both zemindars and ryots under the official heel. I shall show that while it puts the ryots at the mercy of the most corrupt body of official underlings in the world, it robs and insults the zemindars, with the result of undermining and ultimately breaking down the Permanent Settlement to which British faith has been solemnly pledged, and of flooding the peaceful districts of Behar with a sea of litigation, extortion, and strife.

I trust it is unnecessary for me to premise that I do not for a moment suggest that Sir Charles Elliott and his little following, who run the Survey—any more than the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, who appear to have sanctioned it with a light heart—are in the least conscious of its dishonest and mischievous character. That the Government is an earthly Providence, able to arrange men’s affairs for them

much better than they can do it for themselves—and that every official, provided he is paid ten rupees a month or more by the State, has *ipso facto* a divine right to poke his nose into everybody else's business, even if some of the weaker brethren feather their own nest in the process—is a bureaucratic notion that is not confined to Bengal, and that is held in perfect good faith by many worthy people in Downing Street, Dublin Castle, and elsewhere. Sir Charles Elliott sincerely pitied Mr. Halliday, and the bulk of the Bengal Civil Service, for clinging to the prejudices, in regard to this land question, incidental to a Bengal training. The Bengal Civil Service, and the landholders and tenants of Behar, can well afford to be equally magnanimous in their estimate of Sir Charles Elliott's motives: and only regret that His Honour had not had the advantage of a longer acquaintance with, and consequently more sympathy for the feelings of, the people committed to his care, before he became practically the supreme arbiter of their destinies.

But it cannot be expected that either ryots or zemindars will submit to this cruel persecution, and to the loss of honour, the loss of peace, and the loss of livelihood involved in it, without attempting to make their wrongs known. The forcible articles of the *Indian Mirror*, and the telegrams to the *Daily News* of the Indian Association, show clearly how strong is the feeling of resentment against Sir Charles Elliott and the Bengal Government aroused among the ryots of Bengal by this Survey, which is denounced by the *Mirror* as “an act of pure oppression.” I suppose no one will deny that, if we can get at the feelings of the ryots at all, it must be through the two channels I have named; and if they speak and write strongly of this oppressive measure and its chief author, it is not because they have (as Mr. Tweedie writes to the *Times*) “an intense desire . . . to strike a blow at Government on any pretence whatever,” but because they truly reflect the bitter feeling that is universal among the tenant-farmers of Behar. And if it is so among the tenant-farmers, can Sir Charles Elliott and Mr.

Tweedie be surprised if the same or even greater bitterness is expressed by the organs and the Associations that represent the landowners of the Province? For the measure plunders them as much as it does the ryots; but in addition to the great and even ruinous pecuniary injury, it "blackens their faces" in the country, it stirs up hatred and strife between them and their tenants, it lowers their authority and destroys their popularity among their own people, and it hands them over as helpless victims to those whom "Ali Baba" calls "the Pindarries of modern India"—the black-mailing underlings of our paternal despotism.

It is a fortunate thing for those who would know the rights and the wrongs of this miserable business, that the question has been taken up with great vigour in both Houses of Parliament, and by a great many Members of a standing that enforces attention to their enquiries. For it is a remarkable fact, and one not very creditable to our system of government in India, that the sanction of the Secretary of State was obtained for the Survey under a shroud of mysterious secrecy, that made it impossible for that responsible Minister to hear a single objection to the measure from the general public, or a single criticism from any living soul except the little official coterie in the swim. As the *Indian Mirror* puts it, "The ryots and zemindars of Behar did not know anything about his (Sir Charles Elliott's) intentions till after the Secretary of State (Lord Cross) had sanctioned the Survey; such a despotic proceeding could be justified only by the exigencies of a given case, but no such exigency had arisen in Behar, the relations between the zemindars and ryots in that province were on the whole excellent." Now, however, this veil of secrecy has been rent asunder. The motion of Lord Stanley of Alderley in the House of Lords, the powerful letter of "an Indian gentleman of high position" sent to the *Times* with the approval and endorsement of Lord Randolph Churchill, and the questions in the House of Commons by Sir John Gorst, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir William Wedder-

burn, Mr. Henniker Heaton, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Jeffreys, the Hon. George Kenyon, Mr. Bartley, Colonel Waring, Mr. Webster, and the other members of Parliament who have taken up the subject, have now, at the last hour, elicited a considerable amount of interesting information about this dark and mysterious affair. For we have now, not only the carefully-compiled correspondence that was squeezed out of the India Office in May, 1892, by the determined efforts of Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; not only the carefully-guarded replies of the Under-Secretary of State in the House of Commons; not only a pronouncement by Sir Charles Elliott himself, in the shape of a letter to the *Times* avowedly to answer Lord Randolph; but also a lengthy defence of the scheme in a letter to the *Times* by the Civil and Sessions Judge of Patna.

Mr. Tweedie deserves the credit of being an Abdiel; for he is, I believe, the only Bengal Civilian who has ever ventured to emerge into print in defence of Sir Charles Elliott's eccentricities. His letter unquestionably says all that can possibly be said in favour of the Survey—which amounts to this: (*a*) that there is only one estate in Behar that has a true or trustworthy rent-roll, and that one belongs to English proprietors—which is flatly contradicted by Sir Charles Elliott in the *Times*, who refers to the Mahárájá of Darbhanga's estate as a proof of the contrary; (*b*) that the districts of Behar are in a frightful state of bloodshed, anarchy, and riot, all for lack of measurements and Fair Rents; and (*c*) that all Natives, landlords and tenants alike, have a double dose of original sin, and object to the Survey, not because it will ruin them, but because it will prevent them from breaking each other's heads either physically or in the Law Courts—also because objecting to the Survey is their way of striking at the Government.

One other argument Mr. Tweedie elaborates at great length. It is, that the holdings of the Behar tenants are so minute and patchy—often in patches no bigger than “a gentleman's drawing-room”—that neither the tenants them-

selves nor anybody else can ascertain "whose is whose," without the aid of the Government and its *amins*. But surely, for anyone who has the most elementary acquaintance with field-surveying and its cost, a sufficient answer to this argument is that suggested by Mr. Kenyon's question in the House of Commons, founded on the experience of the Soane Irrigation Surveys; which is, that the cost of an elaborate Cadastral Survey of such holdings—with all its paraphernalia of maps, records, and so forth, as indicated in the Director's *Note* quoted below—is by no means unlikely to mean something like the fee-simple value of the land!

For what, I ask, is this Cadastral Survey, of which the cost is to be defrayed almost entirely by the unhappy landlords and tenants? Everyone can realize that it means, in the first place, the descent on a peaceful district, of a Revenue officer with his swarm of surveyors, assistant-surveyors, chainmen, and coolies, his Assistant Settlement officer's *Peshkar*, his *munsarims*, his *mohurrirs*, his peons, his clerks, his *nazirs*, his bench-*mohurrirs*, his record-keepers, his *duftries*, his *kanungoes*, and all the noble army of the "Pindarries of modern India." This is all set forth in the Blue-book, with the Government pay of each, to be provided by the said landlords and tenants in the form of a cess payable to the Government. Of course, no count is taken of any other more direct, or indirect, contributions. But what are these gentlemen to do, to justify their raid? Let Sir Charles Elliott's Director of Surveys answer, in the words of the official memorandum of last February. The operations are to consist officially of eight stages. These be they :—

First stage.—Demarcation of boundaries of *Mouzahs*.

Second stage.—Traverse Survey.

Third stage.—Cadastral Survey, and record-writing, or *Khanapuri*. The principal (*sic*) records are the map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Khewats*.

Fourth stage.—Check of the Survey and *Khanapuri*; the preliminary attestation; and calculation and insertion of areas in the records.

Fifth stage.—The attestation by the Revenue officers, and settlement of

objections and disputes which could not be disposed of at *Khanapuri*; the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents; and when application is made, the settlement of FAIR RENTS.

Sixth stage.—The first publication of the draft record-of-rights (*Khewats* and *Khatians*).

Seventh stage.—The settlement of objections and disputes, after publication of the draft record-of-rights.

Eighth stage.—The final publication of the record-of-rights (*Khewats* and *Khatians*).

Now, let us consider what these eight stages will mean, when applied to land divided into Mr. Tweedie's patches as big as "a gentleman's drawing-room"—and Mr. Tweedie is not far out in this, for the Soane Irrigation Surveys reports showed that the average size of the "rice-*khets*" is '05 to '08 of an acre in these Behar districts, that is, from 12 to 20 in an acre.

We need say nothing about the second stage, the Traverse Survey, for this is the work the expense of which is supposed to be covered by Sir Charles Elliott's contribution of one anna per acre from Government. But we ought to observe that in the third stage, the Cadastral Survey itself and the preparation of the records, we are only told in a lordly way that the "principal" records are the Map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Khewats*. We do not hear, in this stage, about the costly "scientific mathematical instruments," which Sir Charles Elliott assured the Bhagalpur zemindars would, *mirabile dictu*, check the fraud of the people who used them, and would re-assure the terrified ryots. And the brain really whirls when one wonders, since the Map, *Khasara*, *parchas*, *Khatians*, and *Khewats* are only the "principal" records of these drawing-room holdings, what are the other records, for which the owner of the said "drawing-room" and the cultivator thereof are each to pay half the cost.

And I think we ought to note also the numerous and not unimportant sub-divisions of the Fifth Stage. One of these sub-divisions is a modest order—"the attestation by the Revenue officers." But what shall we say for such a sub-division as the "settlement of Fair Rents" when

application is made, or as "the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents," or as "the settlement of objections and disputes"? It is impossible not to admire the amplitude of the ideas of a Government that makes these little trifles—all done at the cost of the landlords and tenants—minor sub-divisions of one stage out of eight in this tremendous business.

It will be observed, too, that the "settlement of Fair Rents," though it is nominally to take place only "when application is made," is to follow "the ascertaining by the Settlement Officer of existing rents." In other words, the Settlement Officer fixes a Judicial Rent to begin with, by "ascertaining the existing rent"; and if either or both of the parties object to the Judicial Rent, then he is to settle—what is the same thing—a "Fair Rent." Or again in other words, henceforward landlords and tenants are not to be allowed to settle their rents for themselves, but a paternal despotism will do it for them. And Mr. Tweedie in the *Times* tells us why:—"Both parties" [landlords and tenants alike] "are standing offenders against the body politic, and must be made to mend their ways, whether they like it or not. This answer is final if the ruling power is any longer to govern in these parts."

Now Mr. Tweedie is a distinguished Judicial Officer, and I am sure does not dispense Jedburgh justice, hanging first and hearing afterwards. So I ask him, how does he know that the landlords and tenants of Behar "are standing offenders against the body politic"? It is true that he draws a most horrible picture, as I have said, of the most atrocious agrarian crimes, murders, and riots, and forgeries—which he says are "here" (that is, presumably, in Behar, for he writes from Bankipur) "of constant occurrence." But I venture to say that Mr. Tweedie, if these statements were made by a witness to him in his judicial capacity, would want to know a good deal more about these alleged horrors than such loose and general talk as this. Here is a challenge to him. I defy

him to produce one single district officer in Behar who will confess that the state of things in his district even remotely or in the slightest degree resembles the terrible picture calmly presented by Mr. Tweedie in cold blood, for the perusal and sympathy of the British public in the columns of the *Times*, as an accurate representation of the general state of Behar, and his first and foremost reason for supporting the Survey. Mr. Tweedie knows quite well that the description would be indignantly repudiated by every district officer, and by every Police officer, in Behar.

For what are the facts? If the Board of Revenue is to be believed—if Behar officers are to be believed—if the Indian Press is to be believed—if the correspondent for whom Lord Randolph Churchill vouches in the *Times* is to be believed—if there is one word of truth in any one of the numerous reports that have been made public in the *Blue Book* of May, 1892, on this subject—the truth is the exact opposite of Mr. Tweedie's picture of rampant bloodshed and crime. In fact, until now no hint of such a state of affairs has ever been offered even by the most furious of the supporters of the Survey. The Board of Revenue, in their letter of 28th May 1891, examined very carefully the allegations that in some estates there were disputes between the landlord and the tenants, that might be mitigated by official intervention and an official Survey: and they pointed out: (a) that the worst allegations amounted to no more than "a state of tension" in a few places, such as must exist everywhere sometimes—and even this not half as serious as in Backergunge and other districts of Eastern Bengal—(b) that litigation and strife were very slight, and would be stirred up rather than mitigated by a Survey—(c) that, if disputes existed anywhere, the Bengal Tenancy Act enabled the aggrieved parties to make application, and empowered the Government to apply the necessary remedies *within the affected local areas*—and (d) that hardly any such applications were made, so satisfactory in general were the relations

between landlord and tenant. Lord Randolph Churchill's correspondent states categorically : ' There are no agrarian disputes ; neither the landlords nor the ryots have asked for the Survey ; why cannot we be left alone ? ' The *Indian Mirror* (the Calcutta Radical organ of the ryots) says—" The relations between the zemindars and ryots in that province were, on the whole, excellent ; neither of the two classes required it " (the Survey), " and they have energetically protested against it." And I could multiply such quotations *ad libitum*.

The fact is, so long as the zemindars and the ryots can be made to pay the cost, the thing must be done—because it must. *Sic volo sic jubeo*. And consider the cost of all the eight stages mentioned above, with their prodigious sub-divisions, when applied to the " nests of rice-khets," each as big as " a gentleman's drawing-room." For each there must be the " principal " records, already detailed, not to mention the less important records. And these must be drawn out in duplicate, so Mr. Tweedie informs us, for copies are to be given to both landlord and tenant ; and a third series of these records must be made for official use. All this is one part of one-eighth of the whole procedure. And if Sir Charles Elliott's estimate of 8 annas per acre as the total cost of the Survey be accepted, since the average size of each patch is '05 to '08 of an acre, the cost of all the above proceedings, and of seven other sets of proceedings, and the salaries of the Directors and Surveyors and Settlement Officers and all their " Pindarri " host, will vary from 4'8 pies to 7'68 pies for each patch for which separate records have to be made, say about a halfpenny to about three farthings ! This is the estimate of the cost that is boldly put forward by the Bengal Government ; and Sir Charles Elliott thinks the poor Behar landowners and farmers quite unreasonable, because they venture to doubt whether this estimate—itsself imposing on them an initial taxation of about a million sterling for the four districts of North Behar—

will not be largely exceeded when they come to pay the bill.

And then, there is the annual cost for ever of maintaining the record-of-rights. This is to be paid—so it was stated at the recent Muzaffarpur Conference—by an annual cess of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an anna on every Rupee of rent; say a tax of nearly 5 per cent. on every landholder's gross rental. And yet, the following are the words of Sir Charles Elliott on this subject, when appealing to the sympathies of the British public through the *Times*:—"He [Lord Randolph's correspondent] "next asserts that Government proposes to levy an annual cess of one anna in the rupee in order to keep the record up to date. He may have heard unauthorised tattle to this effect. . . . I do not believe that the project of imposing such a cess as that mentioned (amounting to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on income from land) would gain the assent of any responsible official. It certainly has never entered my mind to propose it." Well, what does Sir Charles say to the proposal of his Government, that was undeniably put forth at Muzaffarpur about a week before he wrote these words, to levy a cess of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an anna in the Rupee (amounting to nearly 5 per cent. on income from land)? Does the difference between $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and 5 per cent. differentiate an utterly outrageous demand that "never entered" his mind, from one that is just and equitable, and worthy of a British Government solemnly pledged by the Permanent Settlement never to add one farthing to the Government demand on "income from land"—mark, Sir Charles's own words—in these Provinces?

What is the excuse of the Government for this obvious and flagrant breach of one of the most solemn obligations that ever any Government entered into? The Under-Secretary of State for India, condemned by an unhappy fate to be the official apologist for this iniquity, said on August 24th, in reply to a question from Mr. Henniker Heaton, that "the Survey of Behar is an outcome of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and any questions respect-

ing the Permanent Settlement must be considered to have been determined by the passing of this latter Act."

What is the meaning of this extraordinary statement, put into the mouth of the representative of the Government? It seems to me that the honour of the Government, and British faith itself, are so deeply involved in this question, that it ought to be repeated again and again, until a full explanation is obtained. Was Mr. George Russell made to declare that the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act did, or could in honour or in decency, absolve the British Government from the obligations of the Permanent Settlement? It seems to me that the statement, if it did not lay down this astounding doctrine of immorality, had no meaning whatever.

The ryots' organ in Calcutta bluntly declares: "We say, that this Cadastral Survey was instituted for the maintenance of the Agricultural Department, and it is iniquitous that the zemindars and ryots of Behar should be made to pay the costs of such maintenance." It is, of course, true that the measure, if persisted in, will provide abundance of work, for a long time, not only for the officials of Mr. Finucane's Department, but also for all the Law courts of the country and more. But Mr. Finucane himself supplies another *raison d'être* for the measure, which I will take leave to quote from the *Blue-Book*, as I believe it lets the cat out of the bag in the most candid manner possible. The Board of Revenue had written—

"*Zemindāri* management in this country is marked by elasticity. The full rental which is entered in the *zemindāri* books may be paid in occasionally, but, as a rule, the zemindār is willing to receive and be satisfied with less than this. The raiyat pays the full rental when he can afford to do so. The zemindār realizes from him as much as he can, in favourable years a large amount; in unfavourable years he has to be content with little. In the Court of Wards an altogether different system is enforced. The Court's demand is unbending, and a fixed amount is realized by a rigorous procedure. It is obvious that for the efficient administration of the Court of Wards' system, a Survey-settlement and record-of-rights are useful preliminaries; while it is equally obvious that for the native system of management, the Survey and record-of-rights is comparatively of little use."

On which deliverance Mr. Finucane, apparently incensed at the unfavourable view taken of the value of his and Sir Charles Elliott's panacea, retorts (in § 51, of his great Memorandum on the subject, dated December 24th, 1888)—

“ I have had experience of the collection of rents and of the actual working of both of the systems described in the passage quoted above, and the Board are mistaken in supposing that I do not sufficiently appreciate the difference between them. It is because I am firmly convinced of the evils, I might say the iniquity, of the former system, and of the expediency and justice of changing it, so far as this is possible, that I would, as suggested in Mr. Nolan's No. 2419—913, dated December 1st, paragraph 6, ‘ take every legitimate means to break up the system ’ of zemindari management as described by the Board.”

Now that is fair and straight ; and I believe it really discloses the true intentions and wishes of those who are so passionately insisting on this “ breaking up ” of the Native land-system. It agrees with Mr. Tweedie's estimate of the Survey, that it will force these “ standing offenders against the body politic,” the landlords and tenants of Behar, “ to mend their ways whether they like it or not.” And I must in fairness admit that it is not incompatible with Sir Charles Elliott's own description of the Survey in the *Times*, where he says it will give the zemindars “ a *lawful* rent-roll . . . to the great relief and benefit of all parties concerned ”—implying that their former rent-rolls, unhallowed by the *imprimatur* of the Government inquisitors, have been anything but “ lawful.”

But here again—as in the declarations of the Government in the House of Commons as to the abrogation of the Permanent Settlement by the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act—would it not be fairer and more honourable, if the intentions of the Government were clearly and explicitly declared in language understood of the people ?

And once more. Sir William Wedderburn and Sir

Herbert Maxwell have, by their questions in the House, exposed the remarkable manipulation of the Bengal Tenancy Act that has been necessary, to make it even ostensibly cover the odious imposition of the costs of this Survey and its record-of-rights as a tax on "income from land." Mr. Russell, speaking for the Government, had informed Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen that these powers had been obtained for the Government under Clause 114 of that Act; and he has quite recently repeated the statement in answer to questions by Sir Herbert Maxwell and Mr. Webster. Will it be believed that in the official draft of the Bengal Tenancy Bill, circulated in the Vernacular in 1883, no powers whatever of the kind were given? Clause 114 did not then exist, except in a form authorising the Government to charge on the landlords and tenants the costs of certain proceedings undertaken either at their request or to settle existing disputes in local areas! Moreover, no reference whatever to the conferment of any such powers—nor indeed to any Survey whatever of the kind proposed—occurred in the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" for the Tenancy Bill, signed by Mr. Ilbert. Now, in March 1885, shortly before the passing of the Bill, Sir Herbert Maxwell in the House of Commons, and I think Lord Wemyss in the House of Lords, pressed the Government to *circulate in the Vernacular* the Bill, as amended by the desultory alterations in the Legislative Council; and then, absolutely incredible as it may seem, the Government refused to republish the Bill in the Vernacular on the ground—the words were actually admitted by Mr. George Russell in reply to Sir William Wedderburn on the 7th of August last—that "the alterations were for the most part excisions in favour of the zemindar."

And now, as Sir Herbert Maxwell well put it in his question, the Government, on the strength of one of these very alterations—and that one very obscurely and uncertainly worded, for it still limits any permitted Surveys to "local areas," with no word of general or provincial Surveys

---positively claims to have acquired the power to impose enormous fresh taxation on the zemindars, in addition to a new charge of nearly 5 per cent. for ever on all "income from land." And further it claims that 'these secret and furtive alterations have "determined any questions respecting the Permanent Settlement" itself in this connexion! I hope I shall be forgiven the phrase, if I say that this seems to me to take the cake.

And when, on the 8th of this month, Mr. Russell was pressed by Mr. Webster to state explicitly "whether, under the Bengal Tenancy Act, any limits were imposed as to the area"—referring, of course, to the limitation imposed by the words 'in a *local* area' that occur in the Act as it now stands—"within which the Government was empowered to make a compulsory survey at the expense of the landlords and tenants," he was made to evade the obvious point of the question by the remarkable statement that the Act does so empower the local Government, "in a local area without any limitation." Yes; but do not the very words "in a local area" themselves impose a most important limitation? And is not the Government of Bengal flagrantly transgressing this limitation, when it makes, under this authority only, a compulsory survey at the cost of the landlords and tenants for the whole of North Behar?

Is it possible that the Secretary of State, is it possible that the India Council, is it possible that the Viceroy—nay, is it possible that Sir Charles Elliott himself—can any longer countenance a mischievous and cruelly oppressive measure, that has had to be engineered by such methods as these?

Carlton Club, Sept. 12, 1893.

THE EVILS OF THE SALT MONOPOLY IN INDIA, AND THE AGITATION AGAINST OPIUM, GANJA AND ALCOHOL.

BY J. B. PENNINGTON, MADRAS C.S. (RETIRED).

Now that the revenue from opium is being thoroughly overhauled it seems a good opportunity for discussing the practice of extracting revenue by means of a monopoly of salt: in fact I think it essential for all those who look upon the Salt Tax as infinitely more injurious to the country than that on opium, (or even Hemp,) to state their case now, or for ever hold their peace. The people of this country should consider the salt monopoly very carefully before they think of sacrificing the revenue we now get from opium.*

I have not a word to say in defence of "Hemp" (Ganja). After the discussion before the East India Association in April last it seems clear that, if its consumption is so productive of insanity as would appear from the figures, it probably causes a greater expenditure on lunatic asylums than it yields in revenue; so that it may be bad finance, as well as bad morality, to permit its cultivation at all.

Everyone however seemed inclined to admit that exactly the same arguments could not be urged against the cultivation and sale of opium; and very properly, because, however much opium may be (and is) abused, it is pretty evident, even from Surgeon-Major Pringle's own figures that it is, compared with "ganja" and alcohol, comparatively innocuous; and every candid person at all acquainted with the facts must also admit that, as a common medicine for constant use it is absolutely invaluable not only in India and China, but also in the Fen country everywhere, as a

* Sir John Strachey, in his evidence on the 14th September, 1893, before the Royal Opium Commission, incidentally observed: "The *Inland* Customs line which was formerly in existence for the taxation of SALT and which was abolished by Lord Lytton, was one of the greatest disgraces of our Indian administration, and it was quite impossible that any one acquainted with the facts would wish to see anything of the kind restored."

preservative against ague and other kindred ailments, and probably does not do one-tenth as much harm as even the drinking of beer, let alone spirits. It is reasonable enough therefore, (as their Secretary very candidly admitted,) to ask the anti-opium agitators to show exactly how they propose to make good the loss of revenue which would result from the prohibition of the sale of opium, because it is the abuse of opium alone that is injurious, whilst its judicious use seems to be more certainly beneficial than that of any of the common stimulants and narcotics, not even excepting tobacco. Now it is not easy to see how the revenue could be recouped for such a loss except by reduction of expenditure, because it would surely be unreasonable to tax people who never use opium in order to make up the deficit, and I am of opinion that any such fresh taxation must be kept in reserve for the time when the Government of India finds itself compelled, (as I hope it soon will be,) to turn its attention to what is, I believe, a much more universally injurious tax than that upon drugs and spirituous liquors—I mean the *monopoly of salt*.

The tax on salt in India has scarcely any compensating advantage that a tax can have, except that it produces a large revenue at a not very excessive cost; though it is not a light responsibility to spend about $\frac{1}{2}$ a million sterling a year in harassing the very poorest of the poor so as to secure a revenue of even 8 millions. Scarcely anyone, except perhaps the enthusiastic Salt official, has a good word to say for the Salt Tax; all the Government can say is that it is an indispensable necessity for which no substitute can be found; and it might therefore be sufficient for me to explain how I propose to get over this difficulty. But to make this paper at all complete it seems necessary to enumerate some of the evils inseparable from any tax upon Salt, and to show in that way why I think the total abolition of the salt monopoly should precede the prohibition of the sale of opium.

My great objection to the salt monopoly has always

been, (and I am now only quoting from letters and papers written so long ago as 1875—1884,) that we do not know how much mischief it causes to the people and the cattle of India, that we are in fact entirely in the dark on the subject. We only know that a large quantity of salt is even more necessary to life in India both for men and cattle than it is in Europe, and we have very good reason to suspect that the want of an abundant supply of salt may be one of the main predisposing causes of the virulence of cholera and cattle disease. It is at any rate a very significant fact that cholera is characterised by a deficiency of salt in the blood, and if it should turn out to be a fact that the want of unlimited salt is really a cause of mortality, (as I firmly believe it will,) the case for the prosecution is simple enough: we destroy untold millions of the wealth of the people in order to gain an annual revenue of about 8,600,000 Rs. That is certainly not good economy even from a pecuniary point of view; but when we consider the mortality and sickness due, in all human probability, to the want of a sufficiency of salt in the diet of a vegetarian people the responsibility becomes quite appalling and the urgency very great. And it will be observed that my objection is not to the weight of the tax, but to the monopoly *on any terms*. Whether the tax is 1 or 2 Rs. a maund makes really very little difference to anyone, as will readily be seen if it is considered that, whatever the rate may be, no poor cooly will ever use more than 8 or 10 lbs. a year, costing at the most from 2 to 4 annas. *If there were no tax at all* the same cooly would consume perhaps 4 or 5 times as much at least, and double or treble the quantity would go to the cattle; whilst the amount that might usefully be employed in agriculture and manufactures is as incalculable as the benefit to the country that would probably result from its extended consumption.

It is so much the fashion of the non-official European in India to ignore the objections to the Salt Tax and devote all his energies to the abolition of taxation which affects

himself that, at the risk of repeating myself, I must fortify my argument by giving extracts from certain articles which appeared in the *Indian Spectator* in 1884 for which I am responsible. My text on that occasion was a remark in the *Madras Mail* to the following effect :—

“Were he” (Sir George Balfour) “as thoroughly acquainted with the natives of India as he is with columns of figures, he would be aware that the abolition of the License Tax and of the export duty upon rice would be hailed with greater delight than even the extinction of the salt duty which has been a burden to nobody.”

Now I think it desirable to contradict the two statements made in the above extract in the most unqualified manner. The people who are affected by the License Tax do all the talking in India, and the Minister who wishes for popularity in the newspapers would consult his own comfort by repealing the License Tax. But any statesman who has insight enough to see that it is most just to tax the well-to-do classes, who contribute nothing otherwise to the revenue (unless they choose to indulge in stimulants), and most immoral and short-sighted to reduce the consumption of an article like salt amongst a nation of vegetarians, will never reduce, though he may equalise and adjust, the License Tax; and will, on the contrary, make it his constant endeavour to reduce and ultimately abolish the unrighteous tax on salt.

The new anonymous historian of “Ancient India” says that “earth salt, which was very cheap” (he might almost have said dirt cheap), “and which was largely used for domestic purposes and for cattle in ancient times, has now, by the selfish policy of Government, disappeared from the land: so that what could be had for one anna now costs one rupee.”

As pointed out in a letter which appeared in the *London Times*:

“It is the unknown injury that is done to agriculture, commerce, and to the health of the country by stinting the supply of salt, and the terrible demoralization that is caused among the poorer classes by the clandestine manufacture of earthsalt that afford the strongest arguments against the continuation of the tax.”

Nor does it matter much whether the tax is 1,000 per cent. or only 100. Dr. Ratton indeed contends that the complete abolition of the tax in Russia did not benefit the consumer in a corresponding degree; but he fails (apparently) to observe that in India, at any rate, the poorest classes, who alone are injuriously affected by the salt tax, would get their salt for *nothing at all* if the tax were abolished, and that unlimited quantities would become available for cattle and for use in agriculture and manufactures.

Since 1875 the Salt Department in Madras has been reorganized and many changes have been made: all in the direction of increased stringency. But the more rigorously it is worked the more sure it is to be abolished. Many valuable opinions have been expressed in favour of total abolition since 1875. We have Dr. Hunter's authority, among others, for saying that one sixth of the people never have enough to eat, and

“To expect such people to buy salt at the rate of even a penny a pound when they can scrape it for nothing is absurd. Nor is it reasonable to expect that conviction for offences under the salt laws will ever put a stop to the traffic. Imprisonment with regular meals and abundance of salt is no punishment to the poor old women who are

principally engaged in it, and to fine them is useless as they have no property at all. It is a positive fact that the salt laws, especially as administered by the present energetic Commissioner, are a terror rather to the Police and Magistracy who have to administer them than to the criminals who are affected by them. Even when a case is brought forward, the Magistrate is at his wits' end to know what to do with the culprits, for he can no more bring himself to deal with them as ordinary criminals than the people can be brought to regard their miserable traffic as a crime. In fact, the salt laws are opposed to the instincts of the people."

And their enforcement must necessarily cause wide-spread discontent and frequently even riots, as it actually does.

Though so popular as a means of raising a revenue, every writer on the subject is opposed to the salt tax. Dr. Ratton himself, though officially bound to apologise for it, only does so on the distinct understanding that salt is allowed free for cattle, for salting fish and for use in agriculture and in manufactures.

"There is nothing to say in favour of the tax where it exists in its worst form, as for example in British India—except that an alteration of the salt laws in favour of manufacturers (and farmers) would purge the tax in a great measure of its objectionable character."

But though much has been written on the subject since Dr. Ratton published his last edition, nothing whatever has been done to provide for the issue of duty-free salt for consumption by cattle and for use in agriculture, whilst it would even appear that the Commissioner is already inclined to put a stop to its use in curing fish. The public would hardly believe, yet it is literally true, that he attempted to put a stop to the use of black cotton soil and tank mud *as manure* because they contain a considerable proportion of common salt! Fortunately in that case the people secured the protection of the High Court. As to cattle he has succeeded in getting one member of the medical profession to say that salt is quite unnecessary for them, and now has the audacity to contend that they get as much as they want in spite of all Dr. Ratton's evidence to the contrary. Such theories, like those of Dr. Howard, who contended that salt was the "abomination of desolation" and bred worms and vermin of all kinds, are really unworthy of notice. Mr. Mills, Inspector of Cattle disease, has proved the value of salt for cattle in a paper which was published by the Madras Board of Revenue (with cruel irony) for the information of all cattle-owners in this Presidency. But what is the use of pointing out the benefit to be derived from a liberal use of salt when its cost is made prohibitory by the same authority?

The bountiful ocean is constantly rolling up millions of tons of salt all round the shores of India which, utilised in the agriculture and manufactures of the country, might literally be turned into gold. But a short-sighted Government lay violent hands on it, and spend lacs of rupees in preventing the people from utilising it as they otherwise would in defending themselves and their cattle from the most horrible diseases. Hear what the Sanitary Commissioner says on this point in his Report for 1880:

"The great source of mortality among the population from diarrhoea and allied diseases arises from worms (*lumbrici*) and this in a great measure depends on their ability or otherwise to obtain salt."

Dr. Ratton is evidently of the same opinion though he says (p. 411):

"There is no proof that the poor are deprived of a sufficiency of salt and therefore no proof that the worms are caused by the want of it."

In the *Nineteenth Century* (No. 77, July, '83, pp. 16-19) Mr. Keay presents to the reader a conspectus of opinions against the salt tax from authorities like the late Lord Lawrence, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Pedder, and Dr. Hunter, as well as from well-known native gentlemen, to which he adds his own experience.

Dr. Day's opinion as to the effect of the monopoly on the Fisheries of India is well-known:

"A long investigation" (he says) "led to the conclusion that they were in a depressed condition wherever salt was expensive or the employment of untaxed earth-salt prohibited as in Bombay, along the Coromandel coast of Madras and the Bay of Bengal; that they were flourishing where salt was cheap or the use of earth-salt was permitted as in Sind, the Western coast of Madras and Burma: that where untaxed earth-salt could be obtained the superior quality of salt was rarely purchased for fish-curing; that where the use of salt-earth was prohibited, the fish-curer had to dry his fish in the sun or purchase monopoly salt, while the sole way to keep down the cost of the latter description of cured fish was to pay the very lowest possible price for the fishermen's captures and employ a minimum amount of salt."

Some facilities are now being given to the salting of fish in Madras; but the Government of India are already anxious to abolish this poor indulgence in favour of a struggling and most valuable industry. The art of curing fish is not generally practised owing to the exigencies of the salt monopoly (!). That people in India would consume much more salt than they do, if they could afford it, is pretty clear from the example of Ceylon where it is said that 1,000 persons consume nearly 7 tons, whereas in India, the consumption is only 3½ tons for the same number. The *Lancet* deserves to be quoted on this subject:

"In tropical regions diseases associated with the introduction of organisms into the body are exceedingly rife. The bacillus of cholera has been discovered in a tank at Calcutta and the *filaria sanguinis hominis* are introduced into the circulation through the stomach from the ingestion of water, while the carbuncular affections, of which the Delhi boil is a type, are generally supposed to result from the introduction of micro-organisms. Now, the abundant use of common salt has been shown to be a most efficient prophylactic against the development of intestinal parasites. Sheep which have free access to salt rarely, if ever, become victims to the fluke, although the parasites from which it is developed may abound in their pastures, as is shown by the fact that other sheep which have not had access to salt develop the disease if they graze in the same field. But besides its effect in checking parasitic disease, common salt is required not only to supply the blood with a neutral salt, but also for many other physiological purposes too well known to need stating here. The necessity for the use of salt is more imperative with a vegetable than with an animal dietary since the former contains less of this element than the latter. As the diet of the Hindoo is almost entirely farinaceous and vegetable, it is a cruel injustice to impose a tax that renders a physiological necessary a high priced luxury. The fact that the consumption of salt should have increased 10 per cent. since the last reduction shows that it is not at all improbable that a further reduction of the salt tax would lead again to an increased consumption, and thus no loss to the revenue would be incurred."

There is also some reason to believe that taken abundantly it is a prophylactic against cholera. This view was strongly urged by Mr. Gilbert S. De Silva. In 1877-78, he says, an epidemic of cholera broke out in

the lines of the 13th Regiment at Royapuram, which was soon put down when the men took larger quantities of salt with their food. The same result followed the same treatment in the Jail at Hosungabad in 1857. Mr. De Silva adds that from much personal experience he is satisfied that the saline treatment is the best of all, and assures us that in Singapore the prisoners receive "nearly 300 grains of salt more than in India" (probably he means 300 grains altogether as against 20 in India). The immense value of salt and saltpetre to the agriculture of this country is also fully admitted by Dr. Ratton. In France, says the *Madras Mail*,

"Salt is a commodity next to a necessity for French farmers; yet it is so heavily taxed, and surrounded with so many irritating conditions, as to limit its use. You cannot cart a barrel of sea water to your home without permission of the authorities. You would be suspected of wanting to cheat the revenue, perhaps, by manufacturing your own salt. The tax brings in over three millions of francs annually to the exchequer. Better reduce that and make up the deficiency on drink licenses. Mixed with lime, salt is beneficial for all crops. It is generally applied at the rate of 3 to 4 cwt. per acre, and is most efficacious, according to Boussingault, when mixed with two-thirds of its weight of lime or marl. Salt exercises a most favourable influence on the formation of the ear of wheat, barley, and oats, and adds to the weight of the grain itself. In the case of potatoes the action is marked, the soda replacing the potash in that plant; but it is in colza that salt tells with most benefit. For feeding mangolds salt is excellent, but it is detrimental when beet is cultivated for sugar. It was Davy who first directed attention to the value of salt in the agricultural point of view. It augments the appetite of stock, and enables the latter to consume acid or inferior herbage. The famous *pres sales* sheep, that command the highest price with the butcher, are fed on the salt marshes of Lower Normandy and the coast of Charente Inférieure. Mixed with guano and urine, salt prevents the escape of ammoniacal fumes. M. Vetter concluded that the ultimate action of salt was to convert organic matters into nitrate of soda.

It is evident from that account how little hope there is of salt being utilised in the agriculture of India whilst the monopoly is in force.

As to saltpetre—fiscal restraints have

"Tended to limit its manufacture, and the industry is almost killed in Southern India partly owing to the fall in price and partly to the restrictions imposed by the Salt Preventive Department" (Dr. Hunter's India).

Then consider the actual saving that would be effected by the dismissal of a whole army of preventive officials whose lives are now spent in harassing the very poorest of their fellow-creatures, and in haling them before a reluctant and almost mutinous magistracy! Think of the time that would be saved if the unfortunate magistrates were relieved of perhaps the most painful duty at present imposed on them, and were no longer obliged to send miserable starving old women to jail for boiling a little salt earth to mix with their scanty meals. Think of the saving of expense in the Jail Department which is never debited, (as it ought to be,) to the Salt Department. No one who has not had some experience can appreciate the unpleasant friction involved

in these miserable revenue prosecutions: the High Court Reports teem, (at least they did in my time,) with the most glaringly iniquitous cases referred for their orders by justly incensed District Magistrates—"quorum" (at one time) *pars parva fui*!"

But I cannot think that anyone has really any doubt about the evils inseparable from the Salt Tax: its advocates only say that we cannot do without it. Now the great difference between the Tax on Salt and that on drugs like Opium and on Liquor is that *it cannot be evaded except by breaking the Law*, whereas no one is obliged to take either opium or liquor except medicinally in very minute quantities; and part of the object of the Government in taxing either is to make it more difficult to get either opium or liquor clandestinely; so that the Abkâri Department may fairly claim to do an immense deal of good (for which its enemies seldom give it any credit,) both in providing more wholesome liquor, and in making it as expensive as it can be without encouraging illicit sales, whereas to stop the clandestine manufacture of salt does very little good to anyone except the Government.

What then is my substitute for the Salt Tax? I have at various times suggested several, such as a house tax, a tax on tobacco and betel—it is not many years since the model State of Travancore raised nearly as much from tobacco alone as from salt, namely 16 or 17 % of its gross revenue—a tax on marriages and on succession; but none of these are perhaps sufficiently inevitable to be a thoroughly reliable substitute, and I have long since come to the conclusion that the best in every way would be a *Poll Tax*, which could be levied by the existing land revenue establishments at a very trifling extra cost. Obvious objections may of course be found to a Poll Tax, but it answers very well, I believe, in Ceylon, and

"Who e'er expects a faultless tax to see
Expects what neither is nor e'er shall be."

THE GRADUAL EXTINCTION OF THE BURMESE RACE.

BY G. H. LE MAISTRE.

THE Prince of easy-going fellows is the Burman. He has the good fortune to dwell in a land' where, even in this stirring nineteenth century, life can be supported with a minimum of toil. Rich soil, on which with but little hard labour he can raise crops far in excess of his actual wants, is everywhere plentiful ;* pliable bamboos to build himself a hut to live in are easily obtained ; and his wife slaves for him while he sits beneath the village banyan tree, chatting to his neighbours or puffing at his long green cheroot. His lot is cast in pleasant places, and is indeed a happy one compared to that of thousands of English men and women of the present day, doomed to incessant toil and reaping from their labour nothing but the bare necessities of life.

Short in stature, the Burman possesses a sinewy and well knit frame and carries himself proudly. He inherits the chief characteristics of his Mongolian ancestry,—eyes slightly oblique, a yellow-brown complexion, a broad flat nose, and an almost beardless face. He is gifted with considerable intelligence, and is often extremely witty. Like most easy-going men, he is a pleasant companion and is troubled by no caste prejudices to mar the harmony of intercourse between Europeans and Asiatics. He is of an extremely generous disposition and spends large sums of money on pagodas or other religious edifices, the erection of which he hopes will bring him a rich reward in a future state. The cares of life sit lightly on him ; and he bears reverses of fortune with the calmness and fortitude of a

* It is true that his country is subject to occasional drought often entailing much suffering ; but this distress is generally confined to small areas and, in the worst of years, the country has been able to spare, for foreign consumption, close on a million tons of its rice crop.

Stoic. In his person he is clean and neat and, when he can afford it, is always smartly dressed. To his good qualities must be added that of sobriety : drunkenness in a Burman is quite exceptional, and, as the Burmese race are inveterate smokers, some think this moderation all the more remarkable.

The Burman, however, has his faults ;—faults so great, that when weighed against his good qualities the balance unfortunately inclines to the wrong side. He is the most conceited and self-satisfied of men ; and any attempt to convince him that his pride in himself was not altogether justifiable would be mere waste of time. He is intensely indolent, and quite unable to appreciate the value or realise the necessity of perseverance. Pain and even death he will face with great calmness and courage ; but he is intolerant of all discipline and so makes but an indifferent soldier. He is fond of gambling, and spends his money very freely, for of thrift he has but the barest conception. Driven by the greed and dishonesty of his own officials in the past to practise deceit in all the ordinary affairs of life, deceit has become, to a certain extent, a habit, and he retains but little genuine love of truth for its own sake. He is superstitious and often cruel in the extreme in spite of the humanizing doctrines of the Buddhist creed. Woman he considers a mere slave born to minister to his wants, and as such he treats her.

The Burman believes that before a woman can even aspire to reach Nirvana,—that mesmeric trance or state of blissful unconsciousness which is the longed-for goal of all true followers of Buddha,—she must first be transformed into a man in some future existence. This naturally leads him to regard woman as a being vastly inferior to himself ; and this inferiority has been so impressed upon the Burmese woman that it has grown into a profound superstition, evidences of which may be traced in many of the customs prevalent in the province. A woman must not cross the shadow of a pagoda or of a man, and it is no uncommon

occurrence to see a woman move out of her path to avoid the commission of this great sin. A wife must not sleep on the right of her husband, lest his right hand lose its power from contact with such inferior clay. These are but instances of the humiliating restrictions which the submissive nature of the Burmese woman has enabled the men of her race to enforce upon her, and the non-observance of which she considers certain to draw down upon her some great calamity or to retard her progress towards Nirvana. The spread of Western civilization is, however, rapidly undermining this belief of the woman in her supposed inferiority; but the Burman does not appear likely to accommodate himself to any new order of things. He is conservative to the backbone; his conviction that the proper place for woman is at his feet is deep-rooted and not to be easily disturbed; and her efforts to free herself from this degrading position he regards as altogether unreasonable and unbecoming.

Although held in no great esteem by the men of their race, the women of Burma have much for which they should be thankful, and are by no means fit subjects for pity. They certainly lead a life of toil; but otherwise they are free to please themselves in most things; free to breathe the pure air of heaven, a gift of nature, it is true, but one which is denied to millions of their less fortunate Eastern sisters. Their power for good or evil is considerable; for in a country where the indolent and happy-go-lucky temperament of the men has thrust the business and burden of life into the hands of the women, it is but natural that the influence of the wife in her household should be practically irresistible. Reared in a hard school, the Burmese are excellent women of business; and, as contractors, rice-merchants or saleswomen in the bazaar, they have few equals. They are exceedingly fond of amusement in any form; they are great smokers; and, like their sex all the world over, they adore jewellery and dress. Their hair is of luxuriant growth and is worn in a massive

knot or coil on the top of the head. Their complexion varies from a pale olive to the deepest brown. They have bright dark eyes ; and, though possessing no claim to actual beauty, there is about the better class of Burmese women a certain comeliness, which, added to a lively and good-natured disposition, is by no means without its attractions. In the choice of husbands the women of Burma have long enjoyed great freedom. Divorce under the ancient laws of the country was easily obtained and could never be actually refused. The folly of attempting to force the inclinations of a daughter, under such social conditions, is so evident, that a Burmese girl is generally allowed to please herself in the important matter of marriage.

The exemption hitherto enjoyed by the Burman from any active participation in the great struggle for existence has naturally not been without its drawbacks. It has developed habits of indolence and self-indulgence which totally unfit him for competition with more advanced races. So long as circumstances enabled him to retain his country for himself to the exclusion of foreigners in any number, this want of enterprise affected him in no appreciable degree ; but the sudden influx of natives from India and China, which on the overthrow of King Theebaw was the natural sequence to the establishment of British rule, has destroyed this *status*, and has introduced a large element of foreign competition into the country. This alien element is increasing at a rapid rate, and will continue to do so ; for the conversion of the present deficit in the revenues of the country into a healthy surplus depends very largely on the promptitude with which agriculturists can be found to take up the numerous acres of rich land which are lying waste in different parts of the province. Immigration,—the only speedy method of bringing about the desired result,—is now engaging the attention of the Government of India, and is likely to meet with every encouragement at their hands. Competition in all branches of trade must in the course of the next few years receive a great

stimulus ; and this, though an excellent thing for the coffers of the Indian Government and for the empire at large, is certain to tell heavily against the indolent and lethargic Burman. The probability of his being able to hold his own is small. His descent in the scale of life is practically inevitable, while the exceptional freedom enjoyed by the women in their choice of husbands—to which reference has already been made,—combined with the total absence of caste prejudices or restrictions in the matter of marriage with foreigners, must prove a powerful factor in hastening the ultimate disappearance of the purely Burmese race.

For years past the Burman has derived all the pleasure out of life that a state of semi-civilization can offer, while his wife,—in reality little better than a slave,—has been compelled to toil for him and to do work with her hands that nature intended should fall to the man's share. As might be expected, such conditions of life, have been conducive to the development of a strong passion for material prosperity ; and in the Burmese women of the present day the hankering after gold—that passport to a life of ease,—is abnormally great. One of the immediate consequences of this is that, in the choice of husbands, mercenary motives prevail ; mere money value carries very great weight ; and, as the average Burmese girl is without prejudice of race or creed, the preference is often given to the man best endowed with the goods of this world, quite irrespective of any question of religion or nationality. Aliens are now settling in all parts of the country ; and as they are almost invariably better able to maintain their wives than Burmans of the same class, it very frequently happens that Burmese suitors are quietly discarded, when any of the former enter the field against them. These aliens, on their part, are quite alive to the value of Burmese women, and have shown themselves very ready to seek them in marriage. It is true that this is with them more or less a case of Hobson's choice. Emigrants, whether

from India or China, are very rarely accompanied by their wives; and as, in consequence, the number of alien women in the country is not large, the choice of wives is practically limited to women of Burmese, or at any rate of partly Burmese nationality. Mixed marriages have become exceedingly numerous; and the women of Burma are beginning to recognise the fact, that besides being more prosperous, these aliens treat them with far greater kindness and consideration than do the men of their own race—a discovery which of itself must tend to increase the number of such marriages. The Burman knows these influences to be at work. He sees the best and fairest of his women become the happy and contented brides of enterprising foreigners; but he is far too indolent to make an effort to hold his own and avert the extinction of his race. Thus the difficulty of obtaining suitable partners of pure descent for his children must grow greater each year; and only time is required for the pure Burman to disappear altogether, and for his place to be taken by a race in whose veins the blood of the Chinaman and of the native of India will mingle with his own.

This disintegrating process has been slowly at work along the seaboard for many years; but it is only since the annexation of Upper Burma, a fertile country with a scanty population, offering many inducements to emigrants, that it can be said to have brought the annihilation of the Burmese race almost within measurable distance. Since the overthrow of King Theebaw, emigrants both from India and China have been flocking hither, in largely increased numbers each year. Not only do these aliens abound in every centre of trade to such an extent that the larger towns are fast losing the impress of their Burmese origin, but there is not a village of any size into which they have not penetrated, and they are quietly but surely monopolizing the entire trade of the country. The land the Burman has so far been enabled to retain in his own possession; but in the lower province at any rate he is now practically

under the thumb of the Chetties or Indian money lenders, and sooner or later the land itself, as well as the trade of the country, must pass into alien hands.

Burma offers a grand field for oriental immigration. The fertility of its soil is unsurpassed; and it possesses vast mineral resources. Add to this, it is suffering from a great lack of population, due chiefly to the innumerable petty wars, internal and external, in which the country was involved in days gone by—perhaps also in some measure to the hard life led by the majority of Burmese women. On the whole, the climate is good:—the winter season is not so long or so cold as that in most parts of India, and, on the other hand, the heat is never so intense.

In the matter of internal communication, Burma promises to be well provided, and it possesses seaports capable of any development likely to be required. The great Irrawaddy and its branch, the Chindwin, form natural highways traversing the country from north to south; and, thanks to the energetic and far-sighted policy now being pursued, communications, by road and rail, are improving at a rapid rate. The country has undoubtedly a fine future before it. All that it requires is population to develop its resources, and unfortunately immigration on a large scale—the only quick method of increasing population—brings in its train a keen competition in every walk of life, and practically means death to the pleasant but lazy Burman.

Up to the present time, the flow of immigration, whether from India or from China, has almost entirely been through the seaports, comparatively few immigrants finding their way across the mountainous tracts by which the frontiers of Burma are surrounded. A project to connect the province by rail with south-western China is now on foot; and no doubt a line of railway from Mandalay, through the northern Shan States,* to the borders of Yunnan would introduce fresh settlers and be, in every way, of immense benefit to Burma; but there can be no question that it is

* See "note," page 465.

to India and not to China that we should turn to make good the deficiency in population, which at present is a bar to the full development of the country. Apart from the fact that it is only natural that we should prefer, if possible, to supply this deficiency from races already subject to our rule, many districts of India are suffering so much from over population that we cannot but welcome any possible outlet; and whatever reluctance we may have to over-running Burma itself with aliens, with the certainty that eventually the Burman must succumb to the demon of competition, must give way to the urgent necessity of finding a fresh field for some of India's surplus millions.

The sea-journey from India with its discomforts and possible dangers has greatly retarded immigration from that quarter, but with the extension of the railway system to connect Burma with the main portion of our Eastern Empire—a work which cannot long be delayed—this obstacle to immigration will entirely disappear. Railway pioneers are now engaged in testing the feasibility of different alignments; and once the iron road penetrates the wild and hilly borderland which divides India* and Burma, it will require no very great inducement on the part of Government to entice emigrants from the congested districts of Bengal to flock by thousands into the country, and in a few years the alien element will have assumed enormous proportions. The last link in the chain of circumstances which has enabled the lazy Burman to maintain the monopoly of a rich and fertile country will thus be broken; and it needs no great insight into the future to predict that, before many generations have past, he must fall a victim to his own folly and inactivity, and by his gradual disappearance furnish one more proof of that universal and inexorable law which provides for the survival of the fittest.

* Regarding the proposed railway communication between India and Burma via the Arracan hills, we learn that Mr. Woods of the P. W. D. has just completed its survey and that his report places the practicability of the line beyond question.—ED.

THE COW-KILLING RIOTS IN INDIA, THEIR CAUSES AND CURE.

THE main object of this paper is to show that the slaughter of a cow is by no means obligatory on Muhammadans on the occasion of "the great festival of God" which annually commemorates the readiness of Abraham to sacrifice his then "only son"* Ishmael at divine bidding, and the substitution by the Almighty of an animal for the human victim at the last moment. In the Bible,^{de} where Isaac takes the place of Ishmael, the circumstance is narrated as follows: (Genesis xxiii. 13)

"And Abraham . . beheld behind him a *ram* caught in a thicket by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered him for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son."

The Korán in the 37th chapter gives the following account:

"When they [Abraham and Ishmael] had submitted themselves and Abraham had laid his son prostrate on his face, We cried unto him: O Abraham . . verily this was a manifest trial and we ransomed him with a noble victim."

This "noble victim" is explained by the earliest commentators to mean a large and fat *ram*, the very same that Abel had sacrificed and that had returned for the purpose from Paradise; others state it was a wild-goat. Nowhere does the *Hadíth* or Muhammadan "tradition" suggest that it was a cow. The word is ذَبْح = "Zabh" = "a sacrificed victim." The feast is called in Turkey "The feast of the sacrifice," or "Qurbán Bairám," "I'd-i Qurbán" in Persia, referring to the sacrifice of Abraham or, as in Arabia, I'd-ul-Azhiet = or feast of the victims, the most common names being the "I'd-ul-Azha," or popularly, "Id-uz-Zuhá," or "feast of the forenoon,"† or, still more commonly, "I'd-

* So Isaac is called in the Bible, though a whole previous chapter (Gen. xvi.) is devoted to the birth of Abraham's elder and first son Ishmael by Hagar. "The promise of Isaac, a righteous prophet," is mentioned in the 37th chapter of the Korán as a reward *after* "Abraham's sacrifice" of his son, but several Muhammadan commentators (both Sunni and Shiah) also hold that the son sacrificed was Isaac.

† This is the usual interpretation, but I take the word "Zuhá" as also connected with "morning sacrifice," if not a "sheep sacrificed in the forenoon at about 10 o'clock." It may be mentioned that the word "Azhiet" for "sacrifices" is not used in the Kurán, though it occurs in the *Hadíth*.

ul-Akbar " *the* great feast " or " the greatest feast " * and, finally, " I'd-Allah-ul-Akbar " = " *the* great feast of God." All these are proper, because orthodox, designations, whereas to call a feast by the name of an animal, except in tolerated vulgar parlance, is irreverent.

In India the term " Baqr I'd " is used, though not so often as " I'd-uz-Zuhá." This term is warranted neither by Arabic nor Persian nor Hindustani construction, but was, I believe, intentionally adopted in consequence of a verbal confusion. " Baqr I'd " is always translated as " the kine feast " or " the feast of the cow," a chapter in the Koran being called " Sûrat-ul-Baqrat," † " the Chapter on the Cow " (which led to the discovery of a murder). Were the use of the name orthodox, it would have the Arabic form " I'd-ul-baqr " = the feast of the ox or cattle, or were it sanctioned by Shiah usage it would have the Persian form " I'd-i-Baqr," though " Baqr " is not a Persian word, or were " Baqr " a Hindustani word, which it is not, it would be " Baqr-ka-I'd " or " Baqre-ka-I'd."

So important is this enquiry and so pregnant with consequences for the future peace of India, that it is necessary to examine *what* animals are sacrificed in the various Muhammadan countries and why a cow should ever have come to be sacrificed in India.

In Turkey in Europe and Asia I have often been present at the festival. I have never seen, or heard of, any other animal being sacrificed except a sheep or a lamb. Enquiring recently from a Turkish Imám whether he had personally known of a cow being sacrificed he said " no " and, to a written enquiry, replied that the feast in question was never called : " Baqr I'd " or even " I'd-ul-baqr." The same has

* Or " the greater feast " in contradistinction to the " little I'd." (See 3rd note at the end of this paper.)

† It seems to be almost *malice prepense* to translate " Baqr I'd " as " the cow feast," as is done by even careful writers on the subject. " Baqr " is " ox, bull, cattle, or head of cattle "; " Baqrat " is " cow," of which the regular plural is " Baqrát." Among the " broken " plurals of " Baqrat " there is, no doubt, the collective " Baqr," for " cattle," " cows," and " oxen," but it would be misleading, besides being liable to confusion with " Buqr " = a falsehood or a calamity, w^hch, indeed, the " cow feast " has proved to be in India.

been repeated to me by a Persian Maulvi who had never before heard that name. Indeed, to celebrate "the feast of a cow" at all or "to associate" in a festival of God the name of an animal, would be "idolatry," which is defined to be "the association of any other living being with God." The "I'd" is "a festival of God" and "I'd-ul-Baqr" or "the feast of the ox" would really be "I'd-Allah-ul-baqr" or "God's feast of the ox" which is blasphemy.

Now I have already pointed out that the representation of *any* living being by painting, sculpture or theatrical performance is repugnant to Muhammadan orthodoxy. To so represent the Deity or his holy prophet Muhammad is sufficient, at any time, to cause a disturbance in a Muhammadan community. The contemplated play of "Mahomet" on the Paris stage was withdrawn at the remonstrance of the Sultan of Turkey, and in this country a similar outrage on Muhammadan feeling was stopped by the Lord Chamberlain. In Bombay, the portrait of the prophet in a Parsi publication led to the blood-stained riots of 1851; in 1874, a similar publication kept Bombay in a state of panic during four days and nearly brought about a massacre of the Parsis; and in 1893 we have had a commotion which a Muhammadan leader is compelled to ascribe to the ignorance of the lower classes of Muhammadans, who, however provoked, are admitted to have first attacked the Hindus. Why did they do so?

The intended disturbances—apparently, in a sense, announced to, though not prevented by, the authorities—were hinted at in several native newspapers, and had the officials or even the present so-called leaders of the people been in touch with the community, they would, no doubt, have exerted their influence in favour of conciliation and peace. It is only because the Government of India is a foreign government, that its ablest advisers cannot control events or even give an indication of their approach.

Even the East India Company had, at one time, officially accredited Moulvis, Pandits, and Kázis through whom it could ascertain the popular pulse, but in our present

Councils there is no one who represents the learning, the caste-interests and the religions of the country. The intervention of the new class of anglicized natives between the Government and the people still further alienates the former from the latter, whilst the artificial creation of a body of leaders from among the English-educated *nouvelles couches sociales* cripples the influence for good of the natural leaders of the people, the chiefs, the landed proprietors, the higher castes and persons of good birth generally, the priesthood and the indigenous learned men.

Far be it from me to suggest, as have several writers in England and India, that anglicized natives, who have broken their caste, have directly excited the innate Hindu feeling against cow-killing. I have heard Hindus at the Middle Temple clamour for beef when the rest of the mess wished for mutton. Yet I have seen Hindus faint at the sight of beef. The "Babu" caricatures of Europeans who long to return "home" "in order to enjoy a London fog," who send in their visiting card to their old father seated on his haunches in a Dhoti, or who expostulate with their mother at not receiving them "dressed, at least, in a petticoat" are not the men who are likely to head an active movement against cow-killing, or to be acknowledged as leaders by any section of the respectable or orthodox community to whom their ways are an abomination. At the same time, it would be a mistake to underrate the influence of this discontented class in availing itself of already existing elements of disturbance in order to gain power.

The explanations given by Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of a movement which has led to sanguinary conflicts throughout India show how very remote they are from the people. Following immediately on the Muharram disturbances their antecedent events, if not their real cause, might have been, at any rate, *suggested*. Instead of this, we find even police officials speaking of "the proselytizing zeal" of Hindus who never proselytize at all, whereas all the lower and objectionable elements among Muhammadans are derived from converts among outcaste or insubordinate

Hindus, whom the ever-active propaganda of alike Muhammadan and Christian Missionaries unsettles. The reference of Sir Charles Crosthwaite to the mutiny of 1857—*absit omen*—was unfortunate, whilst his avowed suspicion of the connivance of the Hindu gentry in the disorders is not well-founded. As well might English squires be accused of originating strikes in their Districts. Similarly, one could weep with another high official at the alleged obduracy of Hindus in depriving the poor Muhammadans of their ordinary food, which is supposed to be beef, by the purchase of cows intended for slaughter. Such statements should be reserved for Parliament and Exeter Hall.

Comparatively few among Muhammadans eat beef; when they can afford to buy meat, they purchase the flesh of goats, which is about a fourth of the price of beef, which is again much below that of the best mutton. Both goat's flesh and mutton suit curry, the favourite condiment. Now goat being cheapest is within the reach of the poorest for the sacrifice of the I'd, and it is, therefore, that by far the great majority of sacrificial victims are *goats*.

The Hindustani name for goat is "Bakra," but the "K" is a "Kef," whereas the "K" in the Arabic word "Baqr" or "Bakr" is a "qaf," but it makes all the difference to the peace of India if the "Bakra-I'd" is with a "Kef" or a "qaf." "Such dire results from petty causes spring." If it be, as the vulgar call it, and it is in general practice: "a sacrifice of a *goat*" or = "Bakre-ka-Id" or even "Bakra-I'd" the contention between Hindus and Muhammadans is at an end, but if, as mischief-makers have invented, "Baqr-I'd" is a festival of the *sacrifice of a cow*, then the *Pax Britannica*, which is the main justification of British rule, may, indeed, at any moment, give way to an universal rising among Hindus throughout India. It is, therefore, the most elementary common-sense and good-feeling which would point out to the Muhammadans that the sacrifice of a *cow* is not enjoined by the text or tradition regarding the festival, but that, on the contrary, it is unusual, as it most certainly is seditious in India. In Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Persia where a cow

might be sacrificed without causing the least offence to anyone, a sheep is preferred ; why then should a cow be killed in India where it is a most heinous crime in the eyes of the vast majority of the population and when neither Scripture nor practice require it throughout the Muhammadan world ? Even at Malay Johore, the name of " Bakr-id " is unknown and a cow is never sacrificed. At the Mecca celebration, the Indian pilgrims are usually the only ones who sacrifice an ox, but this is because the sheep and goats on that occasion are abnormally dear. In England, an Afghan gentleman with his retinue, sacrificed preferentially goats, when they might as easily have had sheep or a cow. No doubt, on occasions of great ceremonial or ostentation even a camel may be sacrificed,* but the killing of a cow must seem to Hindus to be an act of wanton malice when the slaughter even of an ox or a calf would not create the same indignation and the killing, say, of a buffalo, sheep or goat should cause none at all.†

The fact is that the tardy recognition of Muhammadan claims by Government has caused a revulsion of official feeling in their favour, especially when the vapourings of the so-called Indian National Congress, which is mainly composed of *de*-nationalized Hindus from every part of India, seemed to call for a counter-poise. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the true interests alike of Hindus and of Muhammadans as also of the Government consist in that friendly co-operation which is the result of knowledge and of the consciousness of strength and righteousness of purpose. This is why it is to be regretted that Societies, like the old Anjuman-i-Punjab, in which European and native officials worked together with the Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan nobility, gentry and priesthood in matters relating to the public good and to the promotion of learning, should have been displaced by separatist bodies of Hindus and Muhammadans, who abuse

* The 22nd chapter of the Koran v. 37 says : " And the bulky *camels* have we appointed for you for the sacrifice to God " (or " symbols of God ").

† The only animals lawful for sacrifice are the goat, the sheep, the camel, the ox, and the buffalo, but the sheep and the goat come first, having alone prophetic example.

one another out of earshot, whereas, if they met in council, they would learn to respect each other's feelings and come to some understanding. I would, therefore, suggest the revival of joint-societies and encourage officers of Government becoming members of them in their private capacities. Above all, is the co-operation of Pandits and Maulvis to be sought for, because the former alone can guide into peaceful channels the very legitimate solicitude of the Hindus for the protection of the cows, whereas the latter are the proper sources of authoritative "fetwas" or expositions as regards the true doctrine and practice of the great festival of the sacrifice by Abraham, the memory of which is honored by all the "Ahl Kitáb," whether they be Muhammadans, Christians, or Jews; indeed, the latter's "day of atonement"* was adapted by Muhammad to the I'd, and also coincided with the sacrifices of animals by the then heathen Meccans.

Finally, and not without some misgivings, would I venture deferentially to suggest that the encouragement given by our own soldiers and officials to the consumption of beef in a hot climate, where it is one of the most fruitful sources of disease, should be minimized as far as possible.* During the whole of my 20 years' residence in India I never allowed either beef or pork on my table for fear of hurting the feelings of a chance Hindu or Muhammadan visitor. I cannot understand why a country that has produced Cromwell's Ironsides, should find it necessary to keep India with troops that have to be protected in any of their presumed gross appetites. That, not *very* far from Patna, the Commissariat cattle should have been attacked by an infuriated mob and that it should have been necessary to kill three of the rioters, is too significant an event to be ignored. It may matter little to our rule if the outskirts of the Empire are agitated and even riots in Bombay and Rangoon may be faced, but any agitation in, or near, the North-West provinces moves the very heart of India, and it is a wretched hand-to-mouth policy, worthy only of the cunning and the weak, to seek a temporary respite by pitting the

* "The roast beef of old England" is ox, *not* cow; the sale of the flesh of the latter is considered to be "a low-class trade" among English butchers.

Muhammadans against the Hindus to their common misfortune and to the loss of our Empire. *Divide et impera* has served its day.

I stood by the bedside of the dying Rai Mul Singh, to whom we owed so much in the acquisition of the Panjab. He was facing death with the equanimity of one for whom the changes of nature had no terror. Divesting himself of all the comforts of his wealth, he lay stretched on a bare Charpay, covered with a single sheet, between two little turrets on the top of his house at Gujranwala. Asking him what he wished me to do he said: "Keep raised the banner (jhandā) of Oriental learning." "Tell me," I said, "from your vast experience, what would render the Government (Sirkār) permanent in this country." "Forbid the killing of cows" was the reply of a SIKH whose sagacity, loyalty and sound counsel, ever a source of strength to the best administrators of the Panjab, invest the above advice with more than ordinary importance.

G. W. LEITNER.

AUTHORITIES (SUNNI AND SHIAH, AND TRAVELLERS) FOR THE SACRIFICE AT THE I'D.

Shafei considers the sacrifice of the I'd laudable, but not obligatory. *Hanifa* thinks it indispensable, whilst his disciples do not. These authorities suffice for Indian Sunnis.

The (Shiah) *Hayāt-ul-Qulīb* says: "God made a white and black *sheep* the substitute for Ishmael; therefore, every *sheep* sacrificed on Mount Minā is a commemoration of the substitute." Properly speaking, the I'd sacrifice can only be adequately performed in the valley of Minā near Mekka. It is part of a *pilgrim's* duty in the *pilgrim's* month.

Dr. Hurgonje writes from "*Mekka*": "It is praiseworthy to assemble for common prayer on this day (the 10th day of the 12th month, 'Zul-Hidjeh' = the Pilgrimage month), to listen to a festival-sermon and to consume together a SACRIFICIAL RAM (Opferhammel). One would have thought that nowhere would 'the great I'd' be more solemnly celebrated than in the valley East of Mekka. This, however, is not so. The Mekkens care far more for 'the little I'd' (the feast at the close of the Ramazān fast).

Burton's "Mecca": We debated about the victim, which is *only a Sunnat* = "practice of the Prophet" (not obligatory) . . . considering the meagre condition of my purse, I would not buy a *sheep* . . . so some Indians preferred contributing to buy a lean *ox* . . . parties might be seen contemplating the (slaughtered) *sheep* and *goats* and cut them up without removing them . . . none but the Sherif and the principal dignitaries slaughtered camels. [The italics are mine.]

The only *specific* animal mentioned in the Korān in connection with the "sacrifice" is the *camel*; the ram and goat are referred to by implication from Abraham's example, Muhammad's practice, and by the usual custom in Muhammadan countries; the "*cow*," or rather the "*ox*," is an afterthought, owing to the convenience of its congregational consumption.

Muhammad himself, on instituting the I'd, sacrificed one of two KIDS that were brought before him "for my whole people," . . . "for Muhammad and his family" (thus showing that the excuse of sacrificing an ox for a congregation of 7 persons is not necessary as alleged by some writers quoted in the *Hidāya*).

In the *Mishkāt* (traditions) Anas says: "The prophet sacrificed two RAMS, one black and the other white." This is confirmed by Jābir and by Ayesha for the black *ram*. Ali said "The Prophet prohibited sacrificing a defective ram." Zaid Ibn Arqam reports: "The Prophet said: 'There is a reward annexed to every hair from the sacrifices of CAMELS AND SHEEP that have wool.'"

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND THE LAST PROPOSAL, OF THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

THE readers of Mr. F. Parry's article on "The Capabilities of Eastern Ibea," in our last number, will derive some hope from the spirited words of the noble Marquis who addresses us on the subject of the Imperial British East Africa Company in the present issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The Company that promised to be to Africa, what the East India Company became to Asia, is still in hands that are worthy to carry out the work initiated by the genius of Sir W. Mackinnon, whose death was undoubtedly hastened by anxiety for the fate of his great enterprise. Although an irreparable loss, the memory of that death and of its indirect cause may act as an additional incentive to all those to whom the extension of British interests and principles is a stimulus to patriotic action.

The Marquis of Lorne has sent us the following "NOTE" on the subject of the Imperial British East Africa Company in connection with the Report of the proceedings of its last meeting:—

"In Elizabeth's reign adventurers were often encouraged; acknowledged if successful in obtaining an advantage for England, and disowned if they got Elizabeth's Government into any difficulty. It has been reserved for our time to see a Company, which in old days would be called one of *adventurers*, not disavowed, but deprived of any advantage for themselves, while their gains are pocketed by their country. A Company has been 'chartered,' or acknowledged as the servant of England in East Africa, has been encouraged to possess itself of fertile regions, expending its resources in doing so, and then has been told that all its endeavour is 'its own look out,' and that it will only be by an accident, and by special favour in using this accident, that the Imperial power in taking from the Company what

the Company has conquered, will pay them anything at all. This is not encouraging for future Companies. No one henceforward will do England's work without a previous express promise of support, if these new methods prevail.

"The accident mentioned happened in this way: Germany paid Zanzibar some money, money which may be now available, and were not it for this accident the East Africa Company would be simply told that they could have nothing for their pains. The British Treasury cannot now be expected to incur 'increased responsibility,' even if that mean only the opening of a new country to British Trade.

"The speeches delivered at the British East Africa Company's meeting are therefore instructive reading for all patriotic or philanthropic 'adventurers'—A chartered British Company, means, according to the present Government interpretation, a Company that the Government are chartered to encourage and desert, after hampering it to the utmost extent in their power by rendering its financial hopes ridiculous. *C'est pour encourager les autres.* 'Stealing away from responsibilities abroad' is the pleasant programme. Had the Company turned a deaf ear to the wishes of the Government it would now be in a good financial state and able to slowly carry on its work of slavery prohibition, and the encouragement of native legitimate trade, but the Company has been taught that it must henceforth stand a warning to any foolish enough to believe that British Governments remember debts of honour either in Ireland or in Africa.

LORNE."

In a letter His Lordship observes that :

"The speeches made at the shareholders' meeting of the Imperial British East Africa Company were full and good, and those delivered by General Sir A. Kemball, Mr. Bishop and Mr. G. Mackenzie should be read by all who care about possessing new markets. An abstract of them would, I think, be of interest to your readers.

"I hope it may not be necessary to repeat the little

platform campaign of last winter to confirm the Government in the belief that East Africa must remain part and parcel of the British Empire.

LORNE."

The need of enlightening the public as to the constitution, aims and operations of the I. B. E. A. Company has been illustrated by the reply which was given by H.M.'s Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to a question put to him by one of his own party. The incident is thus reported :—

"*Mr. Macfarlane* asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was competent for the Directors of the British East Africa Company, under the terms of its Charter, to select the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to it and abandon the rest.

"*Sir E. Grey* replied :—It is quite true that the policy indicated by the hon. member appears to have been followed of late by the Imperial British East Africa Company. But Her Majesty's Government have also observed this tendency, and I can only assure him that it is receiving their careful and vigilant attention."

It may fairly be inquired here on what grounds Sir E. Grey stated that H.M.'s Government had observed a tendency on the part of the Company to retain the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to them and abandon the rest, or how he could justify the attribution to the Company of sordid motives in the conduct of its enterprise. The euphemism expressed in the words "ceded to it" is notable. The facts relating to the so-called abandonment of Uganda and Witu were made known to the Shareholders of the Company at their Statutory General Meeting on the 31st July 1893 in the following terms :—

Extract from Address of Sir A. B. Kemball to the Shareholders. "The Appendices to the last Report have explained to you the pressure employed by the Foreign Office to induce the Company to advance to Uganda.

Having taken this step, we found after the lapse of a year that our resources would not bear the strain of permanent administration. The work of effective occupation to counteract the aims and pretensions of foreign rival claimants had been accomplished. Accordingly two years ago we notified that we must retire. This resolution occasioned the utmost concern, not only to Her Majesty's Government on account of the consequences of the rupture that must ensue of the ties and relations that had been contracted with the native communities, but to the British public on account of the national interests involved. It was only from a sense of the responsibilities of the nation, and to give time to Her Majesty's Government to formulate a *modus vivendi* that Sir Wm. Mackinnon and a number of patriotic friends intervened with large contributions of money to enable the Company to prolong its stay at Uganda for a further period of twelve months. The Foreign Office expressed their satisfaction with this result. . . .

"Now as regards Witu, which had been formed into a British Protectorate. The Company certainly desired and accepted the administration of that territory as an integral part of the British sphere; but they, at the same time, expressed their misgivings on the score of the unsettlement consequent upon the punitive expedition undertaken by Her Majesty's Government to avenge the murder of German subjects. Their apprehensions were so far realized, to the knowledge of the Foreign Office, that, failing recourse to further extended and costly military operations, no return was to be expected to the onerous expenditure incurred by the Company in maintaining its tenure of Witu, to which Her Majesty's Government contributed nothing. This fact is worthy of note in connection with the reasoning employed in the Foreign Office letter of 15th June last, which is annexed to the Report.

"Knowing as you do that the customs dues of the islands of Lamu, Manda and Patta, and the station of Kismayu are diverted from what is here declared to be their legiti-

mate purpose and appropriated to the use of the Zanzibar Administration as rent payable to the Sultan, I would ask you to consider where and when the benefit of the natives of East Africa comes in, and why all these years the inauguration of the new era has been postponed? . . .

“The charge that the Company is selecting the best and most profitable portions of the territory ceded to it, and abandoning the rest, is remarkable for its irony. Sir E. Grey had inadvertently confounded our rights and interests under our concession from the Sultan with the liabilities and obligations imposed by the Royal Charter which we maintain we have discharged to the letter.” .

We need not go into all the details of the protracted correspondence that has ensued between a National company and a government that is said to represent the Nation. Suffice it to say, to our discredit, that this British company was infinitely better off under the native rule of Zanzibar, when it could invoke the distant support of England, than now that the last vestige of the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar has been destroyed by the British Protectorate that has taken its place. After denying the company its right to levy taxes for purposes of administration, the British Government still insists on the cost of such administration being borne by the company. After minimizing their receipts from customs, the British Protectorate still claims the full yearly payment of the rent which the company agreed to make to the Sultan of Zanzibar for farming the undiminished customs. Under the Sultan of Zanzibar, when he was not yet quite that *nominis umbra* that he is now, the Hindu merchants, because foreigners, contributed nothing in direct taxation to the State, but as soon as they came under the British Protectorate in Zanzibar they were at once taxed; the Company, however, is not allowed by the British Government to tax them for similar purposes. No wonder, that our Government can under such circumstances afford to be generous and abolish export and import duties that do not increase its own revenue, in order to please

foreign European powers. Nor is our Government wanting in professions of a cheap humanitarianism, for it actually accuses the company of wishing to benefit itself at the expense of the natives of the Interior, whom it was the first to free, if not to enrich.

The interesting report from Machakos, which is about 300 miles from the coast on the direct line to Uganda, at once disposes of such accusations, for there already the company have brought under the most beneficent influence a most productive country which is inhabited by a people singularly capable of industrial progress. What the company have already done either for the suppression of the slave trade, or for the modification of any existing status of slavery, the History of Africa will ever record to their lasting honour. That they should be blamed for not protecting districts, which the action of our own or of the German Government had thrown into anarchy is another instance of the tendency of the present Government to be "Liberal" at other people's expense. We do not wish to dwell on the too diplomatic fencing, which characterizes the correspondence regarding the cession by the Company of what was once a German Protectorate and that was proposed to be taken over by our Government, without, of course, the undelimited "Hinterland," which rightly belongs to the Company. We rejoice to be able to reach its conclusion in a most acceptable offer by the Company to our Government to cede all their property, privileges, rights and assets within the coast zone for the ridiculously small sum of £180,000!!! The Company also ask for such additional sum as will bring the total compensation up to 10s. 6d. in the pound, for the exploration and occupation of territories beyond the concession area; in other words, we believe that a sum within £250,000 would suffice for the re-absorption "of the Company's conceded territories by the Protectorate of Zanzibar, and for the transfer to it of all their rights, privileges and assets within the coast zone" and elsewhere in East Africa.

It is difficult to estimate the loss which this generous proposal entails on the patriotic shareholders of the Company. They certainly, in the words of the lamented Sir W. Mackinnon, must mainly look to philanthropy as the chief return for their investment. It seems incredible, however, that Government should hesitate for an instant in accepting such favourable terms for the re-absorption of the Company's interests on the coast and in the interior as far as, and including, Uganda. The German Government has already spent more millions for what is worth infinitely less than the Company offers for fewer hundred thousands. Yet, more than two months have passed since Lord Rosebery acknowledged the receipt of the Company's final proposal, as above stated. We trust that the Directors are justified in believing that His Lordship is "well disposed to assist the Company by bringing about an equitable arrangement, involving compensation for the national ends attained, entirely at the Company's expense, in acquiring and opening up the territory in the interior." If, however, against all hope, justice and reason, the Government should refuse a bargain which would identify the present Liberal Government with the acquisition of an African Empire and a large market for British trade, we would suggest to the company to keep on their own course, feeling assured that the British Nation will enable them to fulfil their task, by insisting on the elimination of all the official obstructions to their progress. They have a right to levy the taxes, if they have to conduct the administration ; they have a right to the receipt of customs, as agreed with the Sultan, if they are to pay the stipulated rent. They are *not* concerned with diplomatic arrangements to their detriment made by the British Government above their heads, or behind their backs, and, above all, they are entitled, in Law and in morality, to reasonable compensation for any breach of their contract with the Sultan of Zanzibar which may be due to the action of the British Protectorate.

AUSTRALIA FOR ANGLO-INDIANS.

"A REJOINDER" TO "AN ANGLO-INDIAN COLONIAL."

BY THE HON. J. LANGDON PARSONS,

Late Minister of Education in S. Australia, and Government Resident in
the Northern Territory.

THE article of "An Anglo-Indian Colonial," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1893, is amusingly inaccurate, and much stained by prejudice and self-contradictory. It is, therefore, an unreliable guide for those Anglo-Indians who seek information as to the suitableness of the Australian Colonies as a field for their settlement on retirement. I beg leave to send a Rejoinder, which is written chiefly from a South Australian standpoint.

There is a certain fitness in my doing so, as I am officially connected with the "South Australian Anglo-Indian Colonization Board," of which the following are the members: Sir S. Davenport, K.C.M.G., Sir E. T. Smith, K.C.M.G., the Hon. J. H. Angus, I. L. Stirling and G. C. Hawker (Members of the Australian Parliaments), and Messrs. I. H. Symon, Q.C., H. C. Muecke (Imperial German Consul), S. Newland, T. Hardy, W. J. Magurey, and T. Miller (Justices of the Peace).

SERVANTS.—The first obstacle presented by "Anglo-Indian Colonial" to Anglo-Indians settling in Australia is the stale one of "the difficulty of getting good servants." Our servants are described as "mostly Irish who are exceedingly rough and uncouth"; whose "knowledge of cookery is absolutely *nil*"; whose "power of breaking crockery is ruinous"; who "tyrannize over their masters and mistresses"; who, "when mildly remonstrated with, overwhelm them with a torrent of shrill abuse"; and who "probably depart without the formality of giving notice." Then follows a slight reservation in favour of "German girls," who are, however, rare, always untrained, and when

trained will leave or get married. He further complains that "wages are very high," £40 to £50 a year, and adds that "up country the difficulty is greatly enhanced."

One wonders, where and how "Anglo-Indian Colonial" gathered these doleful details. Where did he reside when in Australia? Who were his hosts? Did he never, anywhere, sit down to a decently cooked dinner to warrant his saying that the culinary ability of Australian domestics is "absolutely nil"? As a matter of fact this servant difficulty is a cause of complaint and a standard subject for joking throughout the civilized world. The cartoons of comic papers and the answers to correspondents in Ladies' Journals furnish abundant evidence that from the French *chef*, powdered Jeames, smart Arabella down to "Mariar Hann," very considerable difficulties exist between masters and mistresses and their servants. But to give a clear idea of the real facts, I cannot do better than quote from the pamphlet "South Australia as a Place of Residence for Anglo-Indians," prepared for the above-mentioned Board:

"Domestic Servants.—The Anglo-Indian lady accustomed to a retinue of servants must be prepared for much self-help and personal discharge of household work. The Colonial 'domestic' like the American 'Help' is costly, independent, and often somewhat rough and fond of change. The wages of a general servant range from eight to twelve shillings per week."

In the settled country districts the lower rate prevails, in the city the higher. On bush-stations and in bush-public-houses, one pound a week is often paid, but these positions are usually filled by men. The large majority of servants are not Irish but native born. Any mistress with a "sweet reasonableness" will find herself as well served, and have as much comfort in her domesticities in Australia as in England—the wages however will be higher and the manners not so obsequious.

EDUCATION: SCHOOLS.—Wrong as "Anglo-Indian Colonial" is on Australian servants, he is more so about

Australian Schools. He opens with the astounding statement:—"There are no suitable schools for the sons of gentlemen." Then he goes on to say that the State Schools are free, and grade with the English Board Schools; that there are good grammar schools in the capitals of the Colonies and some of the large towns, but they are "mixed." "Sons of squatters, merchants and bankers attend them, but a certain number who have won a Government Scholarship at an ordinary State School" attend them also. And he adds, "It is for every father to consider whether he would care to have his sons attend such schools."

It is difficult to reply to this caricature in temperate and dignified language. The writer seems unable to bring himself into line with Australian social life. As a part of this Australian nation, there are Judges, professional men, legislators, University men, men of culture and refinement, from the United Kingdom and Australian born. Are they not gentlemen? Where do their sons obtain their education? Are the sons of Anglo-Indians of such fine porcelain, that they would be damaged by contact with the College conditions which are held to be safe and good by Australian fathers? It is but the simple truth to say that while the Collegiate Schools of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane have not the venerableness and historic splendour of Eton, Harrow and Rugby, they are as sufficing and as well equipped as educational institutions; and they are as pervaded by youthful "sweetness and light" and brave good manners as those time-honoured Colleges. Thirty-six years ago that brilliant scholar, Dr. Woolley, the first Principal of Sydney University, in his "Introductory Lecture at the Sydney School of Arts," said:—"Sydney is behind no English town in her machinery for first-class education."* Since then all the Colonies have been carried by the flowing tide towards culture and refinement. The Principals of Australian Collegiate Schools are mostly Honours men of British Univer-

* "Lectures delivered in Australia," by John Woolley, D.C.L., p. 288.

sities; the *curriculum* in each is stiff enough to enable studious lads to obtain degrees in Australian Universities, the diplomas of which are accepted by Oxford, Cambridge, London and the best Universities of Europe. The manners of the class-rooms and the play-grounds, though rough with the roughness of healthy boyhood, everywhere develop frankness, courage, generosity, and repress vulgarity, cowardice and underbredness.

Now a word or two about those "flies in the ointment"—the Scholarship boys from the State Schools, whose presence is held up as a menace to the "gentility," I suppose, of Anglo-Indian boys. In the years 1881-3 a Royal Commission on Education sat in Adelaide, of which I had the honour to be the Chairman. Among the witnesses called were the Rev. F. Williams, M.A. (Oxon), Acting Head Master of S. Peter's College, and Mr. F. Chapple, B.A., B.Sc. (Lon.), Principal of Prince Alfred College. Mr. Williams in his evidence (Questions 7,538-49) stated:

"S. Peter's College has received seven State Scholars." "I have not found any difficulty in placing them." "One took the Farrell Scholarship and headed the matriculation list for his year." "Our two best Greek and Latin Scholars at this moment are two Government Scholars."

Mr. Chapple in his evidence stated (Questions 7,405-18):

"Twenty-seven State Scholars have come to Prince Alfred College." "They all passed the Primary Examination the first year." "Of seventeen who went up fifteen passed the matriculation examination." "The boys we have had from the Public Schools have nearly all been good boys. Each one has usually been the first of his School."

Neither of these scholarly gentlemen hinted that there was anything of the *mauvais sujet* about these Scholars. On the contrary they referred to them in terms of high commendation. That which is true of South Australia is true of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. Some of these State Scholars, after taking their degrees in Adelaide, have had brilliant University careers in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science in Europe. Two or three of them, at the present time, are actually Professors to students training for the Indian Civil Service! This is the very irony of Fate.

The affectation of superiority for Anglo-Indian boys, by "Anglo-Indian Colonial," will doubtless be rejected by most Anglo-Indians. It is intensely ridiculous in the light of history. Contact with even rude, rough boys did not spoil the careers of two of the most illustrious Anglo-Indians. Of Robert, Lord Clive, who laid the foundations of our Indian Empire, Macaulay in his Essay on him says :

"The old people of Market Drayton relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory band, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from School to School making very little progress in learning, and gaining for himself everywhere the character of an exceedingly naughty boy."

Of his great compeer, Warren Hastings, Macaulay says :

"The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry ; nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played."

The fathers of budding Clives and Hastings may, therefore, take heart of grace, even if their boys should have to work at the same desk as an Australian State Scholar !

But are there no sons of the *nouveau riche* successful soap-boilers, drysalters, brewers, shepherds, miners— even at Eton ? Have there been no humble Sizars at Oxford and Cambridge ? Nay, more. In the old days of "John Company," before the times of the "Competition Wallah," scions of the "upper classes" and *protégés* of the "Chairs" were thrust into the best positions in India. But now the men who get the highest number of marks at the Indian Civil Service Examinations obtain the best posts. These may be the sons of Highland Crofters, small village shopkeepers, or artizans. Nobody's pedigree counts. There are no marks for gentility. It has been my pleasure to know two or three highly-placed men, who are now occupying responsible positions in India, who sprang from very humble parentage.

"Anglo-Indian Colonial" is equally astray about Australian Girls' Colleges or Schools. "Good Schools for young ladies (*sic*) are very rare indeed," he states. He

doubts whether an "Anglo-Indian official would like his daughters to meet girls of all classes." If "young ladies" mix with "girls of an inferior class they lose refinement and good manners, and pick up all kinds of vulgarity and slang." "The best Schools are the Convent Schools." The Convent Schools are undoubtedly good, but no evidence exists as to their being the best.* As to girls' slang there is slang *and* slang—the slang of the schoolroom and the slang of the tennis court and archery ground.

Australian girls of good society are educated in Australian Schools. We see them about us. We meet them abroad and at home and they compare well with our visitors. Aristocratic and very captious people have been in Australia, and most of them have passed very high encomiums not only on their beauty, but on their charming and cultivated manners. "Anglo-Indian Colonial" is evidently ignorant, too, about the mothers and the daughters of the house in Australia.

EMPLOYMENT.—Here again dreary pessimism characterizes "Anglo-Indian Colonial's" deliverance. He says, "Australia is most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital." "Competition is as fierce as it is in England." "The ranks of the professional classes are overcrowded." "No Anglo-Indian could make farming pay even with grown-up sons."

For a satisfactory consideration of this important subject it is necessary to ascertain first—"Who retired Anglo-Indians are?" and second—"What can they do anywhere?" The first question, it may be presumed, is answered by the statement that they are for the most part over fifty years of age, that they have lived say thirty years in the enervating climate of India, that they have retired because they are to a certain extent debilitated, and that they enjoy a pension. The second question is probably answered by saying that the majority would not either in England or Australia be equal to manual work on a farm. I remember no single instance of a retired Anglo-Indian becoming either a

tenant-farmer or a working yeoman-farmer in Great Britain. As to Australia not being a place for a gentleman without capital, the opinion may be ventured, that it is as good a place as any other. If the Anglo-Indian be not satisfied with his pension, even in wealthy England he will not find capital poured into his lap. Our pamphlet states :

“Occupation.”—The great majority of Anglo-Indians who may retire even upon an ample provision will desire some occupation. For those who determine to settle in the City, Capital would enable them to enter into business partnerships. Those who may prefer to reside in the country can purchase homesteads with gardens, orchards and vineyards already in full bearing, the area varying from a few to many acres. Those who may prefer to take up land, build their own houses, and plant their own properties, have a wide choice of good available land in different parts of the Colony. . . . Increased attention is now paid to what is known as ‘intense culture,’ fruit and vine growing, and the preparation of olive oil, dried fruits, jams, and the making of wines for the markets of the world. . . . The Vigneron can always command a ready sale for his grapes to the wine-maker at profitable prices. . . . Horticulturists and dairy-farmers who settle in a favourable district can easily form co-operative associations for the disposal of their produce. An internal stimulus to the products of dairy-farming has lately been forthcoming in the shape of a bonus on locally made butter. . . . As to investments, due care being taken, capital can be safely employed at rates of interest considerably in advance of those obtainable in England.”

I am glad to find one point of agreement with “Anglo-Indian Colonial.” His advice to leave money on sound security for a year or two is thoroughly prudent. At the time of my writing all Australia is under a heavy cloud of financial embarrassment ; but with the needed reforms in banking procedure, Australia will advance “surely” in the future, if not by “leaps and bounds” as in the past.

CLIMATE.—Once more the question arises :—“Where could ‘Anglo-Indian Colonial’ have lived when he was in Australia ?” and “In what strangely exceptional years did he form his estimate of its climate ?” He refers to the four eastern colonies, but he is inaccurate about them all. The existence of droughts and floods is admitted, with their disastrous consequences ; and the occurrence of hot winds and dust storms must be confessed. But these are much less frequent and of much shorter duration now that tillage

has been carried inland. As for being compelled to "shut up houses and not go out at all" because of heat and dust, it is unknown. Only a "dude" very anxious about his clothes, or a vain girl fearful of raising the hue of her complexion would ever dream of voluntary incarceration on this account. There is not a business man in either of the Australian cities, in average health, who ever stopped at home because of either hot winds or dust storms or both combined. It is true the thermometer in Sydney and Melbourne in the heat of summer registers over 90° in the shade, and in Brisbane over 100°. In summer, too, Brisbane and Sydney are "muggy;" but in Melbourne and Adelaide instead of the atmosphere being humid like India, it is intensely dry. I have spent six years at Port Darwin, 12° 30' from the Line, and there is no comparison between the heat in the tropics and the heat in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The one is like a vapour bath; in the two latter there is not a particle of moisture in the hot winds.

"Anglo-Indian Colonial" considers "India in the hot weather far more endurable than Australia," because of the ameliorations of "punkahs, tatties, thermantidotes and plenty of cheap servants." Australians find they can do very well without them. They would only be agreeable in a comparatively few days south of Brisbane, in substantially built houses. "In India," he adds, "ladies and children can always go to the Hills and escape the worst part of the hot weather," whereas, *mirabile dictu*, "in Australia there are no Hill Stations!" Can this be an elaborate jest? Is there no Toowoomba for Brisbane? no Blue Mountains for Sydney? no Dandenong Ranges and Mount Macedon for Melbourne? no Mount Lofty for Adelaide?* This misrepresentation is bad enough—meteorology and topography both wrong—but worse remains. Anglo-Indians are informed "It is a curious fact that in Australia

* These queries hardly meet the point of "An Anglo-Indian Colonial's" comparison. Mere hills and villages do not make "Hill Stations."—ED.

the hottest and coldest winds in the year blow from the same quarter, the West." No overcoat protects from the bitter cold blast, and "the East Wind in London is not to be compared with the July west wind in Sydney and Melbourne." This is a travesty of all official reports! Every schoolboy in Australia knows that when there is any northing in the wind in summer it is warm if not hot; when there is any southing in the wind in winter it is cool if not cold. In the pamphlet the climate of South Australia is authentically described. That description has been approved by the Board, some members of which have been in the Colony over half a century, and most of them have frequently travelled to Europe: it may be accepted as accurate:

"The air is dry, bright, and bracing. In winter time the nights are cold and frequently frosty, but the days are usually sunny, and the weather in winter is very similar to Naples and along the Mediterranean Sea in October. . . . These remarks apply principally to the more settled districts, where the climatic conditions are similar to those of Algiers."

The salubriousness of the climate and the favourable hygienic conditions of South Australia are demonstrated by a comparison of the mortality returns for England and Wales with those of South Australia, for the nine years 1881-9, both inclusive. These are the latest available to me. The death rate in England during that period was 18.353 per 1,000, in South Australia it was only 12.140 per 1,000. The climatic conditions of South Australia appear to be especially favourable to longevity in the case of persons arriving in the Colony after middle age is passed. In the year 1890, out of a total of 3,923 deaths registered, 182 were those of persons over 80 years of age, and in several well authenticated cases the century had been passed. Anglo-Indians, therefore, may rest assured that the climate of South Australia is genial, and that its clear bright atmosphere gives promise of "length of days."

Once more I am glad to concur with the advice given by "Anglo-Indian Colonial," viz., that it is advisable "for anyone who thought of settling in Australia to see for himself and not take anything simply on trust from agents and

interested parties." Nor, I may add, should they be deterred from visiting Australia by the reports of writers who are either too careless to observe, or who, from prejudice, distort and misrepresent what is "plain for all to see."

SOCIAL LIFE.—The subject matter of "Anglo-Indian-Colonial's" article might have been arranged with a special view to furnishing a fine climax for anyone writing a Rejoinder. Having pried into kitchens and criticised the cookery, he proceeds to confide to his Anglo-Indian friends what he thinks of the people of Australia. He first describes them as the kindest-hearted, and most generous and most hospitable people in the world. Then he says, "Another drawback for an Anglo-Indian is, that there is no cultured class in Australia." "No considerable class devotes itself to culture and refinement." "Money-making leaves no time for that sort of thing." "This is trying to the Anglo-Indian" (oh dear!). "Nearly all the wealthy men are self made and very proud of their own handiwork." It is doubtful whether Anglo-Indians can join in their "self-admiration," or "find them pleasant companions." Most of the public men—legislators, magistrates—emigrated years ago "when fortunes were rapidly made." Then, with a smug saving clause that "it is a very delicate point," he hints that some of them are "ticket of leave convicts," or their descendants, who though "justly respected for their many excellent qualities are not quite the sort with whom Anglo-Indians would care to be intimately associated."

These ungracious criticisms will be best dealt with from the root upwards. First the convict *innuendo*. I have been a Member of Parliament nine years, during three years of which I was a Minister of the Crown; and for six years I was Government Resident in the Northern Territory. During these fifteen years I have been brought into contact with most of the public men of Australia, and never, even in the gossip of a club smoking-room, have I heard one of them hinted at as being a felon at large. Nor

do I remember any certain charge of one of them being a descendant of a convict. But even if there were, here and there, such a case, considering the kind of offences which were punished by transportation, and the kind of trial to which the accused were put, a century ago, the veil may be mercifully left over a sorrowful past. Why should the children suffer for the sins of their fathers? The lineal descendants of Dukes and Earls who were executed for High Treason on Tower Hill sit to-day in the House of Lords. Surely the sons of men who may have been convicted—rightly or wrongly—for snaring a hare or even being found in possession of somebody else's sheep may be allowed to live their lives in respect and honour, if they deserve it.

As to the dear old pioneers who have been the architects of their own fortunes, who in the flush of an honest pride may now and then tell of the time when they split rails, or shepherded sheep, or "struck it rich" in some gully where there is now a great town, no one who rightly bears "the grand old name of gentleman," will grudge them the passing reference to the old days, or the natural gratification with which they look around their sumptuously furnished dining-rooms or beautiful gardens. Whatever an "Anglo-Indian-Colonial" may have found them, those who can appreciate sterling worth and true success find them very "pleasant companions."

Now for the "culchah." What sort of an æsthete is he who writes of culture as "that sort of thing?" Mr. Oscar Wilde would repudiate him for certain.

And here comes the crowning instance of self-contradiction. When "Anglo-Indian Colonial" wants to show that Australia is "most decidedly not the place for a gentleman without capital," he says, the ranks of the professional classes are all over-crowded. He mentions barristers, doctors, solicitors, surveyors, engineers. But when he wants to shock the gentility of the genteel Anglo-Indian, he says:—"There is no cultured class in Australia." Most

people would think those enumerated above are necessarily cultured. But if they be not æsthetic enough there are the Governors and their Aides, the Judges, the Professors of the Universities, the Principals of the Colleges, the Editors of the press—second to none in the world, and the *crème de la crème* of the colonists, some of whom have very blue blood in their veins. Out of these a very eclectic member of the cultured class could surely find a circle of “pleasant companions.”

The contrast “Anglo-Indian Colonial” draws in favour of New Zealand and Tasmania as against Australia is of no importance, as he states he has not visited those Colonies. Perhaps, however, in his case this may be the needed qualification. I resided for four years in Dunedin, and have visited every city in New Zealand. With the exception of Nelson, and perhaps Napier and Turunaki, I know of no climatic conditions there that are equal to South Australia for Anglo-Indians. The winter in Dunedin is bleak, wet and stormy. Christchurch is swept by parching winds from the Canterbury Plains. Wellington might be situate at the mouth of the “Cave of the Winds.” The joke is that you can tell a Wellington man anywhere because immediately he closes the front door he seizes his hat by both brims for fear it should blow away. Auckland, in summer, is humid.

As to the advantages of a Hill Station or Valley in India I can say nothing. I presume, however, that means absolute retirement and no occupation. Probably, too, there would be for the boys few avenues to fortune, and for the girls marriage only, with the risks and disadvantages of life in the East.

I have now completed my Rejoinder to “Anglo-Indian Colonial,” and candid readers will, I think, admit that I have answered him fairly. Australians are not thin-skinned; they make no claim to be perfect; they welcome fair criticism; they will follow good advice. But they object to be lampooned, and to be held up to contempt.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE AND THE COLONIES.

BY ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

THE peace of Europe has been undisturbed for so many years, relatively speaking, that the Great Powers have had leisure to enormously increase their armaments. To such an extent have these armaments grown, and so uncertain is the voice of Diplomacy, that at any moment the nations may become involved in war. The unrest of internal politics, from which no great European nation is exempt, greatly enhances the danger of international conflicts. Moreover, within the last decade or two, owing to increased facilities of international communications and the consequent impulse to Colonial acquisition and expansion, the seat of war, should such break out between any two European Powers having Colonial possessions, would be immeasurably widened. Since the Franco-German duel, Germany has become a Colonial Power and a rival of Great Britain in the markets of the world; British and French interests have never ceased to clash in Europe, Asia and Africa; whilst restless Russia has continued to threaten our great Indian Empire. In the event of a renewal of hostilities, the seat of war may not be confined to Europe alone.

This contingency is not the only instance of possible danger to the British Empire, which is vulnerable in both Hemispheres. Precluded as we are, from the vast extent of the Empire and of British interests, from entering into offensive and defensive alliances with European Powers, it becomes all the more necessary that we should be able to stand alone, safe against any probable hostile combination. But the opinion is very generally shared by statesmen, men of peace and men of war alike, that the loosely-knit structure of the British Empire rests on no solid foundation. In theory, that Empire is the greatest, the most powerful, the most peace-loving and industrious that

the world has ever seen. The bond of sentiment that unites it is strong enough to resist any wanton attack ; but circumstances are easily conceivable under which this bond may be weakened by an astute enemy. It has not yet passed through the ordeal by fire, which some think is the only process necessary to give it temper and resistance.

In the meantime, the greatest danger to the unity of the Empire—better called British Unity—lies, not so much in the conflict of armed forces as in the disintegrating effect of local ignorance and aggrandizement. Administrative control is falling more and more into the hands of the masses, who are as yet ignorant of what lies beyond the horizon of their own immediate interests. The heritage of a British subject—the accumulated wealth and power of centuries of self-sacrifice and enterprise—is apt to be held, in these days, as of less value than the mess of pottage which platform-orators throw to the mob in order to secure their own advancement. Legislation in the United Kingdom is blocked by a Parliamentary Bill the main provisions of which militate against the integrity of the Empire, as at present constituted ; whilst in the Colonies men's minds are so engrossed by the management of parochial affairs that no leisure can be found for the serious consideration of so wide a subject as the consolidation of the Empire itself.

In spite of these disadvantageous conditions, the cause of British Unity has not been overlooked. It has been kept alive by a small body of writers and orators, who, in season and out of season, in the newspaper-press and on the platform, have done their utmost to impress their views on a sceptical generation. The net result of this guerilla-warfare in favour of what is popularly known as "Imperial Federation"—but which I prefer to call "Britannic Confederation"—*—has been to secure a certain amount of in-

* Under this title I edited a series of papers by Sir John Colomb, the late Professor Freeman, Mr. George Chisholm, Professor Shield Nicholson, Mr. Maurice Hervey, and the Right Hon. Lord Thring. The collected Essays were published last year, and were accompanied by an original map of the Empire. They represent the verdicts of experts on the salient

dulgent attention on the part of the authorities at home and in the Colonies, and to elicit an irregular discussion of the question. But the authorities have persistently shirked the responsibility of action : they have confined themselves to the vaguest expressions of opinion, from which nothing is to be learnt except, that "Imperial Federation" is for the moment an unapproachable ideal. It is true that "Imperial Federation," as propounded by the most advanced school of Federationists, is an ideal incapable of immediate realization, but, because this is so, it affords no adequate reason for condemning the fundamental principle itself. As a matter of fact, this fundamental principle—the need of a closer and more permanent union between the Mother Country and her Colonies—has received universal acknowledgment ; but there it has ended. Yet, even a measure of "Imperial Federation," if carried into practice, would be safer than our present blind policy of Drift ; out of it might grow the more elaborate structure so ardently desired by Federationists.

My own view of the discussion is, that the Federationists ask too much. Our self-governing Colonies are not yet in a position to enter into a close fiscal union, a *Zollverein*, with the Mother Country ; at the same time they are unprepared and, so far as we know, unwilling to risk secession. If, as we are assured and I can readily believe, self-interest will prove stronger than sentiment in any future arrangements between the Mother Country and the Colonies, no re-adjustment of Tariffs can satisfy the complex interests at stake. Nothing but Free Trade, pure and simple, throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, can meet the necessities of the case ; and the Colonies are too young, are obviously unprepared, for such a sweeping measure of fiscal reform. Differential Tariffs might be introduced, but as yet we are too much wedded to Free Trade to think of that.

points of the discussion and follow a specific and connected plan of treatment. (*We reviewed this book in our issue of April, 1892.*—ED.)

This being the case, there is only one other point of contact between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and that is combination for defence. With the exception of Canada—by far the most advanced in political growth—the Colonies have practically no choice but to accept their present destiny. Once separated, they would either sink into insignificance, or fall a prey to any enterprising and powerful European enemy.

It is therefore with some confidence that I venture to propose the following scheme of “*Britannic Confederation*.” The subject must be sufficiently familiar to my readers to obviate any necessity on my part to give elaborate explanations. The scheme itself includes measures that for many years have been advocated by Federationists, and it leaves out others; but it embodies all of those which, in my opinion, have met with anything like general and influential support. Its inherent simplicity and relatively slight departure from established relations are the best recommendations for its acceptance, and afford the surest proofs of its feasibility. But in order to make sure of treading on certain ground, it may be desirable to summarise, in seven preliminary paragraphs, what, so far as I am aware, has been elicited by the fragmentary discussion of “*Imperial Federation*”:—

1. That the relations at present existing between the Mother Country and the Colonies, though cordial in sentiment, form the slenderest political ties, liable to be broken on a sudden emergency. This is chiefly due to the fact that, both at home and abroad, Public Opinion is insufficiently educated to appreciate the value of an inviolable political union between the Mother Country and the Colonies.

2. That secession on the part of any one Colony would be detrimental to the interests of the Empire, in which all British subjects have a share.

3. That the Home Government, being unable to take official cognisance of a secession that is only problematical,

or in the event of such secession to prevent it, it rests with all loyal subjects of Her Majesty to themselves secure their heritage as British citizens.

4. That, both at home and in the Colonies, there is a growing tendency in favour of what has been popularly called "Imperial Federation"—now better styled "Britannic Confederation"—but that hitherto the complexity of the problem has prevented the formulation of any practical and well-considered scheme.

5. That, in brief, the consensus of opinion is against the formation of a *Zollverein*, as being at present impossible, owing to the immature development of the Colonies, but that a *Kriegsverein*, or combination for mutual defence in time of war, is not only immediately practicable but is a measure that is urgently needed.

6. That, under these circumstances, no progress towards a closer, safer and more permanent union between the Mother Country and the Colonies can be made until a definite scheme has been drawn up and unanimously adopted, the most essential features of which should be, (a) that it be capable of immediate application, (b) that it be practical, and (c) that it involve as little disturbance as possible of existing relations.

7. That, as the Home Government has refused to take the initiative, and as the Colonies cannot themselves do so, the Imperial Institute, from the nature of its semi-official standing and its complete organization, would afford the best agency for launching the scheme.

The concluding paragraph, I hasten to add, has no official sanction, nor has the Institute ever contemplated taking such action. At the same time, the work of the Institute—when once it enters upon serious work—must inevitably lie in the direction thus indicated. Its very *raison d'être* is to promote intercourse, and to "cement the ties, between the Mother Country and her Empire beyond the Seas. Consequently, its functions could not be more usefully employed than in assuming the

initiative in this Imperial movement. How this initiative may be taken will be seen in the clauses of the scheme itself.

SCHEME FOR THE PROMOTION OF BRITISH UNITY.

OBJECT. To promote an inviolable political Union between the Mother Country and the self-governing Colonies at present acknowledging the over-rule of Her Britannic Majesty.

AGENCY. The Governing Body of the Imperial Institute, including as it does Colonial Representatives, shall be the accredited Agency. Sub-agencies, nominated by the Governing Body, shall be formed in the Colonies to act in concert with the Institute and to locally promote the object in view.

SCHEME OF WORK. A Conference shall be summoned by the Imperial Institute, at the instance of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Delegates shall be the Representatives on the Governing Body, who shall be aided by specialists. A programme shall be drawn up by a Special Committee and submitted to the Conference. This Programme, after receiving the sanction of the Conference, shall be submitted to the Home Government and the Colonial Legislatures for acceptance in principle.

OUTLINE of a simple and practical Programme likely to receive general support and to lead to a mature and workable scheme of Britannic Confederation.

I. The Contracting Parties shall be the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand and the self-governing Colonies on the other hand, including the following groups of political units, namely :—

[1] CANADA ; embracing (a) The Dominion of Canada, (b) Newfoundland, and Labrador.

[2] AUSTRALIA ; embracing (a) New South Wales, (b) Victoria, (c) South Australia, (d) Queensland, (e) Western Australia, and (f) Tasmania.

[3] NEW ZEALAND.

[4] SOUTH AFRICA; embracing (a) Cape Colony, and (b) Natal.

II. [*With the exception of South Africa, whose inclusion in this preliminary scheme may be questioned, the above groups of Colonies are those in which the white or European populations outnumber the indigenous natives, and are therefore at once fitted to take up full citizenship of the Empire. Other portions of the Empire, where special conditions exist—such as India, the West Indies, and the African Colonies and Possessions—may be represented on the Conference, with a consultative voice but without powers to vote; or, in the meantime, to simplify the discussion, they may be entirely excluded. The position of India, in particular, is unique. Our vast Indian Empire is, and must remain, in the strictest sense an Imperial Dependency. As such, its representatives on any Colonial Council or at any conference must be the representatives of the Crown of India. Whilst the immense importance of India in her Imperial connexions may be fittingly represented, as distinct from the United Kingdom and minor British Possessions, it is obvious that she is incapable of taking up an independent position equal to that enjoyed by the great self-governing Colonies.*]

III. The self-governing Colonies, hereinafter called the Colonies, shall continue to enjoy entire freedom of local self-government, as at present, the Crown reserving in all Imperial matters the right of veto now exercised by and through Her Majesty's Representatives in the Colonies.

IV. The Colonies shall be represented in the Mother Country, as at present, by their Agents-General, who shall enjoy the rank and privileges of Ambassadors accredited to the Court of St. James's.

V. The Imperial Navy and Army shall be exclusively responsible, as at present, for the safety and protection of the Empire, with the loyal co-operation of the Colonies. The Colonies shall provide Harbour- and Coast-defences, at their own expense, to ensure safety against surprise by a hostile Power,—such forces to be regarded as a Volunteer

arm of the Imperial Services. Garrisons of Imperial troops shall be maintained, as now, at the chief strategical outposts of the Empire, at the expense of the Home Government; but the Colonies shall increase their Volunteer establishments for exclusive use in their respective Colonies, to be placed in time of war under the command of the Home Government.

VI. A Colonial Council shall be formed, consisting of Her Majesty's Colonial and Indian Advisers and the Agents General of the Colonies, whose duty it shall be to watch British Colonial interests and to promote and maintain inter-relations between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies.

VII. A Commercial Bureau shall be formed, within the Imperial Institute, to gather and disseminate information concerning Trade and Commerce—British, Indian, Colonial, and Foreign—and to promote in every way closer and more advantageous commercial relations between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies. This Commercial Bureau shall have its headquarters, or at least a Branch, in the City of London, together with agencies in every Colony and in India.

VIII. Exhibitions and Conferences shall be held at stated periods at the Imperial Institute to report progress and compare notes.

IX. Representative Delegations shall visit the Colonies alternately, and India occasionally, as may be hereafter arranged, in order to hold similar Exhibitions and Conferences.

X. The Imperial Government shall guarantee, subsidise or otherwise assist trans-Oceanic communications, the laying of cables, and postal facilities between the Mother Country, India and the Colonies. Armed Cruisers, or mail-boats convertible as such, shall be maintained on the chief highways of British commerce by subsidies from the Home Government conjointly with the Colony or Colonies most interested.

XI. The Public Services shall be open to all duly-qualified British subjects, with the approval of the Crown. A special effort shall be made to enlist British Subjects in the Colonies in the Imperial Army and Navy, on the understanding that they shall be kept on duty in their respective Colonies.

XII. The cost of maintaining all British Dependencies shall fall, as now, unless otherwise arranged—as in the case of India, on the Mother Country.

XIII. The entire cost of the Diplomatic and Consular Services shall be borne, as now,* by the Mother Country ; but it shall be allowable for any Colony to maintain a Commercial *Attaché* on the staff of any British Embassy or Legation or Consulate-General.

XIV. The Colonies shall contribute a fixed annual sum of money to a Common Fund for the Defence of the Empire.

XV. The Contracting Parties shall formally recognise the obligation to uphold and maintain the Unity of the Empire as at present constituted.

The above clauses appear to me to embody the very utmost concessions likely to be obtained at the present time, and to sufficiently provide for a close and permanent union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. I forbear to enter into a critical examination of the scheme, clause by clause ; but prefer, in the meantime, to present this rough and general outline, as it stands, for the consideration of my readers.

* India pays for the Persian and Chinese Embassies. In fact, the position of India in this scheme is hardly adequate. We have no doubt that we shall be favoured with comments on the above suggestive article.—ED.

THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA

(THE CYAMBA OF MARCO POLO, NOW ANNAM OR
COCHIN CHINA).

BY COMMANDANT E. AYMONIER.*

(*Concluded from our last number.*)

III.

THE STRUGGLES AGAINST THE ANNAMITES: FROM THE XTH TO THE END OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

It was not long before war broke out between the two neighbouring nations. A son-in-law of the Annamite king Dinh, called Nhat Khanh, who laid claim to the throne of Annam, fled with his wife to the southern extremity of Tchampa. There cutting his wife on the forehead with a knife, he ignominiously drove her away. On the death of Dinh, about 980, he got the king of Tchampa to aid his pretensions. This king, called in the annals *Ba mi thué Duong hô an tra loi*, sent more than 1,000 war-vessels to the two mouths of the Dai-An and Tien Khang, to attack Hoa Lu, the king of Annam's capital; but a typhoon sank nearly all his junks. Nhat Khanh and the Tchames were drowned; and the king himself escaped with much difficulty. The great preparations made seem to show that a serious attempt had been contemplated to subject Annam to the yoke of Tchampa. This was promptly revenged. The king of Annam, Le Dai Hanh (Le Hang), invaded Tchampa, in 982, at the head of a large army. The Tchame troops were defeated and many of them massacred in a great battle; and their general was slain. The king, *Xa loi da bang viet hoan* fled precipitately from his capital, which the conqueror sacked and burnt. One hundred dancers or women of the seraglio fell into the hands of Le Hang, together with an Indian *Bonze*. Immense treasures of gold, silver and precious articles formed his spoil, which he took away, as he evacuated the country.

Was the capital thus destroyed in 982 the same which had been taken by the Chinese in 605, that is to say in all probability the city of Shri Banoey in Quang Binh? I am inclined to think so. Le Hang reached it and left it with too much ease to let us suppose that it was situated far to the south. Without trusting too much to even the written traditions of the present Tchames, I should add that there is a passage in a native Manuscript (derived probably from other more ancient manuscripts) which says: "The Annamites reached the Capital Sri Bani (or Shri Banoey) in the

* A paper read on September 9th, 1891, before the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London, to which Commandant E. Aymonier, Principal of the Colonial School at Paris, was the Delegate of the French Government. The importance of this paper, obviously written without any reference to present, or, indeed any possible political complications, cannot be over-estimated. It establishes, from a judicial and academical standpoint, the past extent and relations of Annam and throws an incidental light on the historical claims of Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia, Burma and Siam which are worthy alike of the attention of the Orientalist, the Geographer and the Statesman. The names of places especially given in this paper should be compared with those on the map of the regions in question which we circulate in this issue.

year of the serpent." As the cycle of the serpent recurs every 12 years, and 1893 and 1881 were serpent years, this date would correspond to the year 981 of our era.

I suppose also that it was in consequence of this disaster that the capital of Tchampa was transferred more to the South, to Bal, Hangov, near Huê, the present capital of the Annamite empire.

The relations between the two neighbours did not improve, though the Annamites did not at once renew their great expeditions. In 990, Le Hang refused the presents sent by the king of Tchampa. He was engaged in putting down in his own kingdom several rebellions which the annals say were countenanced by Tchampa. In 1005 he died, and was succeeded by one of his sons; but another of the princes flying to Tchampa, the new king in pursuing him was slain by a third brother. In 1010, there came on the throne of Annam the Ly dynasty which was to inflict such cruel defeats on Tchampa. In 1028, the Tchames took the military post of Bô Chanh; but in 1044 the Annamite king, Ly Thai Tong, attacked Tchampa with 100 war-junks and a great army. In the battle of Ngu Bo, the Tchames lost 30,000 men killed; 5,000 prisoners and 30 war elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors. The king of Tchampa had his head cut off by two of his own subjects. The Annamites marched on the capital Phat Thé, and seized the seraglio and the dancers. The queen, Mie, disdaining to yield to the caprices of the conqueror, threw herself into the river, wrapped in her garments. The Tchame prisoners were removed to Tonquin, allotted lands to cultivate, and allowed to call their villages by the names of their former abodes. In 1047, king Ly established Postal Stations for the convenience of the Cambodian and Tchampese embassies.

According to the inscriptions, the Tchame king, who reigned in 1050 (that is between this great national disaster of 1044 and another which followed it only too soon) seems to have been the founder of a new dynasty. He assumes the pompous title of Paramesvara or "Supreme Lord," and tells us that "shining with prosperity" he makes a donation of vessels and utensils of gold to the goddess Bhagavati, to whom he also gives Tchame, Khmêr, Chinese and Siamese slaves.

Following the example of his father, the Annamite king Ly Thanh Tong undertook a great expedition against Tchampa, the king of which (called in the annals Chê Cu,--Chêi, Ku = two princely titles among the Tchames) is accused by the Annamites of having insulted Annam by putting its ambassadors in prison. In 1061, after nine months of indecisive warfare, jealousy urged him to end the campaign and to distinguish himself by some glorious deeds, on hearing accidentally the praises which were given to the administration of the Queen, who during his absence had charge of the Government. He fiercely attacked the enemy, seized the Tchame king, and took prisoners 50,000 men whom he carried away to Tonquin. Chê Cu, to regain his freedom and crown, had to part with three provinces—Dia Ri, Ma Linh and Bo Chanh—probably the northern Quangs from Song Giang to Huê, which were inhabited by Tchames, and which we shall yet see several times taken and retaken.

A Sanskrit inscription tells us that king Rudravarman of the race of king

Paramesvara made a gift of precious objects to the temple of the great goddess in 1064. He is the last king who has left his name in any Sanskrit inscription. From the XIth century, Sanskrit learning, owing to the decline of the kingdom, was not eagerly pursued; and we find little in the learned language except a few simple invocations, sometimes still in verse, but oftener reduced to a few words in prose. The inscriptions in the vernacular or Tchame language become more and more numerous. Though appearing to give a date differing by a few years from that in the Annamite annals, one of these documents, dated 1084, confirms very closely the disaster experienced at this time. It states that the capital of Tchampa was taken, that king Rudravarman was carried away, that anarchy and civil war lasted sixteen years after the disaster, till Tchampa came again under the rule of one king, who took the Buddhist name of Sri Paramabodhisatva. This is the king, who with his family makes, in 1084, to the goddess of the kingdom, gifts, to obtain "glory in this world and the fruits (rewards) in the other world."

For over half a century, the annals are almost silent about Tchampa; and so are the inscriptions as yet known. The former merely say that about 1100, king Ly Nhon Tong overcame a coalition of the Chinese, Tchames and Cambodians, which was, however, dissolved at the first defeat, leaving China alone to prosecute the war. In 1143, king Jaya Indravarman of Tchampa, who had already reigned four years, mentions two of his predecessors, Bhadravarman and Jaya Sinhavarman. It is to this king, who ascended the throne in 1193, that Mr. Bergaigne assigns, as a guess, the last of the Sanskrit inscriptions yet known. After this XIIth century the inflected Sanskrit utterly ceases to be the official language of the inscriptions: "it seeks amends in pouring its vocabulary of plain themes into the Tchame language of the vernacular inscriptions, which already for more than a century have been becoming both numerous and important." Sanskrit culture even when notably declining, had evidently survived its regular employment as the language of epigraphic and religious documents.

King Jaya Indravarman, who ascended the throne in 1139, was a worshipper of Siva, of the Siva-Linga, and of Siva Vishnu. He mentions once more, that the ancient Linga of Kauthara, that is, of the temple of Bhagavati, or of the goddess Po Nagar, was the gift of king Vicitra Sagara at a singularly fabulous epoch—over 1,700,000 years before!

After this king, the inscriptions mention a Jaya Rudravarman who died in 1145,—two years after the date of the inscription I mention. He had it is said a very short reign. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that as these princes were in the habit of changing their names, they may be mentioned in the inscriptions several times over under divers titles. Jaya Harivarman, who ascended the throne at the death of his father in 1145, has left us very beautiful Epigraphs in the Tchame language, and a two-line verse in the Sanskrit in honour of Yang Pu (or Po) Nagara "the goddess Lady of the kingdom." In 1158-59, he defeated the Cambodian troops with their allies of Vijaya. I have some reasons to think that Vijaya was the name given to the southern extremity of Tchampa, comprising the actual districts of Phan Thiet and Baria. Jaya Harivarman says he de-

feated the allies near Virapura, the chief town of the plain of Panrang or Panduranga—now Phanrang in Binh Thuan. He mentions also the Yavana, “the Annamites,” whom he probably beat. His armies were in activity in 1161-1166, and down to 1170, in which year at last he adores the great protecting goddess of the kingdom, makes her right royal gifts, and thanks her for having made him continually victorious over his enemies,—the Cambodians, Yavana (Annamites) the people of Vijaya, the people of Amaravati and of Panduranga, and also the Radé, the Mada, and other barbarous indigenous tribes. Let us see what the annals tell us of this epoch. In 1153, a Tchame pretender having asked king Ly Anh Tong for help, he gave him a general and some troops; but though the king of Tchampa, called by some Chê Ribut and by others Chê Bi, defeated them, he nevertheless sent presents and girls for the royal harem.

In 1183, an inscription tells us that the king of Tchampa, Jayavarman, made donations to the goddess Bhagavati, several princesses adding to his their own gifts. The king mentions his starting, after 1175, for the conquest of Cambodia.

We should note here that some authors state that “about 1180, Parakrama of Ceylon sent an army into Cochin China.” (See T. W. Rhys David's *Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 24.)

The period which followed brought great troubles on Tchampa. In 1190, according to the inscriptions, Vrah Pada Sri Jayavarman, king of Cambodia, conquered the country, captured the capital, and removed the Lingas and gods. Long wars followed during 32 years, till about 1220 or 1222. The Annamite annals say that in 1197 some Tchame envoys came to ask investiture in the name of the new king from the Annamite court, which was granted the following year, by an Annamite embassy. This probably was a national king who in resisting the Cambodian conqueror, asked the aid of the Ly. A passage in a Tchame inscription shows that the conquering king did not quit the country till 1201, after having appointed a Lieutenant-General who held a tight hand over the indigenous king. The Annamite annals proceed to say that in 1203, Bo Tri (Po Turai?), the nephew of Bo Dien, king of the Tchames, came to the province of Qui La, or Nghê An, to ask aid against his uncle. The Governor wished to secure his person; but the Tchames fell on the Annamites, and after ravaging Nghê An and slaying the Governor, he disappeared.

After 1207, the Cambodian sway still existed over Tchampa where there was a Yuvaraja. The Tchames, the Khmers, the Siamese (whose name had already appeared in the inscriptions of Tchampa) went, under Cambodian leaders, to fight the Annamites. Khmers and Annamites fell in great numbers. The Annamite annals in fact mention an attack on Nghê An, in 1217-1218, by the Cambodians and Tchames. Finally the inscriptions say that the Khmers in 1220 definitely withdrew from Tchampa, the people whereof occupied the land of Vijaya, which I believe is Phanthiet. In 1227, Sri Jaya Paramesvaravarman became king after receiving the private baptism of initiation, and continued to reign in peace, building palaces, repairing the temples of the gods, and bestowing on the various divinities of Tchampa, fields, and Khmêr, Siamese,

Chinese or Tchame slaves. We do not find Annamite slaves mentioned among those given by the different kings of Tchampa to their gods. A Tchame inscription of this prince gives us the Sanskrit names of several Buddhist divinities, male and female.

About 1242, according to the Annamite annals, the Tchames demanded the restoration of the provinces formerly seized by the Ly kings—probably those between Huê and Nghé An, which in the XIIIth century still was the true boundary of the Annamite country: perhaps we should more correctly call it the country which had been made Annamite. On this demand, king Tran Thai Tong invaded Tchampa, whence he carried off the queen *Bo Dala*:—the Annamite transcription for *Pô Dara* = “young Princess”—probably not the queen herself, but a princess of the royal family. The Annamite king also brought away a part of the Tchame population, which he scattered in Tonquin.

In 1256, during the reign of king Jaya Indravarman, his daughter the Lady Ratnavali and her husband, Ong Rashu Nandana, together made gifts to the goddess Po Nagar. She again made other donations, this time alone, in 1275, under another king Jaya Sinhavarman, who afterwards took the name of Indravarman. This king in fact, who in 1259 held the rank of Yuvaraja, ascended the throne in 1265, under the name of Sri Jaya Sinhavarman; and having been consecrated, in 1277 by the ceremony of private baptism, he took the name of Indravarman. Some remarkable events occurred in his reign.

The Mongols who had already conquered China, now by order of Kublai Khan, invaded Annam, then under king Trân Nhon Tong. They attempted also to subdue Tchampa, which about this epoch (1278—1280) was also visited by Marco Polo. In 1282, the son of the king organized a resistance which seems to have been successful. In 1285, the Tartar general Toa Do, on his return from the expedition against Tchampa, arrived at Ô Ri, and invaded the provinces of Hoan and Ai (Nghé An), to which the last defenders of the independence of Annam had retreated: we know that the Annamites soon shook off the Mongol yoke. The adjoining provinces, so long and so fiercely contested, returned, not long after, to Annam, in consequence of a passing marriage, which was of more profit than many victories.

The king reigning in 1298-1300 over Tchampa is called Jaya Sinhavarman in the inscriptions, and Chê Man in the Annamite annals. He started negotiations with Annam, in 1300; and in 1302, the Annamite ambassador who came to Tchampa obtained the abolishment of the ancient custom of prostration to the king of the country before speaking to him. The negotiations ended in 1305, in the marriage of the Tchame king with the Annamite princess Huyên Trân = “Pearl of Jet.” The king’s love must have been very great; for in 1306 he yielded to Annam, as a marriage gift, the provinces of Ô and Ri (Châu Ô and Châu Ri), the names of which were changed into Thuan Châu and Hoa Châu. A king who apparently discarded ancient customs and gave away entire provinces, for love of a stranger cordially detested by his subjects, did not deserve to live long on the throne: he died this same year, 1306. The Annamite Court at once sent an embassy to save the queen from the fate of being

cremated with her husband's corpse, according to Indian usage. This would show that Indian law was then in force in Tchampa, at least at royal funerals. The Tchames yielded the point; and the ambassador took back "Pearl of Jet" to her own country by very short journeys, in order to enjoy, as long as possible, the gratitude of the young and pretty widow, who could refuse nothing to her deliverer.

About this time—the end of the XIIIth Century—was probably built the temple at Panrang now called that of Po Klong Garai. It was dedicated to Siva, under the title of Sri Jaya Sinhavarmalingesvara, by king Sri Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman. Presumably the kings, when they grew old, used to take the name of Indravarman, leaving the actual government to a son, who then took the name of Jaya Sinhavarman. According to Tchame inscriptions well cut upon granite and in perfect preservation, the royal founder gives to the god a great number of fields, the boundaries of which are minutely described, a host of slaves of both sexes whose names are given, some elephants and utensils for the worship. Here the Tchampa inscriptions cease for nearly two centuries.

IV.

THE LAST WARS - XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES.

RETURNING to the Annamite annals, we perceive that the people of the two provinces ceded in 1306 by Chê Man, on the occasion of his marriage, did not accept the Annamite rule without giving trouble. Chê Chi, son and successor of Chê Man, tried to elude the hateful treaty. Three armies, therefore, invaded Tchampa, by sea, by the plains, and over the mountains. They reached the capital in 1311. Chê Chi was taken and died a captive in 1313, his brother having been made king in his stead. This state of dependence and vassalage, into which Tchampa had fallen, was enhanced in 1313, by the reinforcements sent by Annam to defend it against the attacks of the Siamese, who had probably invaded Cambodia, then in absolute decline.

In 1342, Chê a Non, king of Tchampa, dying, his son-in-law Tra Hoa Bo Dê seized the throne, dispossessing Chê Mo, the son of the late king. He announced his accession, but neglected to send any embassy for doing homage or making the usual presents. An Annamite Ambassador, Phan Nguyễn Hang, came to Tchampa to ask an explanation of this neglect. But though the Tcham king sent his ambassador in 1346, he attempted another deceit: the presents were not in accordance with the rites and customs. The relations between the two kingdoms soon became strained though they did not end in an open rupture. In 1352, the dispossessed prince, Chê Mo, formally asked the aid of Annam; and to put an end to the temporizing of the court of Tran, he recited one of the Apologues which are the common inheritance of the Indo European races: An adventurer engaged to teach, in three years, a monkey to speak like a man, if the king would give him a monthly stipend of 100 taels of gold, saying to himself that in three years either the king, or the monkey, or he himself might die.

The Trâns decided, but rather lukewarmly, to help the ingenious pretender. An expedition advanced, in 1353, as far as Co Luy. The fleet

soon returned under pretence of bad weather, and the land army followed its example; while the Tchames, on their side, invaded the coast of Annam. The success of the Tchames was more marked in the following years. In 1361, their war fleet entered Annam waters with impunity and in 1362 they attacked Hoa Châu (*Huê*) but were repulsed. The first day of the Annamite year, 1364, they again appeared before the gates of the city and carried off a number of girls who were celebrating the feast with various sports. In 1365, they unsuccessfully attacked the fort of Lam Binh. In 1367 the Annamites sent a force against Tchampa, but their commander-in-chief was surrounded, defeated, and taken prisoner. In 1370, the mother of an Annamite prince who had been slain took refuge in Tchampa, and urged the country to rise against Annam. By her advice, the Tchames organized another expedition. They came by sea to the port of Dai An; and ascending the river, they at once marched on the capital, which they fired, pillaged, and deluged with blood. The king, Tran Nghi Tong, who had fled across the river, witnessed the destruction of his palaces. On the 27th of the third month of 1371, the Tchames burnt down all that yet remained of the capital, carried off the girls and young lads, and retired with an immense booty.

These daring expeditions, often crowned with success, were doubtless owing to the appearance in this remote corner of Asia, of a man endowed with all the qualities that go to make a great warrior and hero. Tchampa, in fact, defeated and despoiled during centuries, was reduced to its southern provinces from Tourane to Baria, - a country this day with 2,000,000 inhabitants. The central provinces, from Tourane to Song Giang, had for many years been invaded by Annamite immigrants, either preceding or following the Mandarins in crowds; and the Tchame part of their population of these provinces must have become used to the Annamite yoke. In the north, Nghé An and Thanh Hoa had, ages ago, been lost, and had in most part become Annamite. The Northern and Central Tchampa thus definitely lost corresponds to the districts which now number 2,000,000 souls. The Annamites were, moreover, quite at home as masters in Tonquin, which is said now to have 10,000,000 inhabitants. The Tchames were fighting against odds of one to six; and morally the matter was even worse; because for centuries they had been reduced to a merely defensive warfare, and had repeatedly endured terrible disasters. Under these circumstances, he must have been a very remarkable man who succeeded in drawing together and electrifying the miserable remains of the people, and becoming, for 20 years, literally the terror of the Annamites, whom he brought to within an inch of destruction. And yet we know nothing regarding this Tchame Hannibal except from the annals of his implacable enemies. Doubtless while still only a young prince, he inspired or directed the daring expeditions made, between 1361 and 1371, in which he consolidated his genius, while waiting for the throne and for the means which that supreme power would give him, to deal the most terrible blows on the hereditary enemies of his country. The Annamite annals call him Chê Bong Nga. (Chê = Tchei = a Tchame title signifying *Prince*. Bong, perhaps from Pong = a royal title, *Lord*; or perhaps Bong Nga is a transcription of Bonguor = *flower*; we know how much foreign names become

transformed by the Chinese characters. This prince, moreover, had many popular names and a great number of titles.) Most probably our hero was officially called Jaya Sinhavarman in the beginning of his reign, and perhaps Indravarman, later on. These were the usual names of his predecessors; and we shall find them given also to his successors. No inscriptions dating from this period have yet been discovered.

In the fifth month of 1375, according to the Annamite annals, Chê Bong Nga, king of Tchampa, invaded Hoa Châu, (Huê); and in the seventh month king Tran Duc Tong took the field personally, with a great army, to punish the invaders. He forwarded 300,000 kilos of rice to Hoa Châu (Huê) and began his march after a grand review of his army of 120,000 men. Brave though Chê Bong Nga was, he was dismayed at these mighty preparations, and sued for peace, sending as a present ten dishes full of gold. The Annamite general Do Tu Binh, who commanded on the frontier, seized the presents destined for his master, whom he deceitfully irritated by falsely attributing an insulting speech to the king of Tchampa. The expedition held its way, and on the 23rd of the first month of 1377, the fleet and army having reached the ports of Thi Nai (or Cho Gia, the present Qui Nhon) and of Hôn Cang, the troops encamped at a stone bridge over the Y-Mong, near the citadel of Cha Ban, then the capital of the kings of Tchampa. Chê Bong Nga sent out his minister, Thâu Ba Ma, who pretended to give in his submission, saying that his master had fled. The next day, king Tran, neglecting the simplest precautions, dressed himself in black and mounted a black horse, having with him his brother dressed in white on a white horse; and followed by his court, he went to the citadel, his army coming behind him in disorder; for the statement of the Tchampa king's flight was very plausible. At the fort gates, the Tchames arose in arms on all sides; and surrounding the Annamites made a fearful carnage. Their king was slain and his brother Uc taken prisoner; and General Lê Qui Ly led back the shattered remains of the army.

Immediately after their great victory, the Tchames appeared before the port of Dai An. This city being defended, they proceeded to the port of Thien Phu (Than Phu) which was less strongly fortified. In the sixth month of this same year, they again attacked the coasts of Annam, but being repulsed, they took to sea, losing large numbers owing to bad weather.

King Chê Bong Nga gave his daughter in marriage to the captive prince Uc, and made him king over the provinces from Nghé An to Hoa Châu, where he was welcomed by a large party. Though the Annamite General Do Thu Binh gained some success, the Tchames expeditions became so persistent as to compel the Annamite court to bury its treasury in 1381. In the second month of 1382, the Tchames, swelling their columns from the people of Thuan Hoa and Tan Binh (probably from Huê to Quang Binh)—Annamite provinces inhabited in great part by people who were still Tchames by race, once more invaded Nghé An, and penetrated thence into Thanh Hoa, with which they had kept up relations. The Annamite General Lê Qui Ly met Chê Bong Nga with a numerous fleet on the River Ngo Giang. At the beginning of the battle, a frightened Annamite Mandarin with several junks turned round to fly; but Lê Qui

Ly seized and beheaded him in the presence of the whole army. This energetic action restored their courage and decided the victory. Notwithstanding all his talents and bravery, Chê Bong Nga was compelled to fly. The Tchames took refuge in their hills. But after the following year, 1383, they returned to the attack along all the coasts and borders of Annam. The second month of 1384 saw them in the province of Thanh Hoa, which they pillaged. Lê Qui Ly at the head of an Annamite army encamped at Mount Long Dai, while another Annamite general, Nguyễn Đa Phương, guarded the port of Than Dau. The latter was lucky enough to destroy the Tchame fleet which he pursued beyond Nghé An. In 1385, Lê Qui Ly started with a fleet, but was forced back by the damage from storms which he sustained. Then Chê Bong Nga aided by the best of his generals, La Khai, overran the province of Quang Oai and Khong Muc, and reached the gates of the capital. The king of Annam fled. The Tchames, unable to storm the citadel, ravaged the country for six months, continually harassed with skirmishes by the general Nguyễn Đa Phương. Having exhausted all the resources of these provinces, king Chê Bong Nga led back his army to Tchampa, in the twelfth month of 1385.

About 1388, a Chinese embassy crossed Annam to demand 50 elephants from Tchampa.

In 1390, Chê Bong Nga again led his army into Thanh Hoa and attacked Co-ro, where he defeated Lê Qui Ly, the Annamite prince Nguyễn Diêu passing over to the enemy. In 1392, the indefatigable king of Tchampa made his last attack. On the 23rd of the first month, he appeared near the river at Lai Trien, with the Annamite prince Nguyễn Diêu, outstripping his fleet of 100 junks. One of the inferior officers under him, Ba Lau Kê, whom he had had to reprove, being in fear of his life, passed over to the Annamites and betrayed the fact that the royal barge was painted blue. The whole fleet of the enemy thereupon concentrated its projectiles against it. One of them pierced the king Chê Bong Nga. The fugitive traitor prince Nguyễn Diêu cut off his head, and carried it to the enemy, who, however, slew him too. The panic stricken Tchames fled under La Khai, who to slacken the pursuit, cast away large quantities of silver ingots and pieces of silk. The head of their implacable enemy was carried to the capital and publicly exposed. "Thus perished," says the Abbé Launay, "a man who for over 20 years had made Annam tremble, and had repeatedly brought it to the brink of destruction. At length believing itself safe from all danger, the court for several months gave itself up to daily feasts. In the midst of these rejoicings, there arrived the sons of king Chê Bong Nga, driven from their throne and their country by the ambition of La Khai. Where the father had swept, sowing dismay and death, the sons passed in their turn, fugitives and proscribed, hastening to seek an asylum in the land which the soldiers of their country had so often trampled as conquerors." In fact, in the seventh month of the year 1392 La Khai had seized the throne, and the legitimate heirs, Chê Ma No Chinan and Chê San Nô, sons of the late king, had to fly to Annam, where they were well received.

In 1393, Lê Qui Ly, now all powerful in Annam (of which he afterwards seized the throne) returned to Hoa Châu, whence he sent a military ex-

pedition to Tchampa, which was defeated. In the eighth month of 1398, a Tchame general, Bo Dong, who had been taken prisoner in a battle by the Annamite troops, was loaded with honours by Lê Qui Ly, in order to secure his services. In the eleventh month of the same year, the Annamites received at Thanh Hoa, the submission of Chê da Biet, a Tchame general who came with his son Chê gia Diep, and his brother Chê Mo Hoa. Titles of honour were conferred upon them, and they were sent to Hoa Châu to prevent a Tchame invasion which seemed imminent. All these defections show that anarchy reigned in Tchampa.

King La Khai died in 1403, leaving the crown to his son Ba Dich Lai. For over a year, Lê Qui Ly had reigned over Annam, having changed his name to Ho Qui Ly on usurping the throne. He determined to use the change of Government in Tchampa to aggrandize himself at the expense of that kingdom. In the seventh month of the year 1403, he marched on Tchampa at the head of 150,000 men. The terrified Bah Dich Lai sued for peace; but he obtained it only at the cost of giving numerous presents and of yielding the territory of Co Luy. This was divided into two provinces—Thang Hoa (Quang Nam) and Tu Nghia (Quang Ngai); and to facilitate the incorporation of the new provinces, they were placed under the immediate government of Chê Ma No Dinan, a Tchame chief devoted to the court of Annam. The Ho dynasty at once gave all their care to organize this great conquest, which had carried their frontiers from the mountains of Tourane to the north of the present Binh Dinh. A great number of Tonquinese emigrants were poured into this territory, but the women and children who were sent to join them, later on, perished in a tempest. This caused a great irritation against the Hô dynasty.

Exhausted and wounded to death by the defeat of Chê Bong Nga, Tchampa was unable to offer any serious defence against the Annamite attacks. Nevertheless the many provinces torn from her by Annam were not assimilated without difficulty; and they were repeatedly in insurrection, from one end to another. Annam, once started on the career of violent and swift conquests, hastened to finish what remained of independence in Tchampa; for these, though small, were the *foci* of rebellions against her authority. In 1404, old Ho Qui Ly, believing the time favourable, invaded Tchampa at the head of 200,000 men, whom he had himself assembled in Châu and Huyen (prefectorates and sub-prefectorates). But the capital Cha Ban successfully resisted all his attacks; and he had to retreat owing to the threats of China, which sent 9 war-junks to the Annamite fleet, with an order to retire.

The temporary conquest of Annam by China afforded Tchampa a few years of respite, during the wars of independence which the Annamite hero, Lê Loi, waged against the Chinese rule, from 1412 to 1428. In fact, in 1427 there was an exchange of embassies and presents between Annam and Tchampa; nor did any difficulties arise during the remainder of his peaceful reign, from 1428 to 1434. When he was dead, however, quarrels began afresh and violations of the frontiers. The last inscription goes back to this epoch—1436—in which the king has the name of Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman, of the Brashu race.

In 1446, while Lê Thanh Tong, the grandson and second successor of Lê Loi, was yet a minor, an army of 60,000 Annamites entered Tchampa, and pushing on to the port of Thi nai in the present Binh Dinh district, took the capital by assault on the 25th day of the fourth month. The king Bi Cai became a prisoner, and was at first replaced by Mahaquilai, nephew of the former king Chêdê, but was eventually restored, on the intervention of China. Tchampa, however, remained at the mercy of the court of Annam, which treated it very harshly. The country was also a prey to the most violent disorders, its princes assassinating one another and succeeding each other rapidly on the throne. At length, in 1470, one of these usurpers having invaded the frontier which had been brought up to Hoa Châu (Huê) the Annamite king Lê Thanh Tong made this incursion the pretext for putting an end to Tchampa. At the head of an army which the Annamite Annals put at the extravagant number of 700,000 men and 1,000 war-junks, he systematically attacked Tchampa, and surrounded the capital, which he stormed on the 1st of the third month of 1471. Forty thousand Tchames were put to the sword, and 30,000 were made prisoners, including the usurper Ban La Tra Toan. He soon died in captivity, and Lê Thanh Tong had the head of the last king of Tchampa exposed at the prow of a junk, and placed above it a white banner with the words: "The head of Tra Toan, the cause of the misery of Tchampa." The body was burnt and the ashes cast into the waters. The day after the sack of the Tchame capital, Lê Thanh Tong reunited Quang Nam and Quang Nghia to his kingdom; and dividing the rest of Tchampa into three principalities, he placed over them Tchame chiefs under the authority of Annamite Mandarins.

V.

THE PRESENT TCHAMES: FROM THE XVTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY.

UNDER the yoke of the Annamite Mandarins, Tchampa was rapidly assimilated by Annam. The slightest attempt at rebellion was quenched in blood. The Tchames were soon changed into Annamites, owing to the combined action of political rule, administrative organization, and social laws regarding concubinage and adoption,—thus extending to the south of Tourane the change which had already been going on for centuries in the north of Huê. Thenceforth no further resistance was possible. A hundred years after this conquest, this absorption had proceeded so far, at the end of XVIth century, that the family of Nguyêns, founder of the present dynasty, formed for itself an almost independent principality out of the very centre of the now vanished Tchampa, with Huê as its capital. Strange event! Under the order of these Nguyêns, the Tchame-Annamites recommenced their centuries-old struggle against Tonquin where the rival family of the Trinh reigned under the nominal suzerainty of the Lê kings.

The first European missionaries who penetrated into these countries gave the name of Cochin China to the northern part of ancient Tchampa.

already absorbed by the Annamites, and applied the name of Tchampa only to the poor remains of that kingdom in the south.

In the first half of the XVIIth century, the Nguyêns had no difficulty in adding to their dominions the present provinces of Binh Dinh and Phu yen ; as the way for their assimilation had already been prepared by their mandarins. Since then Tchampa was restricted to the present Khanh Hoa and Binh Thuan, among the mountains of Cape Varela and the Donai. About 1650, the ruler Hien Vuong imprisoned in a cage, where he soon died, the kinglet of Tchampa who had thought of rebelling. He seized Khanh Hoa, and left to the widow only the shadow of a government over Binh Thuan ; but even this little authority left to the Tchame chiefs was gradually destroyed in the XVIIIth century. At last, about 1820, the last Tchampa chief emigrated to Cambodia. At present this is the only province out of all that formerly made up Tchampa, where there are any Tchames left, who have not become Annamites. They are mere local cantonal or communal authorities, that convey the orders of the Annamite prefects to a Tchame population of about 20,000 souls, scattered over seven cantons and eighty wretched hamlets. Tchampa no longer exists—it has become Cochin China, to day Annam. The greater part of its inhabitants has become fused with the conquering race, which it must have considerably modified by the union. The chiefs, and the Mussulmans who did not resign themselves to this merciless yoke, retreated southward before the conquerors and finally emigrated into Cambodia.

Islam must have penetrated early into Tchampa, though there are no traces of this, in either the inscriptions or the Annamite annals. Since the VIIIth and IXth centuries, Arab navigators, merchants and missionaries visited in ever increasing numbers, the Malay and Indo Chinese coasts, and reached even China. Raffles and Veth, though differing as to the dates, both mention a Tchame princess of great beauty, who was married to Angka Vijaya king of Java, in the second half of the XIIIth century, whose elder sister had been married, in Tchampa, to an Arab by whom she had a son called Rahmet. From another quarter we learn, through Father Tachard, that about 1688 some Mussulman princes of Tchampa who had taken refuge in Siam, had there raised disturbances which were suppressed by Constance Falkon. At present, of the 20,000 Tchames, who, as I have stated, dwell in the valleys of Binh Thuan, the southern province of Annam, one-third are Muhammadans, while two-thirds are pagans professing a degenerated Brahminism. Outside of the ancient Tchampa, that is to say, in French Cochin China, Cambodia and Siam, the Tchame emigrants—all Mussulmans—number from 80,000 to 100,000 souls.

In general, Europeans very wrongly call them Malays. They are fairly orthodox in their religion, and are quite free from the idolatry of the ancient Tchames. They have a Mufti, nominated by the king of Cambodia ; Hakems or chiefs of Mosques ; and a great number of Imams all of whom dress in white robes. So do the Katibs or Readers and the Bilals or Censors, who form the lower orders of the hierarchy. Under these again, the Lebei or Hearers, laymen who carry out the orders of the Censors.

Besides the Ramadan these Mussulmans celebrate two other shorter fasts at stated times. They pay great respect to the young men who have acquired a complete knowledge of the Koran. They have a ceremony for washing away the sins of the old. After burials, they observe at fixed times, seven *Padhis*, or funeral feasts, with prayers and a family repast. They are not, however, entirely free from all superstition. They believe in love philtres, in practices for conferring invulnerability, and in witches who cause weakness and death.

The agriculturists cultivate rice. Those who dwell near streams, employ themselves in fishing, and in cultivating rich crops of cotton, indigo, tobacco and mulberry trees. As merchants, they are very industrious and enterprising, and undertake long voyages. They make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Their women are able weavers of silk. Their rich men have as many as four lawful wives, besides many concubines. They differ but little from the Cambodians in the construction and furniture of their dwelling, or in their games or food, except that they, of course, abstain from the use of pork. Generally speaking, they are more proud, prosperous and rich than the other subjects of France in Indo-China. Among themselves they evince a certain spirit of union; they help each other in their work, and lend money to each other at a relatively moderate interest. Practising domesticity or servitude for debts, they increase their race by the adoption of the children of their Annamite debtors, whom they bring up as Tchames, in the Mussulman religion.

The Tchames of Binh Thuan are very different from their brethren of Cambodia. Poor and wretched, they are bowed down under the yoke of Annamite Mandarins, and present to the ethnographer as strange a study as can be found. We have seen that one third, or about 8,000, of these Tchames are Mussulmans. But though the headmen of their Mosques, there called Ong Grou, are selected from the Imams, and they have their Katibs (Readers) and their Medouones (Censors) and all these dress in white and have their heads shaved :—though on Fridays they adore Allah in their mosques, fast during the Ramadan, practise circumcision and do not eat pork—yet the religious beliefs of these Mussulmans, owing to their isolation from the rest of Islam, have become much adulterated. Ablutions and daily prayers have fallen out of practice. The study of the Koran is neglected. In adoring Allah and venerating Muhammad, they think it no harm to adore likewise their ancestors, and the Tchame deities, just the same as their pagan brethren. Girls on attaining their fifteenth year go through a long and very important ceremony which does not seem at all Muhammadan. The Imams are invited to a feast, with the relatives and friends of the girls, who, dressed in bright clothes and covered with ornaments, present themselves before the priests to have a lock cut from their hair. Then in a simpler dress they return to make a ceremonious salutation to the Imams, and to hear announced the presents, often very considerable, which their female relatives and friends make to them on the occasion. The ceremony ends with a feast. According to different valleys, the marriage negotiations are begun by either the girl or the young man. The marriage ceremonies, which may take place either before or

after cohabitation, vary very much. They are very lengthy, and take place with the assistance of the Imams. At burials they observe *Padhis* or commemorative services, generally seven in number. But they add to these a peculiar usage, which consists in exhuming the corpse before the anniversary of its death, in order to unite the bones of all the faithful, in certain fixed spots which are considered as holy places.

They have periodical great feasts, of unknown origin, called *Radja*, which have in them nothing Islamic at least. In some places, the feast lasts three days. A shed serves as the temple, and a kind of trough forms the altar. Wooden platters surrounded by candles with cotton wicks, and bearing flowers and *betel* leaves, represent the divinities. A woman, who like the feast itself is called *Radja*, is the priestess of this worship of ancestors, dancing in honour of the divinities to the sound of an orchestra. The Medouone (Censor), the chief male actor, beats a flat drum and calls on the ancestors and numerous divinities to come and taste the viands placed in the shed. The priestess lies down and is covered with a shroud; and after appearing to be much agitated, she rises again. She dances on, for three nights without sleeping, only resting herself balanced on a swing. After the invocations, dancing and banquets, the feast ends in launching on the waters the image of a boat.

Besides these periodical *Radjas*, there are others on special occasions, as for instance in cases of sickness. The details of the rites vary not only in different villages, but even in different families: still in every case we find the little shed, the trough, the platters of *betel*, the dancing priestess who is often the mistress of the house and the player on the flat drum who chants and invokes the divinities. It is more rare to find men alone as actors who dance all night before these *betel* platters.

Other practices of an exclusively pagan character, are observed in a Mussulman village that by tradition has the office of gathering in the eaglewood, which constitutes a tax from the province of Binh Thuan. The "Master of the Eaglewood," the hereditary chief of the village, when entering on his duties at the death of his father, goes to a kind of holy hill, to adore the divinities of the Eaglewood. He slays some goats, dances on a few husks of rice spread on a white cloth, invokes the gods, and feasts with his lieutenants, whom he afterwards sends to find out, in the forests of the hill, the eagle wood which, however, they are not to gather. Having entered thus on his duties, he goes twice a year to the hills. During the rainy season, he sacrifices a buffalo in thanksgiving to the divinities. In the dry season, he sends out his lieutenants in groups at the head of the inhabitants of the mountains, who have charge of collecting this wood. Some buffaloes and goats are sacrificed to the deities, and are then eaten by the explorers with minutely laid down observances, which they have also recommended to their wives at home to observe. These groups returning to their chief give themselves up to more feastings; and the Eaglewood which has been gathered is carried in triumph to the village on the plains, where the women give it a solemn welcome.

Yet more strange are the pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, from whom we may gather who are the divinities thus frequently worshipped by their

Mussulman brethren. Among a host of divinities recognized in this very degenerate Brahminism, three hold the chief place. Of these, two, Pô Romê and Pô Klong garai, are deified legendary kings, who are probably confounded with Siva—they are represented in fact by statues of Siva, or as Lingas with faces engraved on them. The third is Po Nagar, “the Lady of the kingdom,” the great goddess Bhagavati, whose worship, already predominant during the middle ages, continues to this day among the people. She has now become the goddess of the fields and of agriculture. Muhammadan influence has even confounded her with Eve. Then come a host of other gods and goddesses, who are often nothing but local genii, and sometimes legendary personages, kings and princes, who have been deified and whose tombs are honoured. The pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, like true Indians, reject no deity. Their contact with Muhammadanism has imported into their pantheon, not only Eve, but Allah, Muhammad, the archangel Gabriel, the angels and saints of the Koran, Adam, Moses and other biblical prophets, and even Jesus Christ himself.

Several castes take part in the worship of these divinities. Of these, the highest is that of the Bashêh, descendants probably of the Brahmins of Tchampa, who are to be found all over Binh Thuan, more especially in the valley of Panrang. They have three chiefs, called Pothéa, who are also the high priests of the three chief divinities. Under the Bashêh, the Tchamenei, another caste of priests, keep the keys of the temples and the ornaments of the deities, and officiate in certain circumstances. The Kadhar play on the violin and chant invocations. The Padjao are inspired priestesses, possessed, or to use the energetic Indian expression, “stamped upon,” by the divinities during the ceremonies; who among other matters of abstinence, are bound to absolute continence, lest they should excite the jealousy and anger of their gods. We may add that their call does not begin till about the age of thirty or forty years. The Radja women, whom we spoke of among the Mussulmans, are also found among the pagans, as also are the men, called Medouones or Podouones. Finally the Ong Banœk, the religious heads of the dams and irrigation works for the fields, form a special caste.

The consecration of the Bashêh and the Pothéa gives occasion to long and important ceremonies, which I briefly sum up here. The Tchame population crowd to the feast. A temporary temple of wood and straw is made in the shape of a millstone, and raised in the fields; and opposite to it is a little toilet shed, where the newly promoted go to put on their coloured sacerdotal garments. The officiating priests, dressed in white, go towards them, to the sound of an orchestra, bearing the sacred fire—two wax candles lighted in a sort of high basket covered with a white cotton cloth. The whole cortège then issues from the shed and returns to the temple. The newly promoted, sheltered under canopies, are fanned by little girls dressed in robes of ceremony. The people spread cloths under the footsteps of the priests. In the temple, a basket full of husked rice serves as the seat of the new Pothéa—the other promoted Bashêh get rice in the husks. The promoted Bashêh go thrice in solemn state around

this seat, and then sit down to a pretended repast comprising all kinds of food. The new Pôthéa performs a hieratic dance before the now uncovered sacred fire. The divinities are then worshipped; and the ceremony ends in a general feasting.

Their temples maintained according to the traditions are sometimes ancient Tchame towers of brick. The gods are worshipped there at two great feasts each year. The priests, the caste men, and all the population meet together on these occasions. Other occasional adorations may be performed for any special reason—some event or some sickness. Goats and even buffaloes are slaughtered, the Tchamenei adores the deity, and opens the door of his temple, cleans and washes with lustral waters the representation of the god,—a linga, a statue, or a mere stone. He lights candles, burns eagle wood in a pan, and offers the food prepared, while the musicians, to the accompaniment of their instruments, invoke the divinity. The Tchamenei then arranges the ornaments and sacred cloths and when necessary places a new mask of paste over the face of the god. Then he moves about his hands, holding lighted candles, with vessels of lustral waters, and bowls of spirits. In her turn, the Padjao or pythoress, till now a simple spectator, prays and makes passes with eggs and cups of spirits, she becomes agitated and trembles, while all the assistants adore the god who has taken possession of her. When tired out she yawns, breaks the eggs, and communicates the answer of the god. The comestibles offered to the divinities are afterwards eaten by the worshippers and the assistants.

With ceremonies far more simple and without any gathering of priests, the Tchames worship their minor deities, for all kinds of purposes, with offerings of food and spirits; but the appetite of the gods never does any injury to that of the human beings.

The funeral ceremonies are important and costly, and take place with a great gathering of priests and caste men. The corpse, wrapped in cotton cloths, is kept in a shed near the house for nearly a month. The relatives, friends, neighbours and acquaintances come, in turn, to keep him joyful company and to feast at the expense of the family. Night and day the priests offer food to him. At the time fixed for the cremation, a numerous cortège forms around the hearse which is carried violently through turns and twists, to cause the dead to forget the road to his house. At the burning place, they offer him a last repast, and then burn him with his precious things. Those who are present at the ceremony avail themselves of the occasion to cast into the fire a lot of things which they wish to send to their dead relations. The cremation being over, they collect the bones of the forehead, in a small metal casket, which is kept in the house till the anniversary. These various ceremonies, with other commemorative services, form their seven traditional *Padhis*. At the last Padhi, on the occasion of the anniversary, the casket containing the remains is interred at the foot of the gravestones of the family, where rest the other caskets of his ancestors, which their descendants come at the great annual feasts to adore.

Special occasions for the worship of ancestors are any events of im-

portance—a vow, a sickness, etc. Priests are called in, and offerings of food are made. The priests dress up the gravestones, and spread and offer food, and invoke with the sound of musical instruments the *manes* to come and inspire the Pythonesses, and to accept from her mouth the homage of their posterity. The family prostrate themselves. Afterwards, the priests and those present consume the food.

Almost the sole industry of the Tchames of Binh Thuan is the cultivation of the rice-field. Their agricultural rites are very important. These rites must have played a great part in the life of the inhabitants of ancient Tchampa who were well skilled in the art of watering their rice fields, and have left in Annam numerous vestiges of their irrigation works. Their conquerors, the Annamites, have everywhere abandoned these works, nor are any now found in use, except in Binh Thuan, where the Tchames tap their rivers for the supply of water, as that which they receive from the heavens is not sufficient for their wants.

Every year, when the rains begin, the canals are examined and repaired by the proprietors, who likewise collect and convey the materials for the dams. The Ong Banæks, the religious chiefs of these dams and weirs then go to the water locks, adore the divinities, according to the rites, and begin the construction of the dam, by laying down some materials. The work is then continued by the people; but the Ong Banæk continues to stay there, retired, during these operations. Returning home, he has again to adore the deities. This religious worship is repeated when the rice begins to flower, and when it is reaped. The Tchames have several kinds of holy rice-fields. Some, called "Ricefields of furtive labour," are the first to be prepared. To tear this earth in order to render it more fruitful being considered a crime, an offence against the deities, each proprietor of a sacred field sends, before dawn, to have three furrows made in his field, in silence and furtively. When it is daylight he goes thither as if by accident, pretends to be surprised, and then asks permission of the deities to continue the work. He offers them food, rubs the plough with oil, washes the team of oxen with lustral waters, and sows consecrated grain in the three furrows; and having eaten the food, continues to work the field. He makes other offerings when the rice flowers and when it is cut. This sacred field must also be the first to be harvested, the proprietor himself cutting a few handfuls of rice, as first-fruits offered to Po Nagar, the goddess of Agriculture. He takes this rice home, and sets aside some of its ears for sowing next year the three furrows of furtive labor. The remainder he beats out and husks, and has a part cooked, which he at once eats. After this he continues the harvesting of the rest.

Here I conclude this brief account of the present state of the Tchames, their manners and customs. I have only inserted it, in order to make clear and to complete the few historical notices which we possess regarding their ancestors. A full enquiry into the usages and practices of this interesting people was published in the *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, after the reading of this paper in the Congress of 1891.

THE RED RAJPUTS.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, M.R.A.S., B. C.S. (RETIRED).

"It is well known that, from the point of view of the colouring, human races can be divided into four principal groups : white, yellow, black, and red races."—*De Quatrefages*.

"The colour of the Brahmans is white ; of the Kshatriyas red ; of the Vaishyas yellow ; of the Shudras black."—*Mahābhārata*.

It is strange but true, that, though we have been in contact with Rajputana for over a hundred years, absolutely no material yet exists for the exact study of its ethnology. Much has been put on record for the historian, the student of literature, of myths and traditions ; much has been written that is exceedingly picturesque and valuable, beginning with Colonel Tod's incomparable Annals, and ending with the latest gazetteer ; but the scientific student of ethnology has been unaccountably left out in the cold.

Nor can we quite wonder at this ; for even in Europe exact ethnology is a young science, not long past its nonage, and we know that India is, in all matters of advanced scientific investigation, nearly a generation behind us. This is not in any way a reproach, for considering the tremendous difficulties arising from diversity of tongues, natural impediments, and climatic conditions ; and taking into account also the vastness of the field of research, and the almost total absence of trained observers whose whole attention can be given up to ethnical investigations, it could hardly be otherwise. But the fact remains that Rajputana's page in the history of ethnology is still a blank, though the Rajputs are one of the most notable races in the whole of history, and can look back to a splendid past extending over not centuries only but millenniums.

Unfortunately, the perception of a want does not always carry with it the power to supply it ; and though it is easy enough to show what is needed as a foundation for the ethnology of Rajputana, I cannot here claim to do more

than supply a few essentials, and point to the direction in which ample material may be sought by future observers in Rajputana itself.

And yet, as far as exact investigation is concerned, one might almost say that Rajputana had been opened up too soon; for as the earliest workers entered it before scientific ethnology had been more than dreamed of, even in Europe, it was only to be expected that, in the absence of a sound method, a crop of fanciful notions should spring up, and myths be engendered, and endowed with that tough vitality which myths are well known to possess.

For the Rajputs, the crowning myth has unquestionably been the idea of their Scythian origin, first suggested, I believe, by Colonel Tod. This matchless chronicler of deeds of old renown, and kindest observer of human character, filled as he was with admiration for the manliness, chivalry, and sturdy patriotism of the tribes of Rajputana, was irresistibly drawn to connect his beloved Rajputs with nearly every noble and warlike tribe in the ancient world, from the Manchus to Scandinavia. He supported his opinion by quaint illustrations drawn from customs, traditions, and beliefs; and, what has done more injury to ethnology than any other cause whatever, by real or fancied similarities of names.

To this very vague, and therefore very innocent belief of Colonel Tod's, succeeded another, much more formidable to the cause of scientific truth. The holders of this view maintained that the Rajputs could be connected with definite Scythian tribes, who entered India at a definite time, and by a definite route, all stated with minutest care. Now the danger of this later edition of the Scythian myth lay in its appearance of scientific exactness, to which, in reality, it had not the slightest claim.

In the first place, we know nothing,—and this cannot be too often repeated,—we know nothing whatever about the Scythians beyond a few rambling tales in Herodotus and his successors, which are absolutely worthless from the

standpoint of ethnology. The very word "Scythian" has no definite meaning to the ethnologist, and hardly any definite meaning to the geographer. If, however, we give it a definiteness which it never really possessed; and apply it to the group of Tribes between the Caspian and China, of whom the Kirghiz are the most characteristic, the matter becomes still worse; for the Kirghiz have hardly a point in common with the Rajputs beyond their common humanity.

Let me try to describe these "neo-Scythian" Kirghiz, and let anyone who has seen the Rajputs, say whether the likeness is exact.

The Kirghiz are a short, squat race, with yellow, "moon-like" faces, high cheek-bones, hardly visible noses, and a deep-rooted, insatiable appetite for tallow. They live in curious, plum-pudding shaped tents, in a stifling atmosphere of smoke and grease, with hardly any possessions but a wooden box or two, and scarcely any property but their flocks and herds. They are incurable nomads, and never, under any circumstances, till the soil.

Could anything more unlike the Rajputs be imagined? Or shall we take as our Scythian type, the old race of southern Russia, the "Scythia" of Herodotus; and compare the most notable type there, the original Kazaks, with the Rajputs? The true Kazak is, in general, tall, but rather flat-chested; with high cheek-bones, grey eyes, red hair and beard. His glory is now diminished, but in the days of the old Reefers (Zaparojtsi) of the Dnieper, he was a marauder and land-pirate pure and simple. This is a very different type from the yellow, stunted Kirghiz, but I am afraid it brings us no nearer to a solution of the origin of the Rajputs. Then again, the words Shaka and Shākya are brought forward in defence of the Scythian myth, and "Shākya" Muni Buddha is even spoken of as the "Scythian" reformer of Brahmanical abuses. But this is hopeless; for the initial letter of Shaka is represented in Greek by a surd guttural and not by a dental sibilant, so that whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is impossible to connect it with "Scythian."

It comes to this, therefore, that we have no clear idea at all as to who or what, ethnically, the Scythians were; that of the two types which correspond geographically to the Scythia of the Greeks, neither has the smallest resemblance to the Rajput; and, lastly, that if the ethnological evidence of identity were as complete,—as it is the reverse,—the identity of the names Scythian and Shaka is philologically untenable.

Then another theory is put forward, and to this most philologists have given in their allegiance, that the Rajputs are Aryans,—representatives of the famous “Aryan Invasion” of India. Unluckily we are here on no surer ground; the word “Aryan” is as debateable as “Scythian”; even more so perhaps; for while it may be understood, in a dim way, to mean men of “noble” race, that is, men of the same race as we ourselves, the Europeans, yet this is quite useless for ethnical purposes; as Europe has been shown to contain at least four quite distinct races, as distinct three thousand years ago as they are to-day; and the name “Aryan” cannot be assigned to any one of these race types rather than to another. The term is, further, of doubtful expediency in ethnology, as it takes us back to the old pre-scientific days, when race was thought conterminous with language, the days which generated such terms as Japhetic, Semitic, Hamitic, with their more plausible though not less illusory kinsman Turanian.

The truth is that there is the strongest reason for doubting whether Arya was ever a race-term at all. We find it used in Vedic and post-Vedic literature to distinguish the “noble” races of northern India from the black Dasyus of the south; the Dekhan peoples, that is, who speak Dravidian tongues. Now this fact was found to harmonise with another, namely, that the peoples of northern India are closely related by language to the peoples of Europe; and this discovery being made before ethnology had been developed into an exact science, it was, not unnaturally, concluded that the north Indians and Europeans were

sprung from a common origin and had formerly migrated from a common home. This was simple enough; but, with the distinction of four race types in Europe, the matter becomes much more complicated; nor is it made easier by the fact which I hope to prove, that there are also four distinct race types in northern India, all speaking "Aryan" tongues, as do the four European race types also. I think, therefore, that it will be wiser to hold over the discussion of the Aryan race of the Rajputs until we have decided to which race type the word belongs in Europe and in India.

Having thus cleared the ground of past myths and ambiguities, we may now proceed to summarise the existing ethnical evidence as to the real race character of the Rajput tribes. To classify them completely, we should require definite and precise information on the following points: average height, build, facial type, cephalic and orbital index, texture of hair, and colour of skin and eyes. Let us begin by indicating the points on which a mass of evidence is still required. These are, the average height and cephalic and orbital index, to complete which several thousand measurements rigorously carried out are necessary. If it were not dangerous to speculate in the absence of precise data, I should be inclined to say that I expect the average height among the pure Rajputs will be found to be unusually high,—much higher than among the pure Brahmans. Then, I expect that the pure Rajputs will be found to be long-skulled, as much so, perhaps, as the true Scandinavians; while the Brahman skulls are much shorter, perhaps orthocephalous. Then again, I should think the Rajput orbital index will give the same result as the cephalic; will show a long, oval orbit, but not at all inclined. These, however, are points for the future investigator. As to the build of the Rajputs, all authorities are, I think, agreed that they are splendidly proportioned; while the true Brahmans are rather narrow-shouldered, and flat-chested. As far as my observations go, the Rajputs

are equally differentiated from the Brahmans by facial type; the Rajput face being longer, the nose straighter and the mouth firmer and more symmetrical; but here again more precise investigation is needed. Among the Rajputs, hair and beard are black, as among the Brahmans, but, I think, without the waved texture or ripple generally found in the hair of pure Brahmans. And, while blue or grey eyes are not uncommon among the Brahmans, especially in the Mahratta country, I have never heard of them among the Rajputs. There remains only the colour of the skin,—and it is on this point that I have collected the most remarkable evidence. Before putting it forward, one or two general remarks may be useful. In the early days of ethnology, the colour of the skin was looked on as a matter of very minor importance; this was partly due to the Rabbinical traditions which derived all races of men from a single family, at a period only four thousand years ago. As it was known that many types, the negro, for instance, have been practically permanent for the last three thousand years, it was believed that, under extraordinary circumstances, changes in skin-colour must take place with great rapidity; and colour could not, therefore, be looked on as a reliable index of race difference. Since then, changes that can only be described as revolutionary have taken place in every department of research.

It has been perceived that the thousands of years of the old computation of man's antiquity must probably be expanded into myriads; and fixity of type has been shown to be far greater than had been thought possible, so that the identity of living types with inter-glacial or pre-glacial races is more than a hypothesis; and, lastly, it has been seen that colour is a phenomenon of the first importance in every realm of natural history. The meaning and utility of skin-colour in man is still full of mystery, but its importance as a race index is no longer questioned. The first general result of investigations in colour is summed up in the words of De Quatrefages, that "from the point of

view of the colouring, human races can be divided into four principal groups ; white, yellow, black, and red races." The relation of colour to other race characteristics is not yet quite clear ; though it is generally true that yellow races have round skulls, and round orbital form ; white races, oval skulls and oval orbital form, while black races have long skulls and long orbits. The facts, as to the red races are not so certain ; but it is probable that a red skin goes with a longish skull and a rather long orbit. There is, further, some evidence to show that each great race-type has a minor gamut of colour within itself. For instance, we have, within the white race, races distinguished by black hair, red hair, and yellow hair, as though this were a repetition in a minor scale of the differences between the black, red, and yellow primary races. The same thing may be true, in a different degree, within the black, red, and yellow primary races ; so that we may have to divide these into sub-races, in their turn. And it is noteworthy, as supporting this idea, that the yellow-haired sub-races of the white race have round skulls like the yellow race ; while the black haired and red haired sub-races of the white race have long skulls like the black and red primary races. But before we can establish this classification in detail, a mass of further evidence must be obtained.

Enough has been said, however, to show that colour is a phenomenon of prime importance in the classification of race, and one, moreover, which is far more easily ascertained than such points as cephalic and orbital index, which always require a skilled observer, and present special difficulties in the case of races who burn their dead, as most Indian races do. The question of colour, however, presents two difficulties, though neither of them is at all insuperable. The first is the difficulty of terminology. The skin colours are not adequately described in terms of ordinary colouring, such as red, yellow, and so on : that is, the red races are not red as roses are ; nor the yellow races yellow like buttercups or daffodils. Nor are words like copper-

coloured and coffee-coloured any better, for it is never clear whether native copper, dull copper, or burnished copper is meant ; nor whether the coffee is *café-noir*, *café-au-lait*, or coffee-beans roasted or raw. In fact, we need some more permanent standard of colour-measurement, and a useful one might, perhaps, be the colour of iron at various temperatures, such as black, incipient red, dull red, bright red, dull orange, yellow, yellow-white and white ; corresponding roughly to differences of two hundred degrees on the Centigrade scale. But this is merely a suggestion, offered rather in illustration of the deficiency of our present standards, than as a practical method. It has, at least, the merit that the gamut of colours run through seems similar to the skin-colours of various races. In the mean time, we may retain the old terminology of black, red, yellow, and white, as exhibited in typical races ; but even here it must be remembered that M. Broca's colour discs are quite unreliable, as the lithographic results vary, and are further subject to fading and climatic influences, such as the damp heat of the Indian rains.

The second difficulty is, that the true colour of a race is often hidden by sun-burn, which affects all races nearly equally ; so that races very different in colour may be blended by sun-burn into hardly distinguishable uniformity. But as sun-burn is an acquired characteristic, we may expect it not to be hereditary ; so that the root-colour would show through much more clearly in children ; and also in the higher classes, who are less exposed to the sun. This observation, which first occurred to me when I had to describe the Santals as "dusky with a distinct sub-shade of yellow," is fully confirmed by M. De Quatrefages.

In classifying a race according to colour, we must, therefore, try to eliminate the effects of sun-burn ; and we must remember that words like red, yellow, and white are rather approximations than precise descriptions.

And now to summarise the evidence I have obtained from various specially qualified authorities as to the skin-colour of the Rajputs of pure race.

As far as I could ascertain, absolutely no facts bearing on this point had been put on record ; so that I was compelled to have recourse to observers who had been brought into contact with the Rajputs, and who had had special opportunities of forming an opinion on this little noted point ; and I may take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations and the obligations of ethnical science to these eminent observers, whose opinion is the more valuable that it was formed unconsciously, and without any preconceptions as to race classification.

The first answer I received to my enquiries was from Sir George Birdwood, with special reference to a passage in the Mahâbhârata, which I shall presently refer to. His answer was : "*lohita*, red, ruddy, is a proper epithet to apply to a pure Rajput."

I then received a reply from Sir William Moore, who said that "red, ruddy, rust-coloured would describe the appearance of the best class of Rajputs, but there are many who would come under the heading brown."

Sir Richard Meade added important details to this general conclusion : "I have had much intercourse with Rajputs of all classes," he wrote, "and should say that the colour of the true Rajput is fairer than that of the people of the North Western Provinces, *i.e.* that the skin is clearer under the colour, if I may so describe it, while the colour itself is somewhat less pronounced. Of course, as a rule, Chiefs and Thakurs are fairer than the lower orders of Rajputs, who are themselves more exposed, and who are the descendants of those who for many generations have been so."

It was not quite clear from this first letter what share sun-burn had in producing the special colour of the Rajputs, and what the colour of the skin might be after sun-burn had been eliminated. In answer to further enquiries on this point, Sir Richard Meade wrote : "The sub-shade of colour in many of the Rajputs I have seen was of a light ruddy character, in others it was rather sallow, and in others again of a dusky reddish tinge."

Sir Richard Temple, to whom I showed these conclusions, endorses them : " I should concur in the view that the colour of the true Rajputs is a reddish brown, and that it is possible or likely that the brownish element is only the result of sun-action."

One additional point I received from Dr. Fitzedward Hall, namely, 'that the skin colour of the true Rajputs is extremely close to that of the Red-skins of America.

With such a concurrence of testimony, the question of the colour of the Rajputs is practically solved. They are a red or ruddy race, varying from light red,—almost orange, according to Dr. Hall,—to dusky reddish, or reddish brown.

These Rajputs of pure race are not very numerous, when compared with the whole population of India. They certainly do not number more than a million or two, and may be considerably less. Though they are, I believe, the only red tribe in India,—unless we make a separate class of the Jainas, many of whom are ruddy, and who are closely connected by race with the Rajputs,—there are many other instances of red races in the Old World. Thus the Coreans, many of the Siamese, the Karens of Burma, and, I think, the Egyptians and certain equatorial African tribes, are also red ; though this is not sufficient to establish their race-relationship with the Rajputs ; who have, by the way, a better claim than the Red-skins of America to the title of Red Indians.

Then there is reason to believe that many Polynesian tribes are red or ruddy ; and that the majority of South Americans of pure blood belong to the same class. It must be remembered, however, that, among this great group of red races, there are probably as many distinct sub-races, as among the white race or the yellow.

However this may be, it will have become clear, I think, that we can no longer consider the Rajputs as closely connected with the white Brahmans. Other ethnic characteristics, which I have already pointed out, fully support this

view. The Rajputs are a taller, sturdier race than the Brahmans, and differ from them in texture of hair, facial type, eyes, and skin colour; and also, I think it will be found, in cephalic and orbital index. The red Rajput differs, in fact, from the white Brahman in every point which, according to ethnical canons, constitutes race difference.

And this brings me at last to a point of transcendent interest to the student of Ancient India, the fact that this difference in race between Rajput and Brahman has been recognised in Sanskrit literature for ages back.

Whether the Solar races, children of the ruddy sun, and the Lunar races, children of the pale moon, really refer to these two race stocks, the red and the white, is a point that I cannot fully enter into here; but, happily, we are not reduced to doubtful analogies like this, for there are passages in which the difference is put with a clearness that not even the most accurate pupil of Broca or De Quatrefages could surpass.

The most remarkable of these, that I have yet met with, occurs in the *Shântiparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*;* the sage Bhrgu is the speaker. "Brahmâ," he says, "formed men, Brâhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Shudras. The colour of the Brahmans was *white*; of the Kshattriyas *red*; of the Vaishyas *yellow*; of the Shudras *black*." In reply to an objection from Bharadvâja, Bhrgu continues: "This world, originally formed all Brahmic by Brah mâ, was afterwards coloured by deeds; the twice-born, who were fond of love and feasts, who were fiery, prone to anger, and violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were *red-limbed*, became warrior Kshattriyas."†

I have been obliged to translate this passage more loosely than I should wish, as it is impossible in English

* *Shântiparvan*, line 6,933 *et seq.*

† Sarvam brâhmam idam jagat Brahmanâ pûrva srshtam hi, karmabhir varnatâm gatam; Kâma-bhoga-priyâs tîkshnâh, krodhanâh priyasâhasâh, Tyakta-svadharmâ raktângâs, te dvijâh kshattratâm gatâh.—*M. Bh. Shântiparvan*, 6939, 6940.

to preserve the double meaning of the Sanskrit word *varna*, which means colour as well as class. In this passage, two different words are used to describe the colour of the Kshatriyas. In the first verse, "of the Brahmans, white is the colour, and of the Kshatriyas red," the word used is *lohita*, which, it will be remembered, is referred to by Sir George Birdwood. Let me illustrate this word by a few further examples: *lohitamrttikâ* is red chalk; *lohita* used alone means the planet Mars, and blood, as well as red; *lohita* is a ruby; and *lohitâyas*, copper; so that we have the Kshatriya described as "copper-coloured" in the Mahâbhârata,—the very term used to describe the Redskins of America, thus furnishing an interesting confirmation of Dr. Hall's comparison. Then, as if to put beyond all doubt what *lohita* meant, we have, in the verse that follows, the adjective *raktânga*, that is, ruddy-limbed or red-limbed; the word *rakta* being used to describe the colour of red chalk, blood, copper, vermilion, red-lead, the red lotus, and red coral.

Now, from this passage, a most interesting deduction can be drawn, and not from this only, but from a dozen similar passages; and that is, that the Kshatriyas of ancient India are identical in ethnic characteristics with the Rajputs of to-day. "Fond of love and feasts, fiery, prone to anger and violence, and red-limbed," says the old Sanskrit epic, in which Professor Goldstücker rightly saw an echo and epitome of bardic songs; "Fond of love and feasts, fiery, prone to anger and violence, and red-limbed," say the authorities best acquainted with the Rajputs to-day; and, in face of this remarkable evidence, I do not think that the identity of the Rajput with the Kshatriya can any longer be questioned; the more so when it is remembered that the Rajputs have preserved unbroken genealogies, showing their descent from the Kshatriyas of old; genealogies which have been accepted as genuine and authentic by the Government of India; and which go back more millenniums than one cares to mention.

But Kshatriya is not really a race name, any more than

Aryan ; Kshattriya really means Warrior, or Armiger, from Kshattra, a weapon. The real name of this famous race is Rājanya, akin, on the one hand, to reign, regal, and royal ; and, on the other, probably, to ranga and rakta, red. Amongst the famous Rājanya sages or Rājarshis of Vedic India are mentioned Arishtishena, Vîtahavya, Prthu, Mândhâtri, Ambarisha, Manu, Ida, and Vishvâmîra, the Rshi of the third section of the Rg-Veda hymns, in which occurs the thrice-holy Gâyatrî, the "Mother of the Vedas."

The fact that this hymn, repeated every morning by thousands of Brahmans bathing in the sacred Ganges, owns as its author a Rājanya, and not a Brahman, gives us a vision of those ancient days when the spiritual pre-eminence of India was in other hands ; when "the Brahman sat at the foot of the Kshattriya," in the words of the greatest Upanishad. A notable survival of that early time is found in a custom of the Ranas of Mewar, who unite spiritual with royal authority, and officiate as high priests in the temple of the guardian deity of their race.

But I cannot do more than touch on this question of the ancient spiritual dignity of the Rājanyas, who are the Kshattriyas and the Rajputs. A question like this could only find full elucidation in a history of Ancient India, where the qualities of each race were fully recorded ; and their due share assigned to each in the splendid epic of India's history, an epic, not written perhaps in the dry annals and summaries of the chronicler, but rather blazoned abroad on the face of India's hills and valleys, in the figure of town and temple, and the deeper and more lasting monuments of poetry and philosophy and religion.

In this splendid epic of India, can be discerned, I think, four different elements, like the four voices in a perfect harmony, and of these four, the red Rājanya and the white Brahman have ever borne the weightier parts.

Rajput and Brahman, perpetual rivals in India's past, since the days of Vasishta and Vishvamitra. When our work in India is done, they may again, perhaps, stand at

the head of the Indian hegemony ; the Rajput as the ruler, and the Brahman the spiritual teacher of a rejuvenescent India.

But questions like these cannot be treated rightly in an article on ethnology. Before concluding, I may gather up the threads of my argument, and state concisely the conclusions which I have supported by such evidence as was available.

In the first place, I think the shade of the Scythian can no more haunt, unchallenged, the burning deserts of Rajputana. Neither the Scythian of Herodotus, nor the Scythian of later historians bears any resemblance in ethnical character, race-type, customs, or traditions to the pure Rajputs, the Rājanyas of India. What relation they might bear, in language, one cannot tell ; for even the writers who handle the name of Scythian most freely, cannot but admit that, amongst our other ignorances, we are totally ignorant of their language.

Nor can we connect the Rajputs more closely with the Brahmans ; for from the Brahmans they are divided by as many differences of race as from the Kirghiz or the Kazak ; and they have been perpetual rivals, ever since their traditions began to be handed from father to son.

But whether the Rajputs be Aryans, cannot at present be decided ; the title of Arya is certainly given to them, not once but many times in the ancient Sanskrit epics and hymns. Perhaps this fact may lead us some day to a wider use of "Aryan" to designate some great race, which shall include the Rājanya, and perhaps the Egyptian, though excluding races like the Chīnamen and the flat-headed aborigines of Australia.

We are yet on the threshold of Ethnology, yet on the threshold of a true history of the races of men, with their illimitable past stretching back not millenniums but millions of years ; and every year that comes gives us new insight into the mighty record of the past, and a new realisation of the great races that have vanished, and the great races that still remain. But as new knowledge comes, we may have

to widen the vistas of the races. We may have to break down the barriers we have set up as limits to the life-span of this race or that; and India is likely to be one of the first to which this expansion and enlargement will be applied. We are already beginning to feel a sense of cramped restriction in dealing with dates in India which were accepted as axiomatic only a generation ago; and the process which has begun may go much further before the impulse of expansion is spent.

We have seen, within the last few months, a whole series of brilliant poets, a whole epoch of Indian history, moved back from the middle ages where the conjectures of some had placed it, to the point fixed by immemorial tradition, outside the threshold of our era. And this not by rhetorical flourishes, not by vague conjecture and airy hypothesis; but by the hard, irresistible logic of fact. And the Vikrama controversy has hardly found a settlement, for practically settled it certainly is, though a few timid scholars may still question it, in the name of caution which was singularly absent from the conjectural methods of the last generation; no sooner is the Enemy of the Shakas with the Nine Jewels of his Court, re-instated, than the same impulse breaks out in another direction, and India's greatest epic, as a completed work, begins to move backwards through the centuries. The retrogression has begun; when it has moved a few years longer, we shall see—what we shall see.

But putting aside these tempting dreams of the future, let us conclude the summary of evidence touching the Rajputs. Besides what has been already noted, I think the most important result I have reached is the demonstration of the ethnical identity of Rajput and Kshatriya; the identity of Kshatriya and Rājanya was too well known to require any further proof. The only alternative, it seems to me, now left for those who doubt that Kshatriya and Rajput are identical, is to suppose that a red race of warriors claiming descent from the sun, was suddenly annihilated; and that another red race of warriors, also claiming descent from the sun, as suddenly made their appearance in

India to take the vacant place ; and lastly that all this took place so imperceptibly that the second race are convinced of their identity with the first, and that the Indian traditions preserve no memory of the change.

To this evidence of race identity, quite conclusive in itself, we may add the additional corroboration of identity of name between the Kshattriyas of Ancient India and the Rajputs of to-day.

The name Rajput, it is well known, is nothing but an abbreviated or colloquial form of the Sanskrit Râja-putra, or King's Son ; a son, that is, of the ruling or royal race.

Now, this same name, of Rajput or Râjaputra, for the royal race of Ancient India, as a synonym of Kshattriya or Râjanya, can be traced back, past the period of the Mahâ-bhârata war, and the wanderings of Râma to the dim, remote days of Vedic India.

The earliest occurrence of the name Râjaputra which I have yet met with, is in the Aitareya Brahmâna of the Rg-Veda, in the legend of Shunahshepa, where Vishvâmitra is said to be the hotr-priest of King Harishchandra. In this legend, Shunahshepa addresses Vishvâmitra thus :

"Declare, O King's son (Râjaputra) whatever thou hast to tell us !"*

This Vishvâmitra, son of Gâdhi, King of Kanyâkubja, or Kanauj, is one of the most famous of Vedic heroes, and Seer of the Third Mandala of the Rg-Veda.†

In a magnificent hymn, Vishvâmitra addresses Indra the Thunderer :

"Wilt thou make me a ruler of the people ?
Wilt thou make me a king, oh Lord of Riches ?
Wilt thou make me a Rshi, a drinker of soma ?
Wilt thou endow me with undying wealth ?"†

And the whole tenor of Vedic tradition ascribes to

* "Sâ ho'vâcha Shunahshepah : sa vai yathâ no jnapaya Râjaputra tathâ vada."—*Aitareya Brâhmana*, vii., 13, 17.

† "Asya mandala-drashtâ Vishvamitraḥ Rshih."—*Annâkramanikâ*.

‡ "Kuvîd mâ gopam Karase janasya,
Kuvîd Râjânam Maghavan rjîshin,
Kuvîd mâ rshim papivâmsam sutasya,
Kuvîd me vasvo amrtasya shikshâh."—*Rg-Veda* iii. 43-4.

Vishvâmitra, the Râjput of ancient India, as the Aitareya Brâhmana calls him, a special pre-eminence in the mystical knowledge preserved in the Upanishads, which Professor Max Müller would call the theosophy, as opposed to the sacrificial ritual, of the religion of Old India.

There are several very remarkable passages in the Upanishads themselves, pointing to the "pre-eminent mystical, theosophic knowledge of the Kshattriyas, or ancient Râjputs:

In the Upanishad of the Questions, Hiranyanâbha the Râjput, is shown as the superior, in mystical knowledge, of Bhâradvâja.*

In the Chhândogya Upanishad,† the Râjanya Pravâhana Jaivali is shown instructing learned Brahmans; and there are other passages of the same tenor in this Upanishad.

By far the most remarkable, is the speech of the same Râjanya, Pravâhana Jaivali, to the Brâhman Gâutama, who sought instruction in mystical knowledge: "As thou hast declared to me, Gâutama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brâhmans, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline taught by the Kshattriya alone."‡

Compare with this the Brhadâraṇyaka Upanishad (vi. 2, 11): "This knowledge has never before dwelt in any Brahman;" and add the stories of the Râjanyas, Janaka, Ashvapati, and Ajâtashatru teaching the Brahmans, in the Shatapatha Brâhmana and elsewhere; and we have a distinct and clear tradition that, in Vedic times, the Râjanya or Râjput, and not the Brahman was the possessor and teacher of the secret mystic knowledge; a tradition, moreover, which the subsequent ages of Brahmanical supremacy have never been able to efface.

This tradition, in the light of our present knowledge that

* "Atha hainam Qukeshâ Bhâradvâjah paprachchha : Bhaqavan, Hiran-yanâbhah Kânsalyo Râjaputro mām upetya etamprashnam aprchch-hata . . ! na aham imam veda."—*Prashna Up.* vi. 1.

† *Chh. Up.* I. i. 8 and 9.

‡ "Yathâ mâ tvam Gâutamâ'vado yathe'yam no prâk tvattah purâ vidyâ Brâhmanân gachchhati, tasmâd u sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasya eva prashâsanam abût."—*Chh. Up.* v. 3, 7.

the red Rājanyas are really distinct in race from the white Brahmans, sheds a new and remarkable light on the history of Vedic India.

In the later, though still remote, ages of the Mahābhārata war, the tradition of the Rājanya's supremacy in mystic knowledge burns with undiminished brightness. For we find Kṛṣṇa, the brightest star in the firmament of late Brahmanism, himself no Brahman but a Kshattriya, tracing his doctrine from the Kshattriya Manu, through a line of Rājārshis or Rājanya sages.*

Once more, in the history of India, the star of the Rājanya Kshattriyas was in the ascendant. . . .

Gāutama the Buddha was a Rājanya, a Kshattriya† of the royal race of Ikṣvāku. To this identity of race-genius and race tradition I would in part ascribe the resemblances between Buddhism and the doctrines of the Upanishads, which have often been pointed out, but never fully explained. I would ascribe the spirit both of the Upanishads and of Buddhism to the mystical genius of the Rājanya race, who were since the days of Viśhvāmitra and the Rg-Veda hymns, the rivals and opposers of the ritualistic Brahmans, with their system of sacrifices and external religion.

It is interesting to note that, after Buddhism in India had fallen beneath the power of the ritualistic Brahmans, the Rājanya tradition, with its mystical knowledge seems to have crossed over the Himālayas to Tibet. In his recent writings on Tibetan Buddhism, Sharat Chandra Das has more than once made mention of famous Rājput sages who carried the doctrines of Gāutama northward, and founded on them the Lamaic Hierarchy.

But the subject of the spiritual mission of the Rājanyas, and their contribution to the religious treasure of India is too great to be more than touched upon in a brief study of their ethnic character.

The Rajputs, therefore, are a red race, neither Scythian nor Brahman; and are the direct descendants and successors of the Rājanya Kshattriyas, or Warriors of Ancient India.

* Bhagavad Gītā iv. 1.

† Vide Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmāṃsā*—*Vārtika* on *Jaiminiya Sūtra* I. 3. 3.

THE RAJPUT LEGEND OF JAGDEV PARMAR.

(FROM THE RÁS MÁLÁ.)

BY A. ROGERS, B.O.C.S.

THERE WAS a city of the name of Dhár,
 Held by a monarch of a Rájput tribe,
 A tribe that traced its lineage from the Sun ;
 But though proficient in the art of war
 And well known for his prowess in the field,
 In household matters he nor held his own,
 Nor did he favour equally his wives.
 'One 'a Vágheli, whom he honoured most,
 Was of a temper haughty, and looked down
 With scorn upon her sister, the Duhágan, wife,
 A Solankhi by tribe, who was endowed
 By nature with a spirit of more grace
 Than the Suhágan, as in Rájput phrase
 'The elder wife is called.

Each had a son.

Now the Vágheli's son was Rindhaval ;
 The Solankhi's was Jagdev. Of the two
 King Udyádit knew Rindhaval alone,
 Who through his mother's well concerted wiles
 Into his father's presence had been brought,
 And as the heir apparent to the throne
 Had worn the garb befitting to a prince,
 Ridden the finest horses in the realm,
 And lived a life of comfortable ease.
 Yet fortune favoured Jagdev. In brief time
 The Rájá of Tuktoda, Ráj, a Chávara,
 Heard of his prowess and his merits great,
 And gave him to his daughter Vírmati,
 A lady of great beauty, and endowed
 With all the virtues of a Rájput queen.
 But the Vágheli was not yet appeased,
 And his life so embittered that at last
 He made a fixed resolve to leave his home
 And in the world to make himself a name.
 Then from the stable Jagdev took a horse,
 For present needs took from the treasury
 Two bags of gold, and girding on his sword,
 Equipped himself with steel-tipped Rájput spear,
 With quiver full of arrows and a bow.
 Forth then he rode, and in an angry mood

Towards Tuktoda took his way with speed.
There in a garden 'neath a shady tree,
His shield beside him, he at length reposed,
His good steed near him champing at his bit.
Eager to see the world, his own career
To shape out for himself, he had proposed
To seek the town at night, when darkness' pall
Might shroud him from the sight of other men,
So that when morning dawned he might depart,
And like the stars by daylight be obscured.
But Fate had ruled it otherwise. It chanced
That Virmati, his bride, in litter closed,
Surrounded by her maidens, sought the spot
To while away the time beneath the trees,
And whilst she smelt the fragrance of the flowers
And saw the fountains plashing in the sun,
To listen to the melodies of birds.
One of her maidens, sent to gather fruit,
Saw Jagdev there reclining in the shade,
And recognising him at once made haste
To tell her lady of the joyful news.
Glad, yet half doubting, she advanced with fear
Lest haply looking on a stranger's face
Her Rájput virtue might be put to shame.
But certainty came with the sight. She ran,
And kneeling in obeisance at his feet,
Broke forth rejoicing in impromptu song.
"Sudden the crows I started from the ground,
And standing near my absent lord I found.
Half of my bracelet I away had flung,
Yet to my wrist the other half still clung.
"Grant me cool house and a soft couch to lie,
And a dear husband standing kindly by.
My hope and the sweet longing of my heart,
Hard-hearted Fate me this will not deny.
"Oh ! happy day ! Oh ! blissful hour," she cried.
"Bright rose the sun upon this joyful morn.
But in this secret spot why sit alone ?
Where have thy servants, thy attendants gone ?"
Jagdev then told his bride the tale and said :
"To make myself a great name in the world,
That Virmati might know she had espoused a man,
I left my father's home, and fain would go
Forward in haste my mission to fulfil.
Stay me not then, lest haply I repent,
And in thy soft arms lead a slothful life."
Meanwhile the news had reached the Rájá's ear,
And his son Biraj hastened to the grove

To bring Prince Jagdev in. The courtiers all
Trooped out to meet him. Rájá Ráj himself
Met him upon the threshold, and with joy
On shoulders both his son-in-law embraced.
The feast was held ; *Kasimba* cup went round,
The Rájput's welcome in the royal hall.
Five days he tarried, and would then go on.
But urgently the Rájá Ráj besought
His presence at Tuktoda still. "This house,"
He cried, "is thine, and the whole realm is thine.
Why shouldst thou wander then so far afield,
To tempt perhaps an inauspicious Fate?"
A thousand pleas he urged, yet all in vain,
And to save importunities at length
Dissimulated and agreed to stay.
At night to Virmati his purpose told,
He bade her tenderly a kind farewell.
But a Rájputni's virtue he had never tried.
"My lord and master shall not go alone,"
Virmati cried, "Thou shalt not thus depart."

A body once said to its shadow : "Go !
Why dost thou, black thing, ever follow so ?
Ev'n in the brightest sunshine thee I find
Dogging my footsteps, keeping close behind."

The shadow answered it : "One moment, pray ;
Deign but to turn thyself the other way.
Abate that pride by which thou settest store ;
The thing's reversed, and I am thee before.

"Turn to the right and I am by thy side.
Turn to the left, thy efforts I deride.
Move right or left, thy struggles I defy :
Thou canst not shun me. I am ever by."

Thus sportively she spoke and threw her arms
Caressingly around her lord, who strove
In vain to move her from her firm resolve.
He told her even, in a foreign land
A wife would but incumber him. She said
It was not fitting that a Rájput prince
Should go aloof, and she would wait on him.
Jagdev agreed at last. Donning a veil,
The Chávári prepared to go, and brought
A store of jewels and of ready gold.
And so they went. Tow'rd Pattan lay their course,
Where Sidh Ráj Jesangh reigned, the Solankhi,
The lord of Málwá and of Gujarát.
The royal pair set forth at break of day,
Escorted by a kingly cavalcade.
We need no more accompany their march,

Which was without adventure as they passed
Slowly from stage to stage, until they came
One eve to Pattan's royal town, of yore
As Anhilvára famed through India's land.
There reigned then Sidh Ráj Jesangh, who of all
The Native Rulers of fair Gujarát,
The pearl of Hindustán, has widest fame.
By the Sahasra Ling, a roomy tank,
Close on the outskirts of the town, they stayed
Their jaded steeds, for they had travelled far.
Fair Vírmati beneath a spreading tree,
Reposed at length to rest her wearied limbs,
Whilst Jagdev went away into the town
To hire a lodging where they might abide.
There was a wealthy courtesan who lived
In Pattan, one who had amassed much gain
In pandering to the vices of young men
About the Court—Jámoti was her name.
Of Pattan's citadel the Governor,
One Dungarsi by name, had but one son,
On whom he doted in a foolish way,
And never ventured to control his mood.
He to Jámoti a commission gave
To find a handsome woman of good caste
To be his paramour, and diligent
She searched among the fair ones of the land,
Expectant of munificent reward.
One of her maids that evening to the tank
Came to draw water, and with eager gaze
Looked on the Chávári, who, no man near
To view her peerless charms, had thrown aside
The veil with which her features she concealed
From all but husband, brother or her sire.
She feigned herself to be a waiting maid
Of Sidh Ráj Jesangh's palace, and enquired
The why and wherefore of Vírmati's state,
And went and told it in Jámoti's ear.
Hailing the opportunity, she went
With a fair retinue out to the tank.
Handsome her equipage, and all her state
Seemed suited to a woman of high rank.
One of her maids she dressed in regal robes,
And taught her how to tell a specious tale,
That she of Sidh Ráj was the sister born,
And hearing of her coming hastened there
Tuktoda's child to welcome and embrace.
Her maid had told her who Vírmati was.
The Chávári, trusting to her honeyed words,

Mounted her chariot, and went with her home.
 And as the gate she entered, women came,
 And strewing flowers of beauty on her path,
 Sang song of welcome to a lively air.
 Then were the carpets spread. Pretended word
 To Sidh Ráj Jesangh's palace was dispatched
 That Jagdev, son of Udyádít, had come,
 And would soon wait upon him. He must ^se
 That he wa^s welcomed with becoming state.
 An etqually pretended answer came: the prince
 Should wait upon the king and thence proceed
 To where the Chávári had found a house.
 With various excuse they thus delayed
 Until the night arrived. To stately room
 Fit for a royal bride, the Chávári
 Was led by handmaids with the honour due,
 And she was told that Jagdev with the king
 Had stayed to dine and that he soon would come.
 The door soon opened and in Jagdev's stead,
 Horror of horrors ! came an unknown man.
 Then on her mind the awful truth flashed clear,
 And Vírmati first knew she was betrayed.
 The son of Dungarsi, the Governor,
 It was who thus appeared. In bloodshot eye
 And lustful countenance at once she saw
 The horrid end for which he sought her there.
 She was alone, and dared not raise a cry.
 She had no friend to hasten at her call,
 To lend her aid in that vile leprous house.
 What could she do to ward off her disgrace ?
 She knew in strength that she could not compete
 With a well-armed and muscular young man.
 Then came her woman's wit to succour her.
 She saw the fumes of opium and of wine
 Already half his sense benumbed, and knew
 A little more would soon benumb the rest,
 And she from present danger would be free.
 With a feigned smile she beckoned him to sit,
 And proffered him *kasumba*. He drew back,
 As half aware that he had drunk enough.
 Again she pressed and with a winning grace
 Said to the drunkard : " Would my lord refuse
 The first cup offered by his slave ? Why thus
 Is she of favour quite unworthy deemed ?"
 He drank the cup, and with a second draft
 She wheedled him to drink : he fell asleep.
 With frenzied ecstasy she seized his sword,
 And put an end to his disgraceful life.

She rolled the body up inside a quilt,
And threw the bundle down into the road,
And making fast the door sat down and watched,
Grasping the sword in her unshrinking hand,
Prepared to guard her honour with her life.
The City-Round perceived the bundle lie,
And called the Governor to see what they
At imminent peril to their precious lives
Had snatched from thieves, but who had all escaped.
Amazed with horror at the ghastly sight.

•The Governor with twice one hundred men
Ran to Jámoti's house, on vengeance dire intent.
Vírmati's room was barred, and from within
She cried with voice triumphant : " It was I
That killed your master's son, for he had dared
To smirch the honour of a Rájput's wife ! " •
Five soldiers one by one then climbed aloft
To where a window looked down on the room.
One after other in her virtue's might
She struck off each man's head : his body fell
Down to his fellows in the court beneath,
And she defiant still barred fast the door.
Then consternation reigned throughout the town,
And rumour bore the tidings to the king.
Mounting in haste, the king came to the place,
And standing on the outside, called aloud :
" O daughter Chávári, I am the king.
What is this dreadful deed that thou hast done ?
Why in the blood of these my men hast thou
Imbrued thy hands ? By a Rájput's sword
I hold thee blameless, if thou show good cause."
Then answered Vírmati : " Art thou the king,
And dost thou in thy realm permit such things ?
Jagdev, my lord, the son of Udyádit,
Ruler of Dhár, has brought me here, his bride,
And seeks for service for a Rájput's sword.
Vilest of all the vile, a courtesan,
Has lured me innocently to her den,
And sent a strange man to me. Him I slew,
With those who came to take me. Many more
May fall beneath my sword, for know, O king,
Rather than honour would I give my life."
Among the crowd who had assembled there
Stood Jagdev. At Vírmati's voice he came
And made obeisance to the king and said :
" Vírmati, open. It is I." The door
Flew open. In her husband's loving arms
The Chávári was fastened in a close embrace.

Then cried the king : " O Chávari, well done !
 Henceforth I look upon thee as my child.
 Thou art an honour to the Rájput race."
 Soon in fit lodging were the pair installed,
 And Sidh Ráj Jesangh's service was adorned
 By Jagdev's presence. He, with liberal pay
 Contented, served both day and night.
 And as the tranquil years passed smoothly on,
 And fair as moons two little sons were born /
 To Vírmati and Jagdev, and the king
 Grew more devoted to them with the years.
 Our Bhádarvá, the month of clouds and rain,
 Came on. The lightning flashed, the thunder rolled,
 The wild fowl shrieked, and with the turmoil dire
 Amazed shrank mortals' hearts within for dread.
 In the king's ear there sounded from the East
 The sound of women who sang joyful songs ;
 But farther off far other sounds were heard,
 As of four women's voices in lament,
 Who with their piteous murmurs rent the air,
 And inconsolable in grief remained.
 The king called to his guard : " What ho ! without,"
 And Jagdev answered : " Here am I, my lord."
 " Why hast thou not gone home ?" the king enquired.
 And Jagdev answered : " I was not dismissed.
 How could I go without permission gained ?"
 " Go, then," said Sidh Ráj, " but enquire the cause
 Of these unwonted sounds that reach my ear,
 These voices of mixed wailing and of joy.
 And tell me in the morning what their cause."
 Jagdev, obeying, took his sword and shield,
 And went out Eastwards, and the king resolved
 To follow him and see on such a night
 Whither he went. As by the guard he passed,
 He bade them search into this strange affair,
 And bring him in the morning word. They all
 On one another cast the burden and slept on.
 But the king followed Jagdev, who went forth
 Out of the city gate towards the East.
 Four women of unearthly form sat there,
 With hair dishevelled and bowed down with grief—
 " Oh ! are ye mortals, goddesses or Bhûts,"
 Asked he, " that thus ye cry aloud and wail ?"
 " What is the cause of this your bitter woe ?"
 " Approach, son Jagdev !" they replied, " and know
 We are the Fates of Pattan. We lament
 That o'er the city is impending grief.
 To-morrow, as the sun half way shall rise

From the horizon up tow'rds noonday's height,
It is ordained that Sidh Ráj Jesangh's soul
Must quit its earthly form and pass away !"
"Is this the cause," enquired then Jagdev, "why
I hear beyond unseemly sounds of joy ?"
They answered : "Go and see !" Not far apart,
Four other women of unearthly form,
Clothed, as it were, in bridal robes of joy,
Sang to each other many merry songs,
And said : "Sop Jagdev, art thou come to join
In this our merriment ? We are the Fates
Of Delhi, and behold the chariot waits
In which to-morrow we shall waft away
The soul of Sidh Ráj Jesangh, Pattan's king.
Thus we rejoice and sing melodious songs."
"Oh, arbiters of Destiny !" then Jagdev cried ;
"To turn you from your mood is there no way,
No sacrifice by which his precious life
May yet be rescued for his people's good ?"
They answered : "If some other chief, whose rank
Is equal to the king's, would give his life
In place of his, then Sidh Ráj would be saved."
"Let me then go," said Jagdev : "if my wife
Give her consent, my life shall be for his."
Scornfully the Fates then answered : "Where the wife
Who for a king would make such sacrifice ?"
But Jagdev went and the king followed close.
The tale was told to Vírmati, who cried :
"Oh ! happy chance the gods to us afford
To prove a Rájput's fealty to his salt !
But there is one petition that I crave.
I can not live without thee. Let me, too,
For Sidh Ráj Jesangh offer up my life !"
But Jagdev said : "Our children who shall keep ?"
And Vírmati said quickly : "Let us all
Offer ourselves ; this to the gods, no doubt,
Will be a far more pleasing sacrifice."
Taking their children by the hand, they went
Out to the Fates, and close behind the king
Still followed wonderingly, although unseen.
Then Jagdev asked the Fates : "How many years
Will ye increase the king's life for my head ?"
They answered : "Twelve." "There are here three lives,
Those of my wife and children, that should bear
An equal value with my own. For all
How many lives will ye vouchsafe the king ?"
"For each twelve years," they answered : "forty-eight."
After one last embrace Vírmati gave

Her well-loved first-born to his sire, who struck
 Off from its lovely form that tender head.
 Then did the Chávari with streaming eyes
 Offer the second to his father's sword.
 But : " Hold ! Enough !" The Fates their mandate gave.
 " Your loyalty before men have ye shown,
 And no more need the gods. The precious boon
 That ye demanded, Sidh Ráj Jesangh's life,
 This, with thy children and thy wife, we grant,
 And to the king give eight and forty years
 To rule a happy and contented folk."
 Then tenderly they raised the offered child,
 And poured ambrosia on him and he lived.
 Then Vírmati and Jagdev with their babes
 Went happy homewards. From behind the clouds
 The moon broke forth and lighted up their path,
 Smiling upon them, as the gods in Paradise
 Talked to each other of their noble deed.
 The king, too, sought his palace and his bed,
 And meditated farther trial of their faith.
 With morning's dawn came Jagdev to his watch,
 But not before those sluggards of the night,
 Who had not done their duty, had been asked
 Why had the women wailed and sung for joy.
 Lying they answered that one set of wives
 Mourned for a son by death just snatched away,
 And to the other set, who sang for joy,
 The gods had given a long-expected heir.
 Then turning round to Jagdev Sidh Ráj asked
 What he had seen. He modestly replied :
 " It must be even as the chiefs have said."
 The king rejoined : " Nay, I have seen it all.
 Do thou now tell the tale as it occurred."
 And Jagdev spoke once more : " It is enough.
 That all is known unto the king himself."
 Then Sidh Ráj cried : " Brothers and nobles, hear,
 And in your hearts consider well the tale.
 The first watch of this day had seen my death ;
 The Fates of Delhi would have borne me off,
 Had not this Rájput and his noble wife
 Offered their own and both their children's lives
 A sacrifice for me, to save my life.
 One of the children had been offered up
 To add on twelve years to my worthless life,
 But merciful the Fates restored it back,
 Well pleased to know a Rájput's zeal and faith.
 For each of four lives twelve years they bestow.
 These are the Rájputs at whose paltry pay

Ye grumbled, casting on it longing eyes,
Who when I bade you go forth and enquire
What meant those cries unwonted that I heard,
Cared not to leave your beds of ease, and brave
Yourselves the dangers of the night and storm,
And now have basely lied to hide your shame.
What was there in the pay? Such service rare,
Ten thousand had I given, and not two,
Sufficient recompense had not received."
Thenceforth on Jagdev Sidh Ráj Jesangh looked
As on his equal in the realm, and gave
One of his daughters to him as a wife.
And Vírmati was quite content. She said
It was becoming for a Rájput lord
More than one wife to have upon the earth,
That when they mounted on his funeral pyre,
As *Satis* burning, he in Paradise
Might be right royally attended, too.
They lived at Pattan many happy years,
And when the gods called Udyádít away,
Jagdev succeeded him as king of Dhár.

THE
"SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.*

VOL. XXXVII.

WE propose, as far as possible, to give exhaustive reviews of the Series known as the "Sacred Books of the East," published by the Oxford Clarendon Press, and to bring up to date the researches which they embody, or with which they are connected.

General Forlong has favoured us in this issue with the following analysis of the Pahlavi Texts, Part IV., translated by Prof. West, as also with a chronology of the Zend-avesta, the value of which will commend itself alike to the specialist and the general reader. In our next issue, we hope that Prof. G. Schlegel, a *facile princeps* of Sinologists, will favour us with his review of "the Sacred Books of China," belonging to the same Series, and we intend to continue this special feature of our Review regularly in future. We also propose to review available Oriental works generally, whether recently published, or buried in forgotten corners of Publishers' literary treasure-stores. The fact is that both Oriental scholars and students are not acquainted with all the material that has already been published in their respective specialities by Publishers, Governments, Learned Bodies, or private Savants in England, the Continent of Europe, the United States of America, and in the various Oriental countries. To supply this want, we shall begin elsewhere in this issue with a notice of two important works that have just reached us from the almost inexhaustible Publishing Press of the famous Nawal Kishore of Oudh, as also of a number of works sent us by "the Vizianagram Sanscrit Series."

PAHLAVI TEXTS, PART IV.,
TRANSLATED BY E. W. WEST,
AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THIS is another ponderous and valuable volume contributed by Prof. West which with Prof. Darmesteter's past and late Avestan Texts now enables us

* Published by Henry Frowde, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

to securely grasp the style and teaching of Zoroaster. Aided by the earlier vols. of the series, iv., xxiii., and xxxi. (being nearly all the *Extant Texts in the Original language of the Avastā*), and the *Pahlavi Texts* in vols. v., xviii., xxiv., and now this xxxviiiith vol., we are in a position to look into the foundations on which this old Religion arose and still stands—more especially if we have studied ancient Persian history, the earlier vols. of Profrs. Haug and of the two Müllers.

In this last vol. Mr. West gives us a translation from the Pahlavi of the viiith and ixth Books of the Dinkard, which though only a popular summary extends over nearly 400 pages! showing what a voluminous literature must have existed. This vol. only contains “a writing for the information of the many—a commentary and explanation of a Revelation—in itself a Revelation.” Unlike most summaries it enables us to see the doctrines taught and desired to be inculcated, and so to draw our own conclusions and regulate our conduct accordingly. The Masses it was thought need not go beyond this summary unless in special cases and on the more difficult subjects; they are even permitted to quote it as *Dēno* or “Revelation.” It is divided into the usual *Nasks* or Chapters, *Fargards*, *Hās* or Sections; each Chapter devoutly ending with the favourite motto of the Faith “Righteousness is the perfect Excellence,” or “Perfect Excellence is Righteousness.”

After this at p. 400 come favourite selections from the writings of *Zād-Sparam* a high priest of Southern Irānia in 880 A.C. when the revision of our present edition of the Dinkard was fixed. He surveys retrospectively in a kind of tripart division, matter, which he considers the most important of the Revelations accorded to Zaratusht and his immediate followers. He too summarizes parts of the Dinkard Books iii. and iv. and as was the way of all old priests, finds a prophetic number in “the 6666 words in the Gāthas, and 6666 ordinances in the Nasks—“an idea which Hebrew and Syrian Christians seem to have somewhat followed in their Apocalyptic “Beast” of 666 (Rev. xiii.). In both cases there is an Apollyon or Abādon who prevails for an allotted time, and the Mazdean high priest states that the 6666 words “indicated the period when the *Adversary* (*Aharman*) came to all creatures”—only there are Millenniums here to the Apocalyptic Centuries, p. 405. If Satan is to be chained for a Millennium, “Aharman is to reign for three Millenniums nearly the equal of Aūhar Mazd, and during the next three Millenniums to gradually diminish.”

Prof. West then translates some sketchy *Rivāyats* or early Persian Commentaries; and the *Din-Vigirgārd*, a Pahlavi *Rivāyat*, which opens with the too-assured and pompous dedication, that it is “written in the name and for the propitiation of the Creator Aūhar Mazd,” and that these “several *Zand* (Commentaries) are published from Revelation.”

Here we are told that “of all the 21 nasks, only the 20th, the *Dadad* or *Vendidad*—‘the law against demons’ alone remained entire when others were scattered by the accursed Alexander. He, the *Arīeman* took several transcripts in the Arūman language and character,” p. 446: so that only to this writer was there any real loss of the Scriptures.

Mr. West’s vol. closes with sundry *Extant Fragments of Nasks* found

only in Pahlavi, of which the leading idea is the benefits derived from chanting aloud and taking inwardly to heart, the revered AHUNAVAIR—the *Ahuna-vairya* of the *Āvastā*, the Sacred Formula of all Mazdeans on which hinge innumerable literary matters and formations. It is briefly a stanza of three lines containing the Avastan words *Yatha ahu vairya*, and may be called an acknowledgment of the ever abiding presence of God, and the necessity of good thoughts, good words and good deeds. Dink. ix., ii. It is a chant, potent spell and appeal for success or aid from God—a repetition of his high and ho'ly attributes, power and grace; like our *Ave Mary*, "Glory to Father, Son and Holy Ghost"; the Hindu *Rām Rām*, or *Ōm*; the Buddhist "*Om Muni*," etc., Moslim, *Bismillah*, and the "vain repetitions" of all peoples.

It is necessary to pause here before going on with our review and further religious details, and see precisely how we stand on the all important points of history and chronology: for the *Āvastān Zand* though full of the highest teaching must, like the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, stand or fall according as it satisfies the demands of the historian, inasmuch as it touches on historical matters. On this, all criticism must eventually hinge, and the very authenticity of the *Āvastā* like that of the writings of our Bible, has been called in question—ignorantly, says the Mazdean, inasmuch as, that though loss and injury occurred to the Scriptures by fire and stealth, it was only to one copy and fragments of others. Even the Alexandrian invaders boasted that they had a picked body of *Savants* for the express purpose of gathering together, and not destroying such treasures of all nations: and that they successfully secured one complete copy, from which say several ancient Pahlavi writers and others they "took several transcripts in the Arūman or Greek language and character." Let us "take stock" then of our position on this vital subject, and show though too briefly owing to want of time and space, the historical facts on which Mazdeans rely. They of course scout the idea that they ever wholly lost their Bible—the history, *Logia* or "Teachings" of their great Prophet—at the sacking of the Persian capital by Alexander in 330 B.C. just as Hebrews deny that they lost their Scriptures when Babylonians and others destroyed their city and temple.

All Bibles like the Religions founded thereon have at some periods of their existence and for several centuries led a chequered and often very obscure life; and *Āvestān* scholars have said nothing here to the contrary, nor in this respect do these later vols. propound anything very new to the student of ancient Faiths. They do however add to the universal testimony of history, that it is dangerous to contend for the continued existence of Bibles; their inspiration, and *ipsissima verba*, as they pass through the ages. They die not, but grow as do other fundamental symbols of Faiths. Neither kings nor armies, fire nor water, could destroy a tooth of Buddha, the sacred stone of Makka, the wood of a cross or even "the sacred coat of Trèves." Let us then give here a sketch of the chronology of the *Avastā* beginning with historic men and tolerably well-known times.

EZRA'S TIME—400 B.C.

Ages before and during the time Ezra and his scribes were collecting, writing, editing or compiling Hebrew Scriptures, the original and several

other copies of the *Āvastā-Zand* or "Law and Commentaries" reposed in the Royal Libraries of the Pasargādæ, and these consisted of 21 great Nasks "written on ten thousand hides" in a Magian and non-Persian language, and no doubt cuneiform character. It was then an ancient Faith—a growth like most from Turanian sources—originally of the old Akkadian spiritual type, modified by non-Aryan Magian Medo-Baktrians, and systematized and commended to kings and princes by the Reformer Zaratusht. This said Profrs. Haug and others probably "at the same time with the old Vedic religion . . . both the result of a schism among the followers of the old Aryan religion." Cf. *Outlines*, p. 164, by Dr. Tiele, Prof. of Theol. Leiden.

As Aryan names however do not appear on Assyrian tablets till about 800 B.C. we cannot admit that Aryans existed in any appreciable numbers or with a distinct and written faith, within the cognisance of the Assyrian Empire, prior, say, to 900 B.C. Yet long before this Irāns had their "Divine Law and Commentaries," and had far earlier still, their *Manthras* or *Gāthas* which they chanted (probably when only oral like those of their Vedic brethren), around their *Ātash gāhs* or Fire Altars to the accompaniment of *Yasnas*, *Shod-Yashts* and other Rituals of their simple sacrificial rites.

All traditions agree that a completed *Avastā Zand*—the Original, was delivered to the Iranian King Vishtāsp of the 17th century B.C. by Zoroaster, and that he was the first monarch converted to the faith, on which account he suffered much trouble like his Prophet. Vishtāsp however like Asoka cherished his faith and its *Biblia*, and caused many copies to be made from the Original—which appears to have gone to the vaults of "the Shapigān Treasury" with orders that copies be made and distributed. One celebrated copy was securely locked up "in the Fortress of Documents"—evidently the Imperial Museum and Library, and *only* this copy we are told was burnt. The quasi Original or the early complete copy of "the Shapigān Treasury fell into the hands of the Arūmans (Greeks) and was translated into the Greek language" say the old Pahlavi writers. There was no complete destruction of records, nor any attempt thereat—all was accident and fragmentary, see Professors Darmesteter and West as in *Intro.* p. 31, *Fragts.* and Dinkard viii. i. There we are told that out of a set of 905 chapters, only "180 are said to have been lost from the *Philosophical Nasks* during the Greek rule," and much greater care would be taken of the religious Nasks. The former were probably fragments of the six *Dāsinōs* (Dink. ix. i. 11.) corresponding to the 6 Hindu *Darsanas* of say the 8th century B.C.—a noteworthy connection of the sister faiths.

We notice here also a fact—important as bearing on the age of the *Āvastā*, that "all its historical legends end with the sons of Vishtāsp" and come down from the times of Zaratusht and his contemporaries; and that it is uniformly stated to have been the revered Bible of all the Achæmedian dynasty which arose about 900 to 890 B.C. and founded the Pārsio-Pāsargāadian Empire.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT—B.C. 330.

Confessedly many of the 21 voluminous *Nasks* were lost by the destruction of the Persian capital and the devastating war waged by the

Greek Armies of this great Captain, but the priests eagerly and rapidly set about collecting and compiling their treasures, and could easily make good their losses from the memories of those who like ancient Brāhmans knew their sacred books by heart. Especially were the most valuable religious parts, as the *Gāthas*, Rituals, Litanies, the Sacred Myths, Ceremonial Laws and Commentaries, well and widely known; and a canonical *Āvastā* Zand was soon announced of 15 Nasks, of which one of the most important—the Vindidād, was as seen in the most ancient Pahlavi documents translated by Profs. Darmesteter and West, always complete and uninjured. We must remember also that *the Greeks claimed* to have carried off a *complete Original of 21 Nasks*, and to have had all translated into Greek; which we may well believe, seeing that Alexander had with him a picked body of *Savants* bent on collecting such literary treasures. Cf. S. B. of E. iv., i.: xxxvii., and the earlier vols. iv., xxiii., xxiv.

RISE OF THE SELEUKIAN EMPIRE—312 B.C.

This was an important matter in the life of the *Āvastā*, for this Greek Empire doubtless possessed the stolen original; and we are assured that active and systematic Royal efforts were now made by the Seleukides to further the recovery of all lost records and to translate all from the cuneiform into Western languages; and favoured by Monarchs and Chiefs, the uprising priestly classes, Magi, Medes and all good Mazdeans, the task was zealously and effectively entered on.

RISE OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE—260 B.C.

The Parthians were perfervid Zoroastrians, and they too continued the good and genial work of collecting their Scriptures throughout and beyond all their wide empire. They busied themselves in also translating from the cuneiform, but into their own *Parthwi* or Parthian—an evolving *Pahlavi* language, in which they were ably supported by the Seleukians—now ruling Syria and all West of the Parthian Empire.

From 250 to 220 B.C. was everywhere a busy Bible compiling and arranging era. In India the pious Emperor “Asōka the Great—the Constantine of Buddhism,” was zealously compiling his *Biblia* and founding the first Buddhist Empire; and the Bibliophile, King Ptolemy of Egypt, was collecting and translating all the literature of Asia, amongst which we hear of the Scriptures of Hebrews which fortunately for Jews and Christianity, he discovered, seized and translated into Greek and so formed the oldest Christian Bible—the *Septuagint*. But for Ptolemy, it has been said, all the Hebrew Texts would have been for ever lost; they were fast disappearing and “written mostly on shreds and tatters of half tanned hides.” No Hebrew Bible remains to us except that Hebrewized from the Greek in our Middle Ages, when Europe began to translate its Greek and Latin New Testament into the languages of the peoples. There was then a Renaissance of learning in which Hebrews shared and produced the present Hebrew Scriptures, chiefly from the Alexandrian Septuagint and a few other scanty and questionable sources.

KING VALKHASH OR VALOGESES I.—SAY 60 A.D.

We again hear a good deal about the *Āvastā* during the reign of this Arsākian or Āshkānian monarch, for he was an ardent Zoroastrian who busied himself in Mazdean research and in the rearrangement of the Texts and rituals, now well-known (though varied in form) to the busy schools of Alexandria and to the learned in the Latin kingdoms.

SĀSANIAN EMPIRE—240-250 A.D.

About 230 *Ārta-Xerxes* or *Ārdashīr Bābān* or *Pāpakān* rose to great power, and finally founded this dynasty—his chief recommendation being zeal for a great revival of the faith. He called to his aid a very pious prince of the Empire—*Tānsar* or *Tōsar*, who had thrown aside all mundane concerns and wealth, and become a High-priest. He had set to himself the task of “Establishing the Faith”—*that is the Canon*—that which Bishop Eusebius busied himself to do for Christianity a hundred years later. Alike in both cases the Monarchs and their High-priests were perplexed with a great Mass of Gospels and Epistles, *Nasks* and *Yashts*, which sadly bamboozled the faithful, so that a shorter official canon was a felt necessity.

Ārdashīr and Tōsar (called “The Restorer”) caused all that was to be accepted as genuine,—*i.e.*, original,—to be translated into the language of their people, the National Pahlavi, and to be freely distributed. And the 15 *Nasks* of the Parthi then received a *Tripart grouping*, like the original 21 *Nasks* of the Pasargāda, and similar to the *Tri-pitaka* or “Three Baskets of Light” of Buddhists.

The *Āvastān* division was,—1st, *Nugāthas* or Theological Hymns; 2nd, *The Law*; and 3rdly, the *Hadha-Mathrik* or “Mixed Group,” called in the Sacred *Dinkard*: “the Religious, the Worldly, and Intermediate”—a division which some see in Jeremiah’s *Priestly Law*, the *Counsel of the Wise*, and the *Word of the Prophet* (xviii. 18, and *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxvii. 39).

In this last vol. the learned ~~And~~ Scholar writes in 1892: “It is evident that all the *Nasks* have accumulated around the *Gātha* centre of the *Stōd-yast* . . . and that the age of *Gāthic* composition had so long passed away in the time of the earliest Sāsānian Monarchs (250 A.D.), that the Sages whom they appointed to collect and rearrange the sacred literature were unable to understand many of the stanzas they had to translate into Pahlavi, *much less could they have added to their number*. How far they may have been able to write ordinary *Āvastā* text is more uncertain, but any such writing *was probably confined to a few phrases* for uniting the fragments of old *Āvastā* which they discovered. . . . *All such compositions would have been hazardous*, as forming no part of their duties, which seem to have been confined to the arrangement of the fragmentary *Āvastā* texts, and their translation into Pahlavi with explanatory comments in that language.”

The case of these Scriptures is therefore parallel to that of the recovery of the Hebrew Scriptures as collected, edited or compiled and copied in the Ezraitic and other periods of their obscurity; and we are here also

assured by the Rabbim that it would have been impossible and very "hazardous" for Hebrew compilers, copyists, etc., to have added to, or tampered with, the texts of their prophetic and Mosaic writers.

This argument has been used in a rather wild "hypothesis" (thrown in as an Appendix to Profr. Darmesteter's otherwise valuable volumes) which we had intended here dealing with; but find in the current number of the R. Asiatic Jour. that the author of these *Pahlavi Texts* has done so sufficiently and very much to the point. Prof. West there writes: "Admitting as Prof. Darmesteter does in vol. iii., p. ii., that on more than one important point he has had to content himself with mere hypothesis, it would have been far safer to wind up the brilliant summary of his opinions in pp. xcvi.-c., by reminding his readers of these hypotheses, than to leave them to infer that he had thoroughly convinced himself that his conclusions were all founded upon indisputable facts. . . . The Dinkard describes the successive restorations of religious writings as collections and arrangements of all fragments of the old texts that were still extant, either in writing or in the memory of the priesthood, whereas the theory (this 'mere hypothesis') describes some of the restorations as almost completely new inventions." It is parallel to the theory of some Biblical critics who advance many and some strong reasons for the Hebrew Bible being not older than the 4th or even 3rd century B.C., and most of the New Testament writings as belonging to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

"But," as Mr. West here urges, "the wilful forgery of the central documents of a religion which must have been committed under the observation of a watchful and conservative priesthood, is a totally different affair, not only as to morality, but also as to possibility." He adds: "The continuance of a religion like that of Hebrews and Mazdeans implies the continuance of an active and powerful priesthood during the four centuries of adversity, as well as the continuance of the religious rites which would secure the preservation of the liturgy in the memory of the priests, even if it had not been committed to memory." See the case of the Vedas and Vedic faith which Prof. Max Müller and others assure us was carried on in the memories of its adherents—brothers of these Iranians—for nearly a thousand years.

THE SĀSANIAN SHĀHPŪRAH I.—240-274 A.D.

This worthy scion of the founder of the dynasty continued his father's good work, until the Faithful found themselves in a position to boldly propagate their faith. The too zealous Monarch thought he had only to present his religion to Westerns, Christians and all reasonable men, to gain its acceptance and their good will, but he soon found that neither reason nor goodness or love of righteousness moved the masses in religious matters but rather their feelings, customs and circumstances. The Monarch's zeal only engendered strife and political complications which hastened his end.

SHĀHPŪR II. "THE GREAT"—309-380 A.D.

The Propagandism still continued and nearly ended in making us all Zoroastrians, or at least most of the populations of the Southern and

Central parts of Europe. This clever and distinguished Monarch and zealous pietist now officially issued the whole Bible Canon of the faith like our King James. All other collections and editions were now declared by Royal Decree to be "illegal and false," and for the first time in the Western history of Mazdeism, persecutions began, and an Edict declared that "no more false Religions can be now permitted."

The literature of the faith had been rapidly increasing for some centuries and was now abundant and good. The pious and learned were pondering over and explaining the sacred *Dinkard*, *Bündahish* and *Mainyavakard* as "Scriptures second only in importance to the *Āvastā* 'Zand,' though our editions of these works are considered to be some centuries later.

Now seeing the above historical facts, and *inter alia* that the learned of the 6th to 4th centuries B.C., as Plato and most early Western schools of light and learning believed that Zoroaster (as they called him) lived some thousand or more years before their time, we may reasonably accept the well informed and studied conclusions of *Āvastān* scholars beginning with Prof. Haug, that the Prophet lived between the 20th and 18th centuries B.C., and that his principal Teachings—the *Āvastā* or "Laws" of Aūhar-Mazda—were embodied with *Zand* or "Commentaries" about the 17th century B.C. when the Reformed Faith took effect under King Vishtāsp. Even Prof. Sir Monier Williams wrote, if we remember aright, "they are certainly not later than 1200 B.C."

It would be marvellous were it otherwise, seeing the voluminous cuneiform literature—Turanian and Shemitic—which throughout these centuries, and indeed from 3000 B.C., filled the large libraries of Babylonia and Assyria, and which was current and abundant in Syria, as seen in the Tell el Amarna tablets in the 14th to 16th centuries B.C. On many other grounds also it is incredible that the most valued treasure of all Western Asia—its only Bible—should not have existed in numerous copies throughout the widespread Iranian Empire and its far older Magian Satrapes, and that all could have been lost in one conflagration of a palace in the 4th century B.C.

Prof. West and others here give us many and strong reasons why we can rely on still having the original and most Ancient *Āvastā*—among them that already mentioned, as that it contains no historical matter later than the era of "Kaī Vistāsp King of Irān in the time of Zaratust . . . the last King of the old history derived from the Avesta." See *Dinkard*, viii.-xi. xii., where "the inspired writer" devotes one chapter of one verse to the words: "The *Āvastā* and commentary of the Vastāg have not reached us through any high-priest." And we must remember that all Mazdeans have ever held that the Pahlavi version of this holy and much revered book is considered "almost of equal authority with the *Āvastān* Text." We certainly can see no flaws in the Mazdean Bible similar to those which make Moses describe his own death or speak of later matters, tribes and places, known only many centuries after that Prophet's death.

The necessity of dwelling on this vital point of the antiquity and authenticity of the *Āvastā* is very apparent from the *Academy* of 15th July, 1893, which has come to hand since writing the above. In it our best Biblical

critic, Professor, the Rev. Dr. Cheyne of Oxford says : "There are Zoroastrian influences which it is impossible to ignore in the Hebrew Psalms and Proverbs," in the development and "conception of the Jewish religion under the form of *Wisdom*, and in the semi-intellectual element and phraseology of the earlier Prophets." He pointedly adds : "We can only ignore this by denying the antiquity of parallel parts of the Avesta," and this he notices Professor Max Müller "happily does not attempt" when touching on the *Āvastā* in his late *Gifford Lectures*.

The "Gāthas or main part of the Avesta," says Dr. Cheyne, "are substantially ancient, and represent ideas widely current when the Psalms and Proverbs were written. . . . The Heavenly Wisdom of the Yasna . . . cannot be borrowed from the Wisdom which Yahveh made from everlasting" as in Prov. viii. 22-31. The "strong intellectualistic current of the older Faith" is more or less the parent. But enough ; for to continue this argument would be to enter on the thorny paths of Comparative Theologies for which this is neither the time nor place.

From these *Pahlavi Texts*, strange and difficult "Summaries" though they be, we can gather with great distinctness the views of the good and wise old Teachers. If the volume contains a mass (to us in these days of a plethora of books) of weary platitudes and wordy ethical and doctrinal teaching, similar to that which the ecclesiastics of our early Centuries and Middle Ages laboriously pondered and quarrelled over, the Texts also contain much good matter of the greatest importance in the conduct and government of all nations, throughout all ages alike in family, public, social and political life.

If whole long chapters discuss such mysteries as "sins committed consciously or unconsciously ;" of the many and varied symptoms thereof : whether stinginess benefits pride or pride stinginess, or pride, pride : the quantity of holy water due to different sacrifices, and how it should be carried : the danger from spirits if a sacred shirt or girdle be neglected or wrongly made ; the proper positions of the shaver and the shaved ; the care of hair and nail clippings ; the nurture and value of the *Parōdarsh* or domestic cock—"the foreseer of the dawn," etc. : (pp. 123-163, Dink. viii.) there is also here in abundance, the highest ethical and wise teachings by writers of marked piety, goodness and genius : men who are keen and grievously moved by the sins and sorrows, worries and miseries of their fellows, and who are profoundly anxious to alleviate these and to lead all men into paths of holiness and peace, by the doing of justice, the love of mercy, righteousness and truth ; and as they add, "looking always to and walking humbly before their God"—Aūharmazda, no mean God-idea.

The *Texts* continually and piously counsel us regarding "the peace which follows the renunciation of sin ;" and though finding even here much that is new, we still feel ourselves as Prof. Cheyne has said, in presence of "a literature substantially ancient," and one foreign if not impossible to the busy Western world of either the times of the Seleukian, our own, or the Sāsānian era. There is scarcely a conceivable situation of life public or strictly private, from that of the King on his throne, the Judge on the bench, the maiden or wife in her chamber, the herdsman and his dog on

the hillside, which is not here dwelt upon by these laborious and experienced old writers; and the burden of their teaching is the *Ashem Vohū* or "praise of Righteousness," as that which alone exalteth the individual and the nation. Righteousness alone maketh they say "a perfect character, . . . it alone is the perfection of religion," and is summed up in the three words which ought to be ever on our lips and in our hearts—*Hūmat, Hūkht* and *Hūparst*, GOOD THOUGHTS, GOOD WORDS, AND GOOD DEEDS, Dink. viii. 23.

We are also either directly told or can gather the following conclusions: That our virtues proceed from the good, and our vices from evil spirits; that Judges may base their decisions on the *Āvastā Zand*, or common consent, or precedents recorded by the priesthood; that men may be justifiably sold or bartered away (for of course slavery existed), but that to refuse food to any starving one is worthy of death: that "to keep a promise is not only advantageous, but pleasurable" and pious, and is "required by *Mithro* the Spirit of the Sun and friend of Man . . . This God of Covenants and Testimonies" records every breach of vows and requires simple offerings and thankful hearts, reminding of the Hebrew *Jah*—"the Sun of Righteousness" (Mal. iv. 2). Other passages recall the Mosaic ark and its 'Oduth, עֲדוּת, wrongly translated *Eduth*, "Testimony," before which the tribal priests were directed to place bread or manna. Cf. Exod. xvi. 34, Dink. viii. 44.

These *Pahlavi Texts* show also that only by diligence can we attain salvation, and to this end should commit great parts of the Scriptures to memory, especially the *Gāthas*, the *Hadokht*, and *Vīstaj* Nasks. Rashnū the great Angel of death, will, it is said, weigh our evil deeds against our good ones; all are recorded; and on "the Bridge of Sighs" the dangerous *Kinvāt*, we must confess all, and either fall or pass on into the courts of *Aūharmazda* to dwell for ever in bliss with Him.

The good Mazdean is kind to all creation; smite though he must occasionally and even unto death man or beast, fowl or fish. He does so not in haste or anger, but with the least possible injury and pain. War is to him a sad and evil necessity, but he calls together his troops, explains to them the reasons, and fulfilling the religious rites required by the *Āvastā* he quiets their fears and scruples.

Great honour and reward are meted out to the true and qualified physician, and condemnation to him who attempts this profession unworthily or who imposes on the sick; also upon all doctors who seek undue fees or carelessly spread disease by walking in times of pestilence amongst those who are sick and then amongst the healthy; for they spread disease and offend *Airmān* the Spirit of Healing. No profession is so honourable as that devoted to the study of the precious protective powers of plants, etc., for "*Aūharmazda* has granted a specific for every ailment." The Oculist or *Didpān* is cautioned lest he injures when he essays to cure defective sight. We are not to speak at meals or only in whispers lest we offend the Spirits of Health and Life and so vitiate the spell or good of our prayers—evidently the "Grace before meals," or as doctors now tell us, our digestion, by swallowing half-masticated food. Dk. xviii. 19.

Deities and Demons, spirits good and evil abounded everywhere in this old Zoroastrian world as with us, but by prayer and a virtuous life, the gods could be propitiated and demons warded off. If we would avoid sin let us begin inwardly by subduing evil thoughts, and outwardly by avoiding evil company and all first promptings to sin. A-Mazda sees the heart and our hidden springs of action, and at Dk. ix. 31, 15 ; 32, 1-5, we have examples as to those spirits who tried to deceive Him. We are cautioned to beware "of seductively assuming religion, colouring thought (*i.e.* canting?), talking and reciting hypocritically of righteousness whilst adopting evil practices ;" and almost in the words of Matt. xxv. 40 we are told that those "who give to the disciples (of the Lord) give unto him." Zaratusht. Dk. ix. xiii.

It is wrong to deal in Witchcraft or to attempt to bewitch any. The whole Vindād or Vindidad (the name given in the Rivāyats to this sacred work which passed unscathed through all the Greek wars) is more or less against witches and demons—its Āvastān name, the *Dāta Vidaēra* signifying "Law against demons." Dk. viii. 44 note. It discusses much good medical lore and practice as known in Irānīa some 2,600 years ago. Amid strange sexual matters, the grave old medical theosophists ever and again wander into the spiritual, and vainly speculate as to when a baby attains to mental and spiritual perceptions ; for they have no doubt about its soul and whither it is going ; though not clear as to when it was developed, and where it came from. Vind. iii. 34-44, Dk. viii. 45.

Earth, Water and Fire must be ever kept pure from all defilement especially by dead matter, etc., and for this we must answer to the powerful living Spirits of the Elements on the dreaded *Kinvāt* Bridge. He is a pagan or *Đēvi-Yast* (idolater) who would presume to here offend. "Great Yim" or Jamshēd though here offending, "received the grace of A-Mazda because" he drove away from earth the four heinous vices of drunkenness, keeping bad company, apostasy and selfishness.

Fire is the sacred symbol of Divine life—the incarnated spirit of God, of the Sun and of A-Mazda, and very similar to the Hindu Agni, Horos, Marduk, Apollo, etc. It is the child of God, and thus addresses the deity: "I am thy son, O A-Mazda, and not of this world from which I must extricate myself and soar to heaven : Carry thou me away to *Airān Vag* the home of Zaratusht and of the race of *Airyanem Vaeṅō*"—from which all good Pārsis or Pārsians affect to have their sacred fire. High and continual respect is due to fire : even, when used for lighting or cooking purposes. No impure thing or person may approach it, nor even blow upon it. The precautions are detailed and endless.

So too are the descriptions, joys and pains of Heavens and Hells. The less we know of this world, the more we seem to do of unseen worlds. A tribe which has never crossed the neighbouring mountain range and knows only its own rude jargon, can always describe the whole universe and tell us of the discourses and manners "in heaven above and the earth beneath : " so in this inspired volume we learn what goes on away deep down "below the base of high Alburz—the gate of hell" over which spans the Kinvāt bridge with "its breadth of 9 spears for the righteous and a razor edge for the wicked."

In this hell, like the proverbial forest which cannot be seen for the trees, the souls stand so thickly about, that they cannot see each other (elsewhere it is said to be "the blackness of darkness"), and they all think they stand alone. Though there is weeping and wailing, no voice is heard, but there are noxious smells, though it freezes, here, so different to our Gehenna. Cf. *Dādestān* xxvii., Dk. ix. 20.

Mazdeans like Hindus divide time into 4 *yugas* or Aps: the *Golden* when A-Mazda inspired his prophet Zaratusht: the *Silver* when King Vishtasp was converted by Zaratusht: the *Third* or *Steel* when Āturpād—"Organizer of Righteousness," completed the *Dinkard*; and the 4th or *Iron*, when Apostasy became rampant. This would be over two and a half millenniums—say from 1800 B.C. to 800 A.D.

It is strange though common, that the gods of one age and people are the demons or nonentities of another. Here we find the loved Devas of Indo-Aryans—the Gods of Light—are demons of darkness, and great *Indra*, the Indian Jove is with these Iranians, an Arch demon, the Son of Satan or Aharman and opponent of the Archangel of Goodness—*Asha-vahist*. ix. 9, and xxx. Like Osiris and Typhon the Mazdean God and his "Adversary" were brothers who long worked together; but we are exceeding our limits, and must leave untouched for some other place and opportunity a great deal of the interesting contents of these old *Pahlavi Texts*.

J. G. R. FORLONG.

DR. G. W. LEITNER: DARDISTAN IN 1893 AND THE
TREATY WITH KASHMIR.

I FEEL it to be my duty, with every deference to Mr. Curzon and to Mr. Vambery, to point out that the so-called "admirable campaign" of Col. Durand in Hunza-Nagyr was not justified by any real provocation from either these States or from Russia and that it has been disastrous to British interests and to the cause of civilization, as I have shown in several previous articles and as I endeavour to prove *inter alia* in the following extract from my forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893." The Kashmir frontier in 1866 was clearly laid down in my official instructions to be the Indus at Bunji. The occupation of Gilgit by Kashmir troops, which I then brought to notice, was considered to be an infringement of the Treaty, quoted further on, which gave Kashmir and its dependencies to the family of the present Maharaja. All the Dard tribes, except the Chilâsis, whose raids on Kashmir territory had *ceased since* 1851, were then collected to turn out the Kashmir invaders from Gilgit. Hunza and Nagyr were acknowledged by Kashmir authorities to be "independent states." The raiding of Hunza ceased in 1867 and would have ceased for ever, if we had paid to its Tham a small subsidy of about 6,000 rupees per annum in lieu of the loss in giving up his traditional occupation. Our agitation on the Frontier revived the raiding a few years ago, but Nagyr had never taken any part in it and is an extremely well-governed state. To avail ourselves therefore of the condemned shadowy claims of Kashmir in order to justify our own encroachments, under cover of those attempted by Kashmir, after practically annexing Kashmir ourselves, is a strange inconsistency, not to speak of the increased expenditure and added dangers in which our Government has been involved and the alienation of numerous tribes, whose inaccessible valleys offered a series of insurmountable obstacles to a foreign advance, till we broke them down by the construction of military roads which can be useful only to an invader.

"Since the foreign occupation, the Dards have also made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmîri and Indian troops have introduced. I dare not mention an offence which also followed in their wake and which was previously unknown in the virtuous Dard Republics or even in the less strict Dard monarchies. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of government, which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilization. "*Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel, Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.*" The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Tham of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogists have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint

computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*what once was*," are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted Persian character, the Khajuná language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagyr sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ*," except in Khajuná Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," which exploiters were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

As Kandia is learned, Nagyr pious, Chilás puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1867, but that we practically revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether picturesque vice, which, unfortunately, may form part of indigenous associations, is as reprehensible as the hypocrisy of those hired Knights of the pen, who, not practising the virtues which they preach, take away the character of nations and of Chiefs, merely because they are opposed to us, and falsify their history. I do not, for instance, palliate the old Hunza practice of lending one's wife to a guest, or of kidnapping good-looking strangers in order to improve the race, though the latter course may be preferred by a physiologist to a careless marriage, but I do find a reproach on European or Indian morality in the fact that not a single Hunza woman showed herself to the British or Kashmíri invaders, although the men, once conquered, freely joined them in sport and drinking bouts. Europeans have a worse reputation among Orientals than Orientals among Europeans, and, in either case, ignorance, prejudice, want of sympathy and disinclination to learn the truth, are probably among the causes of such regrettable preconceptions. At any rate, it shall not be said that the races which I, so disastrously for them, discovered and named, shall suffer from any misrepresentation so far as I can help it, although the political passions of the moment may deprive my statements of the weight which has hitherto attached to them as authoritative in this speciality. *Væ victis eto victoribus*—for history now marches rapidly towards the common disaster. *Finis Dardarum*. "It has been decided that CHILÁS is to be permanently held, and consequently the present strength of the garrison in the GILGIT district will be increased by one native regiment, while the 23rd Pioneers will complete the road through the Kaghan Valley to Chilás, and will then remain for duty on the advanced frontier. This strengthening of

the garrison in the sub-Himalayan country will effectually *secure British influence* over CHITRÁL where an Agent is to be *permanently* stationed ; it will also insure the *control of the Indus Valley tribes*" (*Times* telegram of the 8th July, 1893—the italics are mine). Alas that British influence should so destroy both itself and the freedom of ancient races !

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat. Considering the promises of redress of all grievances made by the Great Northern Emancipator of Oppressed Nationalities,* whose lightest finger is heavier than our entire yoke, it would be a great mistake on our part to still further reduce the independence of Native States, the troops of which are already at our disposal. Even as regards Kashmir, against the mismanagement of which I have protested for so many years, and the Agents of which made several attempts on my life in order to prevent my exposure of their frontier encroachments in 1866, I am bound to say that our procedure has been a great deal too peremptory, if not altogether illegal. The following Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government shows alike that Kashmir had no right to encroach on Chilas and Gilgit (see preceding pages), and still less on Hunza-Nagyr, and that the Government of India has no right to convert Kashmir into a "semi-independent State" as called by the *Times* of the 8th July, 1893. Kashmir is an *independent* State, whose independence has been paid for and must be protected by our honour against our ambition, as long as it is loyal to the British Government :

"TREATY between the British Government on the one part and MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING of JUMMOO on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by FREDERICK CURRIE, ESQUIRE, and Brevet-Major HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING in person.

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharajah Golab Sing shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

* The last (semi-official) *Moscow Gazette* says : " Russia will not neglect to avail herself of the first convenient opportunity to assist the people of India to throw off the English yoke, with the view of establishing the country under independent native rule."

ARTICLE V.

Maharajah Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

ARTICLE VII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages never to take, or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII., of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Sing in protecting his territories from external enemies.

ARTICLE X.

Maharajah Golab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharajah Golab Sing in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Unrisur, this Sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, corresponding with the Seventeenth day of Rubbee-ool-awwal 1262 Hijree.

(Signed) F. CURRIE.
 „ H. M. LAWRENCE.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE

SEAL.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. CURRIE,
Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON TWELVE DARDS AND KAFIRS IN MY SERVICE.*

By DR. G. W. LEITNER.

THE great interest which has been excited by recent events in the countries bordering on the Pamirs is my excuse for offering to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* the following observations on "the brethren of the European" in the Hindukush, where Aryan and Pre-Aryan traditions are being destroyed by the truly fratricidal war that we have waged in Chilas, Hunza, and Nagyr, and generally by the dissolving effect of approaching British, Russian, Afghan, Indian, and other influences. Kafiristan, however, is still, practically, a *terra incognita*, and the Siah Pòsh Kafirs are still "an interesting race," as in 1874, when the *Globe* made the subject popular under that heading (see page 430). I have only been able to induce twelve Dards and Kafirs to submit to measurements, of whom I brought two to England, the Siah Pòsh Kafir Jamshèd in 1873, and the Hunza fighter Matavalli in 1887; [for their respective portraits see page 431 and next page] the former was measured by Dr. Beddoe, and the latter had already been measured in India, along with ten other Dards. It will thus be seen that the material for anthropological conclusions is extremely limited; still, even without the aid of the numerous photographic and other illustrations in my forthcoming work on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893," to which this paper will form Appendix V., the following "observations" may possess some interest to the general reader and some value to the specialist, particularly if read along with the "Note" at the end of this paper, with which the father of British Anthropological studies, Dr. John Beddoe, has favoured me. These papers were reported at the Anthropological Section of the British Association on the 18th September, 1893.

- *1. ABDUL-GHAFÛR, KAMÓZ KÁFIR.
2. JAMSHÉD, KATÁR KÁFIR.
3. KHUDAYÁR, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
4. MATAVALLI, HUNZA DARD, YASHKUN.
5. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, GILGIT DARD, SHÍN.
6. MIR ABDULLAH, GABRIÁL DARD, SHÍN.
7. GHULÁM, ASTOR DARD, SHÍN.
8. ABDULLAH, ASTOR DARD, SHÍN.
9. IBRAHIM, NAGYR DARD, RÔNO.
10. SULTAN ALI, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
11. KHUDADÁD, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.
12. HATAMU, NAGYR DARD, YASHKUN.

A
MATAVALLI.*

Date and place of observation	2-6-81 : Simla	
Age ; sex ; profession	32 yrs. ; m. ; peasant and warrior	
Caste, tribe, and tongue	Yashkun ; Khajuná ; Burish	
Religion and birthplace	Shiah ; (probably Mulái) Hun	
Thin, medium, or stout	medium	
Weight†	9 st. 8½ lb.	
Colours §	skin, exposed parts	53 (red brown)
	„ covered parts	21 (light red brown)
	hair	48 (black)
	beard	41 (black)
	eyes	3 (light brown)
Hair : straight, wavy, curly, frizzled, or woolly	straight	
Beard : thick (abundant), scanty, or none	thick, long and stiff	
Skin : smooth, a little, or very hairy	very hairy	
Shape of profile of nose (p. 111) No.	2 (nearly quite straight)	
Lips : thick, medium, or thin	medium (arched)	
„ straight, or turned outwards	straight	
Teeth : large, medium, or small	small	
„ incisors, straight (vertical), slanting, or very slanting	straight (incisors wide apart)	
The set of teeth : very good, good, medium, bad, or very bad	good (but dirty)	
Skull	Diameters : antero-posterior, maximum	195 millim.
	„ „ inial	192 „
	„ transverse, maximum	144 „
	„ auriculo-vertical (fr. m.)	116 „
	Curves : inio-frontal	345 „
	„ horizontal	540 „
	„ transverse sub auricular	330 „
	facial angle (Camper)	81 „
From point of chin to edge of hair	185 „	
„ ophryon to alveolar point	95 „	
Breadth between zygomata	139 „	
Length of nose	48 „	
Breadth of nose	31 „	
From ophryon to root of nose	12 „	
Width between inner angle of eyes		
„ „ cheekbones	94 „	
Height (standing)	164 centim.	
„ (sitting)	126 „	
Greatest extension of arms	162 „	
„ „ of span	20 „	
Total length of foot	25 „	
Length of ditto, ante-malleolar	20 „	
Forehead	high ; slightly receding	
Frontal bone (bord sourcillicr)	very marked	
Intra-ocular distance	scarcely any	
Eyebrows	bushy, crossing, forming but one	
Eyes	straight	
Cheeks	little salient	
Zygomatic arch	very salient	
Chin	oval	
Ears	medium, little salient (round, s	
Mouth		
Neck	strong	
Torso	strong	
Extremities	very small	

* For additional measurements, see page 429. He is No. 6 of Drawing 1 of Appendix IV. of measurements, see page 429.

† I was obliged to get myself measured in order to encourage the Dards and Kafirs to allow the those of dolichocephalic Matavalli 73·84, mesocephalic Khudáyár 78·7, mesocephalic Ghulám Muhan may also be compared with Abdul Ghafúr's, 53·7·5 ; Khudayár's, 52·5 ; Ibrahim's, 56·5 ; Matavalli details regarding three of them, and adds the measurements of three other Dards (Ghulám, Abdullah, the amplitude of the frontal region of the Dareyli herdsman, on the drawing opposite to page 76 of t

‡ There were also weighed the Kamózi Kafir Abdulghafúr, age 23 or 24, weighing 10 st. 2½ lb ;

ETHNOLOGICAL.

(See also Drawing 1 of Appendix IV. of forthcoming book on
"Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893.")



U. S. National
Public Library.

A GABRIÁLI STUDENT AND TWO MESSENGERS (A CHITRÁLI AND A YASINI),
FROM A BROTHER OF THE LATE MIHTAR AMAN-UL-MULK, RULER OF CHITRÁL.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL.



GUGITI	NAGYRI	HUNZA MAN
(GHULÁM MUHAMMAD).	(KHUDÁYÁR).	(MATAVALLI).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON DARDS AND KAFIRS IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

(Measurements in Centimetres.)

1. ABDUL GHAFÛR, KAFIR OF KAMÔZ, *about 24 or 25 years of age.*

Height, 168·5; hair, black; eyes, hazel; colour of face, ruddy; colour of body, very light brown; narrow forehead; high instep; big boned; length round the forehead, biggest circumference of head, 53·75; protruding and big ears; square face; long nose, slightly aquiline; good regular teeth; small beard; slight moustache and eyebrows; distance between eyebrows, ordinary; good chest; fine hand; well-made nails. Weight, 10 st. 2½ lbs.

2. KHUDAWÂR, YASHKUN NAGYRI; *age 24.**

Height, 182; colour of body, light yellow brown; round the head, 52·5; teeth, good, regular; nose, very slightly aquiline; little growth on upper lip; none on cheeks; long, straight, coarse black hair; eyes, hazel; ears, not so protruding; better-proportioned forehead; small hand; good instep; foot bigger, in proportion, than hand (not so good as other's hand); 80 puls". Weight, 9 st. 10 lbs.

3. IBRAHÎM, RÔNO, NAGYRI; *age 34.*

Height, 162·3; round the head, 56·5; eyes, dark brown; big hands and feet; instep, good; colour, brown; good muscular foot; strong arms; hair, black; plentiful growth on upper lip; nose, aquiline; broad nostrils; full lips. Weight, 10 st. 12 lbs. (No. 10 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

4. MATAVALLI, YASHKUN OF HUNZA; *age 30.*

Height, 164·0; very hairy, including hands; round the head, 54·0; head, pyramidal pointed; sinister countenance; very big hands and feet; thin lips; great moustache, coarser hair; more flat-soled than rest. Weight, 9 st. 8½ lbs. (*Full details in "Comparative Table."*)

5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN OF NAGYR; *age 35.*

Height, 165·25; round the head, 53·75; square head; retroussé, small nose; small mouth; red beard, plentiful; black hair; brown eyes; very big hands and feet, also instep. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 11 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

6. KHUDÂDAD OF NAGYR; *age 30.*

Height, 163·3; round the head, 54·4; stupid expression; big chest; ordinary hands and feet; low forehead; rising head; very muscular; eyes, brown; complexion, brown; thickish nose; very narrow forehead; underhung jaw; lots of hair. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 3 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

7. HATÁMU OF NAGYR; *age 16.*

Height, 162·1; round the head, 54·4 (broad head); low Grecian forehead; small nose; eyes, dark brown; light brown complexion; small hands and feet; regular, white teeth. Weight, 7 st. 13 lbs. (No. 4 of above Drawing.)

8. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, SHÎN OF GILGIT; *age 38.**

Height, 161·0; round the head, 54; beard, prematurely grey; lost second incisor; small hands and feet; fair instep; brown eyes and complexion; nose, straight; ears all right. Weight, 8 st. 5 lbs.

* See also "Comparative Table" at the end of these pages, and the "Anthropological Photograph" on preceding page. Read also page 1 of Appendix IV. of my forthcoming book on "Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893." "The Races of the Hindukush," opposite to Drawing 1 of that Appendix, on which look for Nos. 1, 6, and 9.

FURTHER MEASUREMENTS OF THE ABOVE MEN BY THE SCHWARZ SYSTEM.

[(See explanations of these numbers further on, page 432.)]

NUMBERS SCHWARZ.	1. ABDUL- GHAFUR, KAMÔZ KATIR.	2. KHUDAYAR YASHKUN, NAGYRI.	3. IBRAHIM, NAGYRI RÔNO.	4. MATA- VALLI, HUNZA YASHKUN.	5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN, NAGYRI.	6. KHUDA- DAD NAGYRI.	7. HATAMU NAGYRI.	8. GHULAM MUHAM- MAD, GILGITI SHIN.
28	30	26'7.5	29.2	31.5	25.5	28.5	24.7	29.5
29	15	24'7.5	14.	13.5	14	11.75	31.1	15.5
30	14.5	13.5	14.5	13.6	13.75	14.2	12.7	14
31	10.2.5	8.7.5	9.5	9.6	8.7.5	9.2	8.1	9.1
32	3.7.5	3.5	3	3.7.5	3.25	3.3	3.8	3.9
34	3.9	4	4.6	4.1	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.5
35	5.5	4.7	4.7.5	5	4.1	5.5	4.5	4.8
36	14	11.2	11.7.5	11.25	11.2	11.2	11.1	10.2
37	18.7.5	20.2.5	20.6	20.8	19	20.75	19.2	18.5
39	46	44.7.5	48	44.5	44.5	48.6	41.5	39.6

* Matavalli, and a new man, Mir Abdullah of Gabrial (column F of subjoined Comparative Table), were also measured at Lahore on the 23rd March, 1886, with the following results that may be added to the above measurements or may be compared with those in the "Comparative Table," respectively columns A and F, (*Matavalli* and *Mir Abdullah*).

I. Head : Greatest breadth, A, 14.3—F, 14.1.

Greatest length from glabella to the back of the head, A, 18.8—F, 18.6.

Greatest length from root of nose to the back of the head, A, 19.6—F, 19.1.

Height of ear, A, 11.2—F, 11.9. Breadth of forehead, A, 10.6—F, 10.7.

Height of face (a), chin to edge of hair, A, 18.4—F, 19.1.

Height of face (b), root of nose to chin, A, 12.7—F, 12.1.

Middle face, root of nose to mouth, A, 8.1—F, 7.6.

Breadth of face, zygomatic arch, A, 13.8—F, 13.6.

Distance of the inner angles of eyes, A, 3.4—F, 3.4.

Distance of the outer angles of eyes, A, 9.2—F, 8.8.

Nose : Height, A, 5.1—F, 5.8 ; Length, A, 5.3—F, 5.9 ; Breadth, A, 3.9—F, 3.5.

Mouth : Length, A, 5.4—F, 5.3.

Ear : Height, A, 6.1—F, 6.3 ; distance from ear-hole to root of nose, A, 12.1—F, 12.1.

Horizontal circumference of head, A, 55—F, 53.

II. Body : Entire height, A, 165.7 centim.—F, 166.

Greatest extension of arms, A, 166.5—F, 165.

Height : chin, A, 142—F, 143. Height to navel, A, 95.5—F, 99.

„ shoulder, A, 138—F, 138. „ middle finger, A, 73—F, 71.5.

„ elbows, A, 104—F, 105. „ patella, A, 45—F, 44.5.

„ wrist, A, 78—F, 80.

Height in sitting, to top of head (over the seat), A, 88—F, 85.

Breadth of shoulder, A, 43—F, 36.

Circumference of chest, A, 87—F, 81.

Hand : length middle finger, A, 8—F, 7.5 ; breadth, base of four fingers, A, 10—F, 7.5.

Foot : length, A, 26—F, 25.5 ; breadth, A, 11—F, 8.25.

Circumference of upper leg, A, 46—F, 42.5.

Circumference of calf, A, 34—F, 32.

DESCRIPTION OF JAMSHÊD, THE SIAH PÔSH KÂFIR.

Jamshêd of Katâr, the nephew of General Feramorz, the renowned Kafir General in the service of the late Amir Sher Ali of Kabul, was a confidential orderly both in the service of the Amir Sher Ali and in that of Yakûb Khan, whose cause he espoused against that of his father, in consequence of which, when his master was imprisoned, he fled to Rawalpindi, where he came to me. He had witnessed some of the most exciting scenes in modern Kabul history, had risen to the rank of Major, and had served with Prince Iskandar of Herât, whom he afterwards again met in London.

In 1872 I published from Jamshêd's dictation an account of the "Adventures of Jamshêd, a Siah Pôsh Kafir, and his wanderings with Amir Sher Ali," and also "a statement about slavery in Kabul, etc.," which contained the names of places and tribes previously unknown to Geographers and Ethnographers, as well as historical and political material, the value of which has been proved by subsequent events. I took him with me to England, not only on account of the interest which exists in certain scientific quarters as regards the "mysterious race" of which he was a member, but also in order to draw the attention of the Anti-slavery Society and of Government to the kidnapping of Kafirs—the supposed "poor relations" of the European—which is carried on by the Afghans.

His measurement was taken, according to the systems of both Broca and Schwarz (of the Novara expedition), by Dr. Beddoe, and the type appeared to approach nearest to that of the slavonized Macedonians of the Herzegovina, like one of whose inhabitants he looked, thus creating far less attention, especially when dressed à l'europeenne in Europe, than he did at Lahore, where Lord Northbrook saw him. The Anti-slavery Society sent him to the Chiefs of Katâr with a communication to the effect that Englishmen strongly disapproved of slavery, and that they should represent their case to the Panjab Government. A curious incident in connection with his presence in England may be mentioned. It was the 6th May, 1874, the day of the "Two Thousand"; the result of the Newmarket race was eagerly expected, when the *Globe* came out with the following titles placed on the posters: "Result of the 'Two Thousand.'" "An Interesting Race" (the latter was an article on the race of the Siah Pôsh Kafirs). The result may be imagined. Hundreds of Welshers plunged into an account of the Siah Pôsh Kafirs under the notion that they were going to have a great treat in a telegraphic description of a Newmarket race. I was informed that the wrath of the sporting roughs who besieged the office was awful when they found out their mistake. Poor Jamshêd was seen across the Panjab border by one of my Munshis, but returned some months later to Lahore, whence he found his way to Brussa, in Asia Minor. It is supposed that he took service in the Turkish Army, but he has not since been heard of. As I intend to publish an account of the Kâfirs of Katâr (now, I fear, all Nimchas, or half-Muhammadans), Gambir, etc., I reserve the interesting statements of Jamshêd to their proper Section in my "Kâfristân."

G. W. LEITNER.



JAMSHÉD, THE SIAH PÔSH KAFIR,
BROUGHT TO ENGLAND BY PROF. LEITNER IN 1872.

JAMSHÊD.—A KATÂR KÂFIR; NEPHEW OF GENERAL FERAMORZ.

MEASUREMENTS OF HEAD (BY DR. JOHN BEDDOE).

	ENGLISH INCHES.	MILLI- METRES.
1. Greatest length of head from glabella	6·8	172·7
2. Length from tuber occip. to greatest convexity of frontal arch	6·7	170·2
3. Length from tuber occip. to glabella	6·8	172·7
4. Greatest length of head from smooth depression above glabella (ophryon)	6·75	171·4
5. Greatest length of head from depression at root of nose	6·65	168·9
6. Length from chin to vertex	9·1	231·1
7. Least breadth between frontal crests	3·7	94
8. Greatest breadth between zygomata	5·1	129·5
9. Breadth from tragus to tragus	5·	127
10. Greatest breadth of head	5·9	149·8
yielding cranial index 86·7		
11. Breadth between greatest convexities of mastoid processes	5·3	134·6
12. Greatest circumference of head	20·6	523·2
13. Circumference at glabello-inial line	20·4	518·1
14. Circumference at inion and frontal convexity	20·5	520·6
15. Arc from nasal notch to inion (tuber occip.)	12·8	325·1
16. Arc from one meatus to the other across top of head	14·4	365·7
17. Arc from one meatus to the other over glabella	11·5	292·1
18. Length of face (nasal notch to chin), giving facial index, 80·4	4·1	104·1
Height from meatus to vertex	5·3	133·5
Bigoniæ breadth	4·1	103·5

The head, though strongly brachy-cephalic, is distinctly of Aryan type; high and round, but not at all acro-cephalic; the inion is placed very high.

JAMSHÊD—(continued).

THE FOLLOWING MEASUREMENTS ARE ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF SCHWARZ, OF THE NOVARA EXPEDITION.

	CENTI- METRES.
28. From the growth of hair to the incisura semilunaris sterni ...	25·
29. From the inion to the Halswirbel (vertebra prominens) ...	14·45
30. Direct diameter, from one meatus aud. ext. to the other ...	11·85
31. Outer angle of the eye to the other	8·75
32. Inner angle of the eye to the other	2·75
33. Distance of the fixed points of the ear	4·05
34. Breadth of the nose	3·2
35. Breadth of the mouth	5·
36. Distance of the two angles of the lower jaw	10·35
37. From incis. semil. sterni to the seventh vertebra	12·95
38. From the axillary line over the mammæ to the other ..	26·4
39. From sternum to columna vertebralis, straight across ...	19·3

JAMSHÊD.—SYSTEM OF SCHWARZ—(continued).

	CENTI- METRES.
40. From one spina anterior superior ilii to the other ...	22'35
41. From one troch. maj. to other ...	26'05
42. Circumference of the neck ...	33'5
43. From one tuberculum majus to the other ...	37'
44. From middle line of axillary line over the chest, above mammæ, to the other middle line ...	41'5
45. Circumference of chest on the same level ...	88'25
46. From nipple to nipple ...	19'25
47. Between anterior spines of ilia ...	26'85
From trochanter major to the spina anterior ilii of the same side ...	13'5
49. From the most prominent part of the sternal articulation of the clavicular to above ...	43'4
50. From same point to the navel ...	39'2
51. From navel to upper edge of the symphysis ossium pubis ...	14'75
52. From the 5th lumbar vertebra along the edge of the pelvis to the edge of the symphysis ...	43'
53. From the 7th vertebra to the end of the os coccygis ...	60'35
54. From one acromion to the other across the back ...	43'7
55. From the acromion to the condyl. ext. humeri ...	32'25
56. From ext. condyl. humeri to processus styloideus radii ...	25'
57. From processus styloideus radii to metacarpal joint ...	10'2
58. From the same joint to the top of the middle finger ...	9'8
59. Circumference of the hand ...	21'4
60. Greatest circumference of upper arm over the biceps ...	26'8
61. Greatest circumference of forearm ...	24'5
62. Smallest circumference of forearm ...	15'2
63. From trochanter major to condyl. ext. femoris ...	34'35
64.	
65.	
66.	
67.	
68. From condyl. ext. femoris to mal. ext. ...	38'6
69. Circumference of knee joint ...	32'4
70. Circumference of calf ...	36'4
71. Smallest circumference of leg ...	21'3
72. Length of the foot ...	23'3
73. Circumference of instep ...	23'5
74. Circumference of metatarsal joint ...	23'5
75. From external malleolus to ground ...	8'1
76. From condyl. intern. to malleolus int. ...	36'9
77. Greatest circumference of thigh ...	48'5
78. Smallest circumference of thigh ...	35'5
79. Round the waist ...	68'4
80. Height of man (English, 5'3 $\frac{3}{4}$) ...	161'9
81. Colour of hair, very dark reddish-brown.	
82. Colour of eyes, hazel-grey.	
83. Colour of face, yellowish-brown.	
84. Colour of skin of body, lighter than above.	
85. Weight,	
86. Strength,	
Pulsation, 80 (a little excited).	

NOTE ON THE HEADFORM OF THE DARDS AND OF THE SIAH-POSH KAFIRS.

JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., F.R.S.

It is a good many years since, by the courtesy of Dr. Leitner, I was enabled to see, examine, and take measurements of Jamshêd, a Siah-Posh (Katâr) Kafir whom he had brought to England.

These measurements are now in course of publication by Dr. Leitner, together with a series taken from certain Dards who had been in his service.

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to the very remarkable difference in headform between Jamshêd, the Kafir, and these Dards. Six of these, in whom the kephalic index was ascertained, yielded an average of 75·55, the extremes being 72·5 and 78·7. If we subtract, as is customary, two degrees for the excess caused by the presence of the integuments, we shall have an average for the skull of 73·55, very decidedly dolichocephalic, and limits of 70·5 and 76·7.

Three would be dolichocephals, two mesocephals, and one doubtful.

These proportions, the general type of feature and figure, the long, well formed nose, the dark eyes and hair, seem to me to bring them into the same class with their neighbours the Kashmiris, and with the inhabitants of the Punjab and of North-western India generally.

But Jamshêd was of an entirely different type. He was a short man : by the way, the Dards varied extremely in this respect—a short, small man, rather sturdily made, with a short head, broad and flat posteriorly, such as is found abundantly in the Keltic and Slavonic regions of Central Europe, and of the Sarmatic, rather than the Turanian, type of Von Holder. The kephalic index was very high, not less than 86·7, or eight degrees beyond that of the broadest-headed Dard ; the facial index 80, the zygomata not being largely developed. His eyes were hazel-gray, his hair very dark, but with a reddish-brown tinge.

On the whole, though I have nothing to say against Dr. Leitner's conjecture, that Jamshêd was of the Illyro-Macedonian type, such type being possibly still represented in the valleys of the Hindu Kush, where it may have been planted in consequence of Alexander's colonization and the establishment of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom ; though, I say, I do not oppose this conjecture, I am disposed simply to refer the man to the Galcha race. This short-headed race, which I may perhaps be allowed to call Iranian or Irano-Aryan, is known to occupy the upper valleys of the Zerafshan and neighbouring rivers, and is supposed, though I confess I can give no real authority for the supposition, to extend across the Oxus and occupy Badakshan. Let this be granted, for the sake of argument, and let us take note of the statement of the late Dr. Bellew, that some of the Siah-Posh Kafirs are very dark and others very fair, which may indicate either varieties of origin or segregation in practically endogamous communities, where accidental differences of type may have been perpetuated. If the former cause be admitted, what more likely than that some of the Kafir tribes, instead of being akin to the long-headed Indo-Aryans, are really intruders from Badakshan, and that Jamshêd may have derived his origin and type from such a tribe?

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(*Continued from Vol. VI., page 194.*)

COINCIDENCE OF MANNERS BETWEEN THE HOMERIC HEROES AND THE MODERN ALBANIANS.

THIS is patent from the employments mentioned. The herdsmen in the *Odyssey* related their noble origin ; and, on the other hand, the noble persons themselves exercise handicrafts. Odysseus builds himself a raft, as he had built his own bedchamber ;—Achilles cooks the dinner of his guests ;—and Laertes works in his orchard ;—nor is it much different at the present day in the same locality. The whole story of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* hinges on women. Odysseus slays the suitors of his wife, because they had put on him an insult which among that people was the gravest ; and he hangs the female slaves who had illicit intercourse with the suitors. Achilles sulks because Agamemnon took away his slave girl ; and the rape of Helen was at least alleged as the excuse for the piratical raid. Then follow, outside Homer, the murder by Clytemnestra and the mania of Orestes, and the story of Achilles and Penthesilea. All this coincides with the customs obtaining at the present day in the same localities.

It appears as little needful to suppose that the Homeric poems were originally composed in Greek, as to believe that the *Aeneid* was written in Pelasgic, which was doubtless the speech of the Trojans. In imitating, paraphrasing and adapting the Homeric poems, Virgil used his own language, and took the subject of a great war, than which none has left so deep an impress on history, real and

mythical.* But it is not more necessary to suppose that Aeneas spoke Latin than that Satan spoke English. Troy was undoubtedly a Pelasgic city, and so was the country round it, even to Syria. Karia, however, had lost its Pelasgic speech, or this had become so corrupted as to be unrecognizable.

Νάσσης 'ἄν Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων.†

There is no mention of any one speaking a strange tongue. The heroes converse freely and in the plainest and often most uncomplimentary language, and there is no suggestion of an interpreter. On the other hand, when a language is strange, this is noted; and it is termed “barbarous,” which then meant unintelligible; for the word “barbarous” would certainly not have been used in that age to designate foreigners or a strange speaking people,‡ nor does it seem to have been used in this sense till the age of the Persian conquests.

The words ὄπισθεν κομῶντες, κάρη κομῶντες, ἑκρήμιδες are all indicative of the present occupants of the old Achaian area, extending over the whole of Epeiros—the modern Albania. All these wear their hair long behind and retain their national dress, wearing gaiters or κρημίδες (*touslook*), of thick woollen cloth. The Greeks, on the other hand, are depicted with cropped hair.

The only difference between the war dress of the Homeric heroes and the present Epeirots consists in the material, defensive armour having fallen into desuetude as useless. The form is, nevertheless, retained.

The Homeric heroes are described as engaging their adversaries in single combat, as in the cases of Menelaus and Paris, Ajax and Hector, Patroclos and Hector, Hector and Achilles; or, where the combat was not so

* The mythical invasion of Italy by Aeneas is probably identical with the two emigrations of Pelasgi to Italy—the one mythical and the other historical.

† Il. β, 867. This is the first occurrence of the word.

‡ Vide Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon, ad vocem Βάρβαρος*. Is Berber, a race of North Africa, anyway connected with this?

decidedly a duel, the respective chiefs sought each other out, the rank and file not interfering ;—a mode of warfare common to all semi-barbarous nations. The battle of Clontarf is thus described in Bright's " History of Ireland " : —" The conduct of the battle, after the two hostile armies met, was similar to that of all engagements between races of that particular period in the annals of civilization. The details consisted in a succession of single combats between captains and chieftains, who singled each other out, while the common soldiers were engaged in indiscriminate slaughter ; and these combats were alone celebrated by the minstrel, and transferred from his song to the page of the Chronicle." The Homeric poems* represent such Chronicles, with the only difference that they were not reduced to writing in Greek, till long after the event : for this is the meaning of " we hear only the report, nor know anything certain."

Philosophical students of Homer, carried away by their admiration of the poem and its virile language, have sought, like Dr. Pangloss, to extract from it far more than was ever intended to be conveyed by it, and to elaborate esoteric and mystic significances from facts plainly stated with semi-barbarous simplicity.

THE PELASGI.

It now remains to note the resemblance between the descendants of the Pelasgi and the people composing the army before Troy ; and as the Homeric Poems describe their dwellings, their dress, their feasts and their customs, a parallel can easily be drawn.

In the first place, the host was composed of various Chieftains bringing contingents from the districts over which they held sway. The denominations of these Chieftains are ἄναξ—βασιλεὺς and σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς—κόϊρανος : "Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, ζεὺς κόϊρανος ἔστω. (Il. β, 204.)

Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν is only used for Agamemnon in the sense of

* That the Homeric poems were part of the so-called great solar myth, a mere allegory, is a wild and unsustainable theory, contradicted by history.

Commander-in-Chief, while βασιλεὺς is used to signify Lord, σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς—a reigning Lord or Prince, and κοίρανος, a Head. This, too, is consistent with the practice of the Epeirots when they league themselves for combined action, as it was among subsequent nations in a similar state of semi-civilization: as Cassivelaunus in Britain, Galgacus in Caledonia, Vercingetorix in Gaul. The other βασιλεῖς before Troy acted as Brigadiers under the supreme command of Agamemnon, as was done latterly in the Albanian League.

For the description of their dwellings, recourse must be had to the Odyssey. The large hall where the feasts were held is denominated μέγαρον, —often used for a palace as distinguished from οἶκος. This answers to the men's apartments in Albania, where all meet, on any festive, official or other occasion. Such was the hall in which Odysseus destroyed the suitors, and that in which Alkinous entertained him on his way home. It corresponds with the Italian word palazzo,—a casa palazzata being a house of more than one story. In the upper part of the μέγαρον were the apartments for females :

Παρθενος ἀδούη ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶτα

"Ἀρηι κρατερῶν ὃ δέ οἱ παραλέξαστο λάθρῃ.—(Il. β, 514.)

where also was the Σάλαμος or bedchamber of the lady of the house, as at present in Albania. The outside was surrounded, then as now, by a wall with a gate, called in India a "compound," a μέγα τειχίον ἀνλῆς, sometimes termed ἔρκεα or τοῖχος (Od. II, 165 and 343 ; Σ, 101).

The dress of the chiefs is formally described in divers places. Agamemnon, unable to sleep, rises and girds on his tunic, χιτῶν, puts on his sandals, πεδιλα, and throws a lion's skin, δέρμα λείοντος, over his shoulder, and grasps a spear (Il. K, 22). Menelaus does the same, putting on his brazen helmet στεφάνην κεφαλῇφιν χαλκείην (Il. K, 30). Nestor, instead of a skin, puts over his tunic an ample double shaggy scarlet cloak fixed by a clasp : χλαῖναν φοινικόεσσαν διπλὴν ἑκταδίην ὅυλη δ' ἐπεινήνοθε λάχνη (Il. K, 134).

Such cloaks are worn now by Albanians, except as to colour; and are made in imitation of sheep-skin, and used also as blankets to sleep under. The cloak was fastened by a clasp or brooch, described by Odysseus to Penelope for identification:

- ἀντάξοι περόνη χρυσοῖα τέτυκτο
- Ἄνδροσιν διδύμοισιν.—(Od. T, 226.)

a brooch made with twin clasps formed like pipes: the Albanian clasps are silver, and round, like two small shields. The *πέδιλα* are what were formerly used by the highland Scots,—a piece of untanned deer-skin laced over the feet with whangs of the same (the hair being worn inwards), termed *curachan*; these are still used by the Albanians. For the *ἔγχος* or *δόρυ* (Il. N, 583) a gun is now substituted. The *ἀσπίς* *σὺν τελαμῶνι* (Il. II, 803), the shield with its sling, is naturally now disused; equally so the *θώραξ*, breast-plate covering the chest and attached by straps and clasps, and sometimes double, that is before and behind. The *ξίφος* (Od. II, 80; Il. Φ, 118), hung from the shoulder by a sword-belt or baldric, was of brass, sometimes double edged *ἄμφηκες*, otherwise termed *φῦσγανον* and *μάχαιρα*. The *μάχαιρα* is used by Albanians stuck in the girdle, *ζώνη*, which, except in Homer, is applied to women, *ζωστήρ* being applied to men. Lastly came the greaves, *κνημῖς*, of bronze, reaching from the knee to the ankle, in two halves fastened with silver clasps: out of war they were of leather.

The bow and arrows, now superseded by firearms, were also used, *τόξον* and *οἰστοί* or *ιοί*; the bow seems to have consisted of two pieces of horn joined in the middle by a *πήχυς* or centre-piece and strung with an ox hide whang *νευρά βόεια*. The arrows were carried in a quiver, *φαρέτρη*, which had a cover, *πῶμα*. Thus except what have been superseded by the introduction of firearms, the Albanian chiefs use the same arms as the Homeric heroes. Their dress likewise remains the same; the sandals and gaiters are identical; the tunic or under garment is the shirt—the

fustanella, which are the tails of it, represent the lower part of the tunic; now (like the highland phillibeg or kilt) a separate piece of dress, the girdle of many folds remains formed of leather, and serves for a pocket. The Albanian jacket is modern; but the short waistcoat is the representative of the *λινόθωρηξ*, the red cap replaces the defensive helmet, the yatagan or *μάχαιρα* replaces the *ξίφος*, still sometimes used but inconvenient for rapid movement. The cloak or capote is the same, and they sleep on rugs and sheets *ρήγος* and *λίνον*, or on skins, as Odysseus did on the Phaeacian ship, or as a beggar in his own vestibule on an *ἀδέψητον βύειν* or raw bull's-hide covered with sheep-skins *κώεα πόλλ' οἷων* (Od. Υ, 2) under a cloak *χλαῖνα*.

THE WASHING OF FEET AND HANDS.

The practice of washing the hands and feet is identical with that practised now in the Albanian mountains: the description in the Odyssey equally applies, both in name and form, to the present day. In Albania it is a matter of hospitality to wash a visitor's feet, and a refusal would be considered a slight. Thus we find Euryclea, Odysseus' old wet nurse, washing his feet, and the handmaids of Kirké bathing and anointing him. In other passages the water is poured over his hands from a golden jug and received into a silver basin, by a "lady in waiting."

Χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχέω ἐπέχυνε φέρουσα
Καλῇ χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λείβητος,
Νίψασθαι.—(Od. O, 135-137.)

And again,

Ἥ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφίπολον ταμίην ὤτρυν' ὁ γεραίς
Χερσὶν ὕδωρ ἐπιχεῖναι ἀκήρατον. ἥ δὲ παρέστη,
Χέρνιβιν ἀμφίπολος πρόχουσι δ' ἅμα χερσὶν ἔχουσα.
Νίψαμενος δὲ, κυπέλλον ἰδέξατο ἦς ἀλόχοιο.—(Il. Ω, 301-304.)

In the same manner, in Epeiros, a handmaid brings an ewer and a basin, pouring the water from the one into the other, over the hands of the guest, an embroidered towel being on the shoulder to wipe them: the only difference is that they are, alas! of brass and not of gold and silver.

THE PUTTING ASIDE OF ARMS.

It was and is the custom to take the arms of a guest on his arrival and to place them aside. Thus when Pallas Athene visits Telemachus in the similitude of Mentor the Taphian, ἐδέξατο χάλκεον ἔγχος, and afterwards

Ὅς δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐντοσθεν ἔσαν δόμου ὑψηλῶν
Ἐγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
Δοοῖα δόκησ' ἐντοσθεν εὐξόου, ἔνθα περ' ἄλλα
Ἐγχε' Ὀδυσσεὸς ταλίσι φρονος ἴστατο πόλλα, — (Od. A, 125-128.)

placed it in the stand with the many spears of Odysseus. Thus Plutarch relates that before the feast at which Alexander killed Klitus, the weapons were put away. This was clearly in order to avoid the danger of a broil, when the guests were “in potations pottle deep,” and quarrelled, as Albanians even now do, under similar circumstances. Hence even now the host receives and takes charge of the arms of his guests, lest a blood feud should arise from anyone being slain in a dispute. Thus the practice has continued among the same people from the time of Telemachus till now.

REPASTS.

The Homeric repasts exactly represent the Albanian feasts of the present day when in camp, or travelling, or on the hillside away from home. Nor were they much more barbarous than the latter, or, it may be added, than a true British feast of the lower classes,—showing that little or no progress has been made in civilization in this respect, in 4,000 years.

There are several accounts of these dinners, with all the minute details usual in the Homeric poems.

The first is in the Iliad (I, 201), where Odysseus and his deputation are hospitably received by Achilles in his tent. Immediately on their arrival he directs Patroclos to mix the better wine in a bigger bowl, and to have drinking cups ready for each. Then he himself places a big block near the fire on which he throws the forequarters of a sheep and of a fat goat, and the hindquarters of a stall-fed

hog, which he with the assistance of Automedon cuts into junks and spits,—thus combining the butcher and cook. Meanwhile Patroclos lights a great fire; and when it has burned down to embers, he places the spits over it on rocks, and throwing on salt, roasts them, making what now in Albania would be called *kebab*, or roast meat. This he places on rush or wicker platters, and hands round, while Patroclos serves the bread. "

Having cast some into the fire as a sort of practical grace or offering to the gods, they fall to, while Phoenix, the Herald, takes round the wine. Upon this Odysseus, at a hint from Ajax, drinks Achilles' health in a speech, beginning much as at present, "Health to thee, Achilles"! (Il. A, 446).

Chryses' sacrifice and subsequent dinner is much the same, with a little more religious ceremony and a greater share to the gods,—the entrails are reserved as a special delicacy, and a Paean to Apollo takes the place of the business-like bribery speech of Odysseus.

These two are typical of all similar festivities in the *Iliad*; nor do they materially differ in the *Odyssey*—except that those given in Penelope's palace and Laertes' house are not camp but domestic entertainments.

Alkinous slaughtered twelve sheep, eight swine and two oxen to entertain Odysseus (Od. Θ, 59). Eumaios prepares a 5-year old stall-fed sow for Odysseus, when he appears as a stranger (Od. Ξ, 419); and Antinoos sets a large paunch before him, filled with fat and blood—in fact a black pudding, by some supposed to have been a haggis. (Od. Υ, 163, 250: compare also for these feasts I, 455, T, 420, Υ, 25, etc.) At the grand feast in Odysseus' palace were consumed three stall-fed swine, a heifer, fat goats, and a cow; and the mode of preparation was the same as in the *Iliad*. "

The present Albanians, when travelling in the country, or in camp, disembowel a lamb, and stuffing it with thyme and other mountain herbs, skewer it by running a stake:

through it, and lighting a fire just as is described in the *Iliad*, they set up two forked sticks, and turn it over the fire till done in the skin,—wool and all. However uninviting the carbonized mass may appear, the burnt wool and skin are easily peeled off, leaving the meat quite tender and succulent. The host, leaning the spit against a tree or stone, slices off portions with his yatagan and hands them round.

Whoever has witnessed that most repulsive spectacle—an ox roasted whole on the coming of age of some territorial noble in England—must admit that, in matters of cookery, the peasants of Britain, who enjoy this holocaust, are not a whit more civilized in their feeding than the heroes before Troy. In fact there is no difference, save that the master of the house does not act as butcher and cook, and that ale takes the place of wine. Nor can much more be said for a Christmas dinner with its underdone beef, blood puddings, and the plum pudding abomination.

GIFTS.

The system of exchanging presents on all occasions of visits is equally practised by the modern Albanians. Though they be not so valuable as those of the Achaian chiefs, yet no guest ever leaves an Albanian house without some token. The Phaeacians gave splendid presents to Odysseus. (*Od.* N, 10-15 ; compare O, 445 and Δ, 130 and 615.)

GAMES.

The games performed at Phaeacia much resemble those of the present Albanians—running, leaping, throwing the quoit, wrestling, and the like ; the same are recorded at the funerals of Patroklos and Hector. (*Il.* Ψ, 263 ; xxiv, 800 ; *Od.* O, 15, 75, 106.)

CATTLE-LIFTING

was as much a custom among the Homeric heroes as with the modern Albanians. Odysseus went to demand compensation for cattle stolen. (*Od.* Φ, 19.) The occupations of

HUSBANDRY were not below the dignity of Chiefs. Eumaïos states that he was of gentle birth, yet he tended swine; Laertes cultivated his orchard and vineyard; Odysseus himself yoked a bull and a horse and ploughed the seashore to feign madness, sowing salt. The DOGS of the Molossi are a large breed resembling the Esquimaux type. When the Albanians wish to keep them off, they sit down and throw stones, as Odysseus did. (Od. Ξ , 29; Σ , 105.)

ARCHITECTURE.

The Pelasgi were an architectural people, for they fortified Athens and the Acropolis before it could be considered Greek. The remains of their stupendous structures termed Kyklopiàn or gigantic are to be found all over Epeiros, in Ithaka, and even in Italy. While the beautiful temples, built 3,000 years later by the same race when civilized, have barely remained as ruins to excite the wonder of succeeding architects of all nations, the rougher Kyklopiàn remains of a far anterior period have defied time.

ARMS were so highly prized that the manufacture of the best kind was attributed to the god, Hephaistos, who twice supplies Achilles. So with the Epeirots, arms are the most valued of possessions. The arms were inlaid with precious metals. An instance of the high consideration in which arms were held is found in Mediæval Britain, in the Heriot or Heregut—war-goods—that is arms lent to tenants, and on their death returnable to the Lord.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES
OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 201.)

XXVI.

NOTES ON THE DISEASE CALLED *CHOLERA MORBUS*,
OR *CHOLERA ASPHYXIA*.

Appearance of Cholera in 1787 at Arcot.

THE following notice is from the proceedings of the Medical Board of the Madras Presidency, dated the 29th November 1787 : " A disease having prevailed in October last at Arcot similar to an Endemic that raged amongst the natives about Paliconda in the Ambore valley in 1769-1770, in an army of observation in January 1783, and in the Bengal Detachment at Ganjam in 1781, and several other places at different times, as well as Epidemic over the whole coast in 1783, under the appearance of Dysentery, Cholera Morbus, or Mordyscim, but attended with spasms at the præcordia and sudden prostration of strength as characteristic marks ; seeing that this Board is ordered to make a record, the Physician General recommends as a guide to future practitioners, that a letter from Mr. Thompson, Surgeon of the 4th Regiment, containing an account of the dissection of one of the patients who died of the disease, and describing the state of the viscera, may be entered on the face of the proceedings, together with two letters from Mr. Duffin, Head Surgeon at Vellore, and one from Mr. Davis, Member of the Hospital Board, containing an account of the causes, symptoms and successful treatment of the sick by the use of the hot bath and fomentations, supporting the *vis vitæ* with wine, &c., and removing the putrid colluvies from the intestines. The Hospital Board sensible of the advantages that may result to the service from the mode proposed by the Physician

General, direct their Secretary to enter the letters he has mentioned, as follows : . . .

Supposed to be noticed in Hindu Writings.

“Cholera has been supposed to be described in the medical writings of the Hindus, some of which are of great antiquity, as may be inferred from their being attributed to Dhanwantary, a mythical personage coinciding in character with the Æsculapius of the Greeks. In a work of this author, styled the *Chintamani*, a disease resembling cholera is classed under the generic term *Sannipatha*, which includes all paralytic and spasmodic affections. The species of *Sannipatha* supposed to be the spasmodic or epidemic cholera, is called *Sitavga*, and is thus described : ‘Chilliness like the coldness of the moon over the whole body, cough and difficulty of breathing, hiccup, pains all over the body, vomiting, thirst, fainting, great looseness of the bowels, trembling of the limbs.’ Cholera is supposed by others, to be classed under the generic term *Ajerna* or *Dyspepsia*. The species, which is considered to correspond with the spasmodic or epidemic cholera is called *Vidhumar Vishuchi*, and is thus described : ‘The *Vishuchi* is most rapid in its effects. Its symptoms are, dimness of sight in both eyes, perspiration, sudden swooning, loss of understanding, derangement of the external and internal senses, pains in the knees and calves of the legs, griping pains in the belly, extreme thirst, lowness of the bilious and windy pulses, and coldness in the hands, feet, and the whole body.’ The first of these descriptions would apply more perfectly to the epidemic cholera, were it not that in a commentary thereon, in a Tamil work styled the *Yugumani*, *Chintamani*, the *Sitavga* is stated to be incurable, and fatal in 15 days. The latter description is perhaps less applicable, as not noticing either vomiting or purging amongst the symptoms. An attempt has been made to reconcile these two opinions by supposing that the *Vishuchi* is in fact the *Sitavga* in a more virulent or epidemic form ; but

it is not contended that the *Vishúchi* itself is always epidemic. On the contrary, it is said to be by no means uncommon, and to be described in these familiar but emphatic words, 'being seized with vomiting and purging, he immediately died.' These observations are drawn from a letter in the *Madras Courier*, dated 2nd January 1819, which was attributed to the pen of a gentleman well known for his partiality to and deep knowledge of Hindu literature. This paper being altogether curious, is given in the appendix, together with a very interesting letter from a respectable and learned native, Ram Raz, attached to the College, to whom it was submitted, in order to be compared with the most authentic copies of the medical works, from which the extracts purport to have been taken.

Noticed by Bontius in 1629.

"The Dutch physician Bontius, who wrote in the year 1629 at Batavia, thus describes Cholera Morbus: 'Besides the diseases above treated of as endemic in this country, the Cholera Morbus is extremely frequent. In cholera, hot, bilious matter, irritating the stomach and intestines, is incessantly and copiously discharged by the mouth and anus. It is a disorder of the most acute kind, and therefore requires immediate attention. Its principal cause, next to a hot and moist disposition of the air, is an intemperate indulgence in eating fruits, which, when green or beginning to putrefy, irritate and oppress the stomach by their superfluous humidity, and produce an acrid bile. The cholera might, with some degree of reason, be reckoned a salutary excretion; since such humours are discharged in it as, if retained, would prove prejudicial. However, as by such excessive purgations the animal spirits are exhausted, and the heart, the fountain of heat and life, is overwhelmed with putrid effluvia, those who are seized with this disorder generally die, and that so quickly as in the space of four and twenty hours at most.

"Such, among others, was the fate of Cornelius Van

Royen, steward of the hospital of the sick, who being in perfect health at six in the evening was suddenly seized with the cholera and expired in terrible agony and convulsions before twelve o'clock at night; the violence and rapidity of the disorder neutralizing the force of every remedy. But if the patient should survive the period abovementioned, there is great hope of a cure. '

" 'This disease is attended with a weak pulse, difficult respiration, and coldness of the extremities; to which are joined, great internal heat, insatiable thirst, perpetual wakefulness, and a restless and incessant tossing of the body. If together with these symptoms, a cold and foetid sweat should break forth, it is certain that death is at hand.'

" In treating of the 'Spasm,' this author says: 'This disorder of the Spasm, almost unknown with us in Holland, is so common in the Indies, that it may be reckoned among the common endemic diseases of the country. Its attack is sometimes so sudden, that people become in an instant as rigid as statues; while the muscles either of the anterior or posterior part of the body are involuntarily and violently contracted. A terrible disorder! which without any primary defect of the vital or natural functions, quickly hurries the wretched sufferer in excruciating torment to the grave, totally deprived of the capacity of swallowing either food or drink. There are also other partial spasms of the limbs; but these being more gentle and temporary, I shall not treat of them.

" 'People affected with this disease look horribly into the face of the by-standers, especially if, as often happens, both the cheeks are drawn convulsively towards the ears when the spasm comes on; a red and green colour is reflected from the eyes and face; the teeth are gnashed; and instead of the human voice, a harsh sound issues from the throat, as if heard from a subterraneous vault: to those unacquainted with the disorder the patient appears to be a dæmoniac. . . .'

" Although Bontius has treated of 'the Spasm' and of

‘Cholera Morbus’ under separate chapters, it is highly probable that these disorders were one and the same. . . .

Noticed by Dr. Paisley in 1774.

“The next notice in point of time, which we find of cholera is in a letter written by Dr. Paisley at Madras, dated 12th February 1774, as given by Curtis in his publication on the diseases of India. Dr. Paisley says, ‘I am favoured with yours, and am very happy to hear you have caused the army to change its ground ; for there can be no doubt, from the circumstances you have mentioned, that their situation contributed to the frequency and violence of the attacks of this dangerous disease, which is, as you have observed, a true Cholera Morbus—the same they had at Trincomalee. It is often epidemic among the blacks whom it destroys quickly, as their relaxed habits cannot support the effects of sudden evacuations, nor the more powerful operation of diseased bile. In the first campaign made in this country the same disease was horridly fatal to the blacks ; and fifty Europeans of the line were seized with it. I have met with many single cases since (many of them fatal or dangerous) of different kinds, arising from putrid bile being distributed by accidental causes, or by emetics or purgatives exhibited before it had been blunted or corrected. . . .’

“Sonnerat, whose travels in India embrace the period between 1774 and 1781, speaks of an epidemical disease on the Coromandel Coast, in all respects resembling cholera.

“‘The flux of this kind which reigned some years ago spread itself in all parts, making great ravages : above sixty thousand people from Cheringam to Pondicherry, perished. Many causes produced it. Some were attacked for having passed the night or slept in the open air ; others for having eaten cold rice with curds ; but the greater part for having eaten after they had bathed and washed in cold water, which caused an indigestion, with a universal spasm of the nervous kind, followed by violent pains and death, if

the patient was not speedily relieved. This epidemic disorder happened during the northerly winds in December, January and February; when they ceased, the malady disappeared. The only specific which Choisel, a foreign missionary, found, was treacle and *Droghte-amère*. Sonnerat notices the term 'Mort de chien' as being used in India, but applies it to 'indigestions,' which 'are very frequent,' and from which 'many have died suddenly.' . . .

At Ganjam in 1781.

"Cholera appears to have manifested itself pretty extensively as an epidemic in 1781. Its appearance on this occasion is thus noticed in the report on Cholera, by Mr. Jameson, Secretary to the Calcutta Medical Board: 'A Division of Bengal Troops, consisting of about 5,000 men, was proceeding, under the command of Colonel Pearse of the Artillery, in the Spring of 1781, to join Sir Eyre Coote's army on the coast. It would appear that a disease resembling cholera had been prevalent in that part of the country (the Northern Circars) sometime before their arrival; and that they got it at Ganjam on the 22nd March. It assailed them with almost inconceivable fury. Men previously in perfect health dropped down by dozens: and those less severely affected were generally dead or past recovery within less than an hour. The spasms of the extremities and trunk were dreadful, and distressing vomiting and purging were present in all. Besides those who died, above five hundred were admitted into Hospital on that day. On the two following days the disease continued unabated, and more than one half of the army was now ill.' In a note it is added, 'The occurrence of the disease on this occasion is noticed in a letter, dated 27th April 1781, from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors; and the destruction, which it caused in this detachment, is mentioned in terms of becoming regret.'

"After adverting to its progress in the Circars, the letter thus proceeds: 'The disease to which we allude has not been confined to the country near Ganjam. It afterwards

found its way to this place (Calcutta); and after chiefly affecting the native inhabitants so as to occasion great mortality during a fortnight, it is now generally abated, and is pursuing its course to the northward.’”

• Noticed by Curtis in 1782.

“From this period up to the year 1787 [and perhaps even to 1790] the cholera would appear to have existed epidemically in various parts of India. Curtis states that the fleet in which he served, joined Sir Edward Hughes’ squadron at Madras, in the beginning of 1782. In May of that year, his ship, the *Sea-horse*, arrived at Trincomallee, and he says: ‘The *Mort de chien*, or cramp, I was also informed by the attending Surgeon, had been very frequent and fatal among the seamen, both at the hospital and in some of the ships, particularly in the *Hero* and *Superb*. . . . About the middle of July 1782, I entered on duty at Madras Hospital. Here again I had occasion to see many more cases of the *Mort de chien*. It was frequent in the fleet in the month of August and the beginning of September, the season at which the land wind prevails on this part of the coast. We had some cases in the hospital in the end of October, and in November after the monsoon, but few in comparison. . . .’

“It is also noticed in the Bengal Report, that in the month of April 1783, cholera destroyed above 20,000 people assembled for a festival at Hurdwar; but it is said not to have extended to the neighbouring country. All these authorities would seem accordingly to establish the fact of the prevalence of cholera in India; and specially of its existence during the period extending from 1769-70 to 1787, when we find the first notice of the disease in the records of this office, . . . and which we now come to consider.

Dr. Duffin’s account of it at Vellore in 1787.

“Doctor Duffin, in a letter dated the 28th October 1787, says: ‘I returned yesterday from Arcot, where I had an

opportunity of seeing the situation of the sick. The Cholera Morbus rages, with great violence, with every symptom of putrescency ; and so rapid is its progress, that many of the men are carried off in 12 hours' illness.' ”

Cholera noticed in 1790 in the Northern Circars.

It is stated in the Calcutta report, that Cholera was again very prevalent and destructive in a Detachment of Bengal troops marching through the Northern Circars, in the months of March, April, May and June of 1790. . . .

A cursory inspection of the register of burials which has been kept at St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George from so remote a period as the year 1680, affords some grounds for believing that the population of Madras, including the military and sea-faring classes, have at certain periods suffered much from epidemics ; no light, however, is thrown on the nature of the sickness which may have prevailed. Thus, in 1685, the number of funerals was 31, which is about the average of the four previous years ; in 1686 there were 57 funerals ; in 1687,—93 ; in 1688,—84 ; in 1689,—75 ; after which they gradually diminished to about the first standard. The funerals amounted again to more than the usual number in 1711, being 92 ; in 1712,—89 ; and 1714,—80. In 1755 there appeared to have been much sickness, 101 funerals having then taken place. The deaths increased yearly till 1760, when there were 140. After this they decreased, and continued stationary till 1769, when 148 took place, a great many of which were of seamen, soldiers, and recruits. A most remarkable increase in the mortality is observable at a period when we know that cholera prevailed on the coast. Thus from the year 1770 to 1777, the average number of funerals was about 105 in the year, the population, it is to be supposed, having by this time increased. From that period till 1785, the funerals were : In 1778,—165 ; in 1779,—190 ; in 1780,—353 ; in 1781,—516 ; in 1782,—657 ; in 1783,—440 ; in 1784,—250 ; in 1785,—99.

The occasional presence of fleets and armies no doubt contributed to swell the lists of, funerals at particular periods; but on the occasions in question the mortality extended also to the civil population; and as the instance of the greatest mortality which is recorded took place at a time when we know from other sources that cholera prevailed on the coast, there seems ground for inferring that the same cause probably existed on the other occasions which have been noticed. Though not immediately connected with the subject, we may here be permitted to remark, that an examination of the obituary affords signal proof of an amelioration in the health of sea-faring people, the mortality amongst them, in remote periods, appearing to have been excessive, in comparison with that of modern times.

Returns of sick to the Hospital Board from Arcot and Vellore from 1789 to 1814: (cholera is known to have prevailed during the three first years):

1787 - 130	1792 - - 0	1797 - - 0	1802 - - 8	1807 - - 79	1812 - - 40
1788 - - 54	1793 - - 13	1798 - - 1	1803 - - 45	1808 - - 60	1813 - - 45
1789 - - 34	1794 - - 3	1799 - - 0	1804 - - 53	1809 - - 57	1814 - - 65
1790 - - 9	1795 - - 1	1800 - - 2	1805 - - 16	1810 - - 133	
1791 - - 7	1796 - - 6	1801 - - 25	1806 - - 55	1811 - - 67	

In an interesting paper on the history of cholera, in the *Indian Annals of Medical Science*, Dr. D. B. Smith quotes Dr. John Macpherson and other authorities, to prove that malignant cholera showed itself in one of the first campaigns of Europeans in India, in the year 1503. The Portuguese found it in India. The first undoubted great epidemic of cholera within the period of European intercourse with India, took place at Goa, in 1543. From the accounts of Zacutus, Bontius and others, the disease appears,

about 1632, to have been widely diffused in Java, India, Arabia and Morocco. There was a period of quiescence of the disease in the early part of the 18th century—then a great outburst after 1756, which lasted about thirty years, and was followed by a period of comparative rest till 1817. Since that time it had been active. Dr. Smith has done a service in reprinting the correspondence between Mr. C. Chapman, Judge of Jessore, and Mr. W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government during the great outburst of 1817 in that District and Burdwan.

A shrine was opened, in 1817, at Kidderpore, to a newly created goddess, who was known as the celebrated Oola Bibi (the “Lady of the Flux!”), rival of the great *Kālī Dēvi*, whose famous temple is at Kali Ghaut, on the banks of Tolly’s Nullah, which was formerly the channel of the Hooghly. The term cholera (according to Corbyn) was derived, by Trallian, from *cholās* an intestine, and *rhco* to flow—literally “bowel-flux.” The old native (Mahratta) name for the disease was *Mordshi*. Dr. Macpherson has traced the history of the term in a very interesting manner. *Mordschi* first became *Mordeshi*, then the *Mordeshin* of the Portuguese, which in turn was corrupted into the *Mort de Chien* of the French.

[This last passage is a printed extract in Sir Walter Elliot’s note-book, but I do not know its source.—R. S.]

(*To be continued.*)

INDIAN TUSSUR SILK AND OUR SERICULTURAL OUTLOOK.

BY MISS L. N. BADENOCH.

THE true establishment of our manufacture of silk we owe to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Deprived by it of freedom of worship, a million people were driven to their death, or to foreign shores, chiefly to England. These refugees, including among them no fewer than fifty thousand of their country's ablest workmen, settled in several of our northern manufacturing towns, and at Spitalfields, and planted upon a firm footing the industry, which is justly considered the most artistic in the world. Alas ! this happy tide, so beneficial to our interest, for over a hundred and fifty years, once again has retreated whence it came, carrying with it not the workmen, but their trade ; while France owns a development, with which none probably is to be compared.

The reason of our disaster may be summed up in one word, *neglect*. We have neglected the progressive and scientific spirit of the times, and to fall behind in this age of competition, is—extinction. While France has her Lyons Chamber of Commerce, with a Laboratory for the scientific study of silk, her Syndicat de l'Union des Marchands de Soie, and similar institutions, as well as her important silk Journals, England, for long, had not even a silk journal, and has trusted far too much to individual enterprise. Her technical education until lately has been *nil*, while the artistic exigencies of the subject, have been left entirely out of reckoning. No doubt, a more immediate cause of the decline of the English industry is to be found in the French Treaty of 1860, giving France the opportunity of sending her goods to our markets duty free, which rapidly ousted the home manufactures, because they are cheaper and more suited to modern taste. But, in reality, this cause is involved in the larger one of our want of knowledge and exertion. Had we been armed with these, our goods would have stood their ground better in emergency. Delay in removing the tax would have simply kept us the longer ignorant of our own ignorance, as compared with the work of foreign rivals.

That competition in the matter of cheapness must entail a keen struggle to us, it is only fair to admit, since the cost of the living of our poor, and the wage that they demand are great, and the hours of labour are short, in relation to the more cheaply-producing Continental centres. With frequent strikes, with the high duties imposed abroad on our exports, and with the freaks of fashion, we have likewise been heavily handicapped. But these evils are not insuperable, as it has been amply proved in other directions ; besides, they show a tendency to lessen. And such evils do not touch our national pride in the same way as the discovery of our inability to cope with the ingenuity of others, and our defeat in the match with our more skilful and better-informed Continental confrères,—even.

though that skill be occasionally a species of "black-art," which is in principle antagonistic to the English manufacture. As to fashion, she is a fickle goddess, for there is every chance that what is not the mode may again become so.

There is, in fact, no adequate reason why we should not resume, *and extend*, the fair share that we once held in this beautiful branch of imperial industry. We have a climate all that can be desired, more humid perhaps than any, we have machinery surpassed by none, and brain-power, and technical instruction, of science, and the arts, is slowly beginning to be felt.

There is one department beyond our powers, however, that of silk-growing, or sericulture, proper. It has been tried several times in England and Scotland, and in Ireland once, but without success, as might have been foretold, for nothing but failure can be expected in a country where the worms are hatched ere the leaves that constitute their food are ready. As for the subsequent operation of reeling, the price of female labour in silk-producing districts is too low to encourage the idea of carrying on this work in England.

But these failings need cause little regret, with India to depend upon as the nursery of our requirements, which owns the vastest silk-producing fauna in the world,—it is a very silken Paradise. India ours, no country is so rich in sericultural wealth as we, being in certain respects in advance even of China, which is restricted to a limited variety of moths. India, on the contrary, has her numerous species of Bombycidae, both wild and domesticated, which are distinguished from all others by the circumstance of the larvæ that produce the silk feeding upon the leaves of the mulberry-tree. She has besides her jungle broods of many sorts, which feed upon the leaves of trees and plants which grow wild in the jungles. One of the most wide-spread, and important, of these is the TUSSUR MOTH. It is the one that is likely to do much towards building up once more the English industry.

Turning to the natural history side of the question, nothing could be more interesting than the actual production of the silk. The silk-moth has to pass through various phases, in the mysterious ordering of its life. It is born as an egg, and it changes to a larva, or caterpillar, or worm, as in this instance it is usually called. The third stage is the dormant chrysalis, or pupa; and eventually from this form issues the perfect moth, in its turn to lay eggs, and to perpetuate the race. The general formation of all silk is the same; let us briefly follow the life-story of the Indian Tussur Moth (*Antheraea Mylitta*).

It is a handsome creature, and is distinguished by four remarkable naked spots on the wings, which are larger in the female than in the male, window-like, and almost of the transparency of glass, and are surrounded by a purple circle,—being due to the absence of wing-scales, or dust-like particles, with which otherwise the whole wing is covered. From this circumstance, the insect is regarded as sacred by the natives, who believe the spots to resemble the *chakra* or *discus* of the god Vishnu, or to have originated by the imprint of Vishnu's fingers. A few days after the insect's "exclusion," the moth lays her eggs, 50 to 100 in number, and then dies. In 8 to

12 days the young caterpillars are hatched. At first they are about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, and in weight only the fifth of a grain. They are of a beautiful green colour, and marked with reddish spots, and a reddish-yellow band running lengthways. They make haste to feed, increase in size, and repeatedly cast their skin; in 40 to 45 days they have attained a length of from 4 to 7 inches, and they weigh about 370 grains. The end of the larval existence of the insect being reached, it makes ready for transition to the chrysalis, or all but lifeless pupa.

All silk-worms have two stores of silk, one on either side of the alimentary canal, and two orifices for its ejection, situated below and on each side of the mouth. To protect and conceal itself during the momentous crisis that is approaching, the larva spins, or rather secretes, around it a few layers of silk,—a silken chamber, so to speak. A slender parallel filament is thrust simultaneously from each orifice, forming in fact a double thread, which on exposure to the atmosphere solidifies, and becomes silk. The caterpillar deposits it by sweeping, its head from side to side, and as the matter exudes, the larva coats it with a somewhat yellow varnish, technically called gum. The quantity being thick enough to ensure privacy, the insect discharges some kind of cementing fluid, imparting the drab colour peculiar to Tussur silk. By a muscular action of its body, it causes the fluid to thoroughly permeate the fibres, and to harden the walls. In this manner, depositing layer after layer of small loops of silk, and cementing them at intervals, the caterpillar continues until its stock of silk is exhausted, and the cocoon has become so hard that a sharp knife is required to cut it. Wonderful to say, this nest is suspended from a tree, by a long stout cord-like pedicle, which at its upper extremity closely clasps a twig or branch. Round the branch, for hundreds of times, the manufacturer carries its silken fluid, and thus at last a strong ring is formed. The seriposition is then prolonged into the pedicle, and to the end of this the cocoon is attached, the manner of suspending the structure reminding one of that of some fruits. The arrangement is amply justified, by reason of the worm's long life in pupa. Were the cocoons fastened to the leaves alone, like those of species whose chrysalis state is of short duration, they would fall with the leaves, and would be liable to injury. They resemble the shell of an egg, they are of an egg-shape, and their size is on an average $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long with a diameter of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It is these silken chambers, which in the case of the *Bombyx mori*, the ordinary silk-worm of commerce, have for generations and for centuries been wound off into thread, and have been transformed into fabrics of wonderful charm and variety in India and the further East.

As soon as the cocoon is complete, the caterpillar changes to pupa or chrysalis, and in this shroud it rests, until the time for its appearance as a perfect moth. This may be in a few weeks, or it may be delayed even for eight or nine months. No wonder the abode needs be firm and impenetrable, in view of such lengthened probation of the inmate, necessitating its weathering the hottest sun and occasional thunderstorms. As the emergence of the moth draws near, a moist spot is observed at one end of the cocoon. The pupa secretes an acid fluid, which has the effect of

softening the cement, enabling the fast-coming insect, by aid of its legs and wing-spines,—it has neither teeth nor mouth proper to assist it,—to separate the fibres till the hole allows of its creeping out. Its wings have but to expand and dry, when it enters into its perfect state.

There is little doubt that Tussur Silk has been utilised in India from time immemorial, and it has been largely exported in a native-woven undyed cloth, in pieces of ten yards. It is now long since the attention of English naturalists in India was first drawn to its possible capabilities. But not until 1858 was its fitness perceived for better things than those that fell to its lot to accomplish in the East. But the West would have none of it. Even only fifteen years back, Europe regarded it with supreme contempt. With this "*rubbish*," she said, nothing could be done. The manufacturers had given it trial, it had proved unworthy, and nothing should induce them to raise expectations which could never be realised.

The difficulties lay in the fact, that whereas the cocoon of *B. mori* is soft, and when macerated in water the silk is easily reeled off, and then easily dyed,—the hardness of the Tussur cocoon presents an obstacle to the reeling of a continuous thread, while the hindrances to dying the silk were deemed well-nigh invincible. The native reeling was excessively amiss; in the villages especially, the system employed was primitive. In fact, the rough and filthy state of the raw material as it came into this country, consequent on the skillless and uncleanly methods of its preparation for the markets by the native workers, not only furnished a silk of poor quality, but constituted one of the chief factors in its resistance to tinctorial matter. This want of adaptability of the silk also arises in great measure from its very nature. The fibre of *B. mori* is round and homogeneous, like a glass-rod, and it is without structure; thus it is readily dyed, since it takes the tinctorial matter with regularity; and it has a chemical affinity for dyes and tans of various sorts. The Tussur fibre, on the other hand, is more or less flat or tape-like, and moreover, fine as it appears, it is made up of a number of lesser fibres or fibrillæ, lying longitudinally, and united together by a hardened fluid. This structure is far less dye-absorbing than the other. The fibrillæ are extremely impervious, and they have a tendency to split, making the silk swell out when it is subjected to severe dyeing processes.

This property renders Tussur particularly difficult to dye black. The striking flatness of the fibre makes the task harder than it would otherwise be, because it compels an unequal diffusion of reflection of light. The natural lustre of the silk is thus seen in scintillations, unlike the mulberry-fed silk, which, being round, reflects the light in all directions, giving the Tussur a kind of speckly aspect, or producing little white sparks or glares of light from the angle of incidence on the flat surface. Obviously, the darker the dye, the more perceptible is this singularity; in pale-shades of colours it is scarcely visible. This defect can of course never be improved, it is part and parcel of the silk. But shall we consider that a defect which is a distinguishing quality, one that has a charm all its own, and a variety, different to, but not impossible to appreciate, along with the satisfaction that we experience at the more monotonous order of the silk of commerce?

The fawn tint too, common to Tussur,—so dissimilar to the golden and white cocoons of *Mori*,—the so-called resinous sheath, permitted the silk to take only certain very dark, not to say lugubrious, dyes, until a bleaching-agent was discovered, competent, and yet in action gentle enough, to extract what is only a dirty stain, and to get the silk sufficiently pale, to assume the warmest, the most delicate, and the most beautiful shades of colour.

Practically all the difficulties with respect to Tussur have now been overcome, lifting it out of the slough of obloquy in which it was immersed, rendering it in short a marketable commodity ; an achievement thanks to the life-long devotion, and to the patient chemical and microscopic researches of Mr. Wardle. His services we cannot over-estimate, to India and to every Tussur-producing country, to England and everywhere else where Tussur is consumed. An immense impetus to its development has been afforded, among the French by the Paris Exhibition of 1878, and in England by the Exhibitions of 1886 and 1887 : at all of which large and valuable collections of the utilizations of the silk were shown.

It is now time that the importance of the subject should be fully recognised, and that the former prejudice should fade away. The rubicon being passed, manufacturers begin to expend their utmost endeavours to find new openings for it, and to present it to advantage. Do not for a moment imagine it destined to replace the product of *B. mori* ; nothing discovered can ever hope to eclipse that. But there are a multitude of articles for which it is well adapted ; for some things it is better suited than its more lovely fellow.

In a word, its day has arrived, and the question of supply becomes an important one. India, if she so choose, has a great future in store for her sericulture. But if India, and not China, who has shown itself quicker to respond to the call, is to be the reservoir of Europe, her industry must become as organised as the production of the mulberry-fed silks. Simple collection of the wild cocoons will not do ; a systematic cultivation of the food-trees is required, attention to the systematic breeding and rearing of the insects, enforced application of proper reeling-apparatus, under European or other trained supervision, and care of all imperfect cocoons, and waste. This is a vast work, merely awaiting stimulus from us, and is possible over the whole, or nearly the whole, of that gigantic Continent. That the nucleus of this remarkable trade already exists in India is a most promising feature, since it obviates the ushering in of novelty, always distressing to a people more prone to adherence to old paths and ancient tradition, than to the putting on of new habits.

NOTE.—The Paris Exhibition of 1878 gave a great impetus to the Tussur silk industry. With the success achieved, chiefly through the persevering energy and application of Mr. T. Wardle, of the Hencroft Works, Leek, in the bleaching and dyeing of Tussur, the use of this silk has greatly increased, and there seems to be a great and growing demand for more material. China, more alive to demands than our lethargic Indian government, had risen to export 2,874,766 lb. in 1888, from 169,496 lb. exported in 1879. Lyons which in 1879, consumed only 7,420 lb. of Tussur, in 1890 consumed 673,534 lb. In the week ending 11th of April 1891, Lyons used 39,160 lb. of French, 39,040 of Tussur, and only 8,360 of Italian silk. The average prices of silk fibres stood in 1891 as follows per lb.:—French silk 20/6; Italian Novi 18/6; do. Lombard 17/; British 17/; Japan best 16/6; do. ordinary 15/3; Bengal 14/6; China 14/; Canton 11/;—Indian Tussur 6/4; and China Tussur 4/2. The manufacture of Tussur silk is extending rapidly; and a greater variety of things is being made in it than most people are aware. Our readers will doubtless be glad to see a detailed list of its chief uses:—

1. Sealcloth, plain, rayé and embossed, sealettes, Plush and other pile fabrics, for which the demand is great. Originally made from "waste," it soon exhausted that material, and "waste" had to be made out of reeled silk worth from 4s. to 5s. a lb., which was thus reduced to the value of from 1s. to 2s., in order to be worked into a fabric, which from its extreme beauty and durability, commanded a price that still left a good profit.

2. Silk for Embroidery purposes, for use not only on Tussur itself, but also on various other materials, cotton velvets, etc.;—chenille, chenille fringes; tassels, etc.

3. Tapestry cloths and curtain stuffs; brocades; brocatelles.

4. Art furnishing materials; chenille table covers; chair and sofa cloths; etc.

5. Handkerchiefs.

6. Lace.

7. Trimming materials, ribbons, etc.

8. Thuris cloths suitable for dresses, tea gowns, dust cloaks, shirts, under wear and linings.

9. Damasks, flowered damasks, and open-work dress damasks.

10. Tussur velvets.

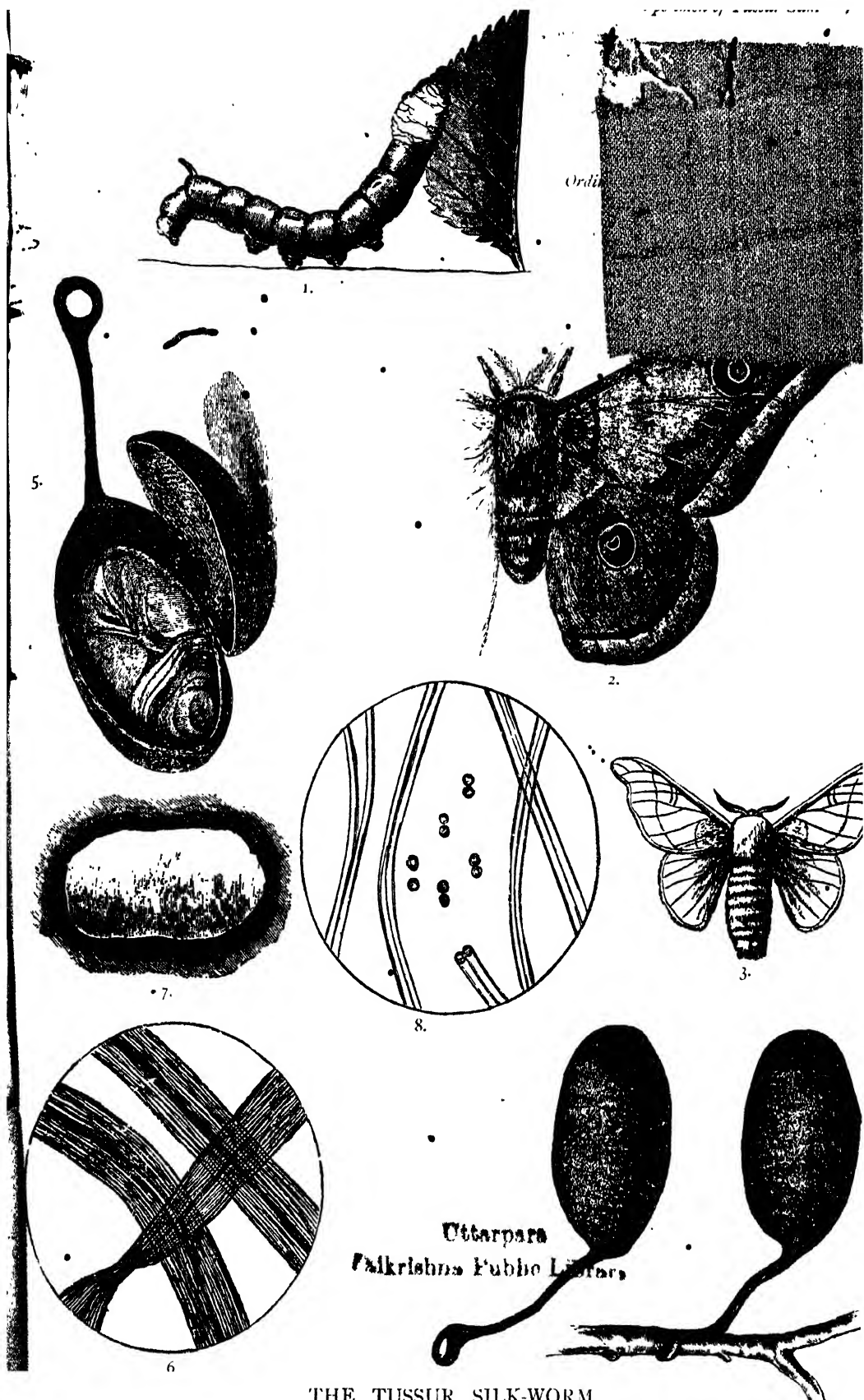
11. Plaids, shawls, opera shawls (knitted).

12. Summer curtains.

13. Elastic webs, for garters, pocket books, etc.

14. Embossing on other materials, with Tussur silk reduced to a powder, and producing a raised work of great lustre and beauty: it is a recent French invention.

We are indebted to the Journal of the *Society of Arts*, for most of what is given in this "note," and to Mr. Wardle for the illustrations. The specimen of Tussur silk we have procured from the poor "up-country" weavers in Bengal, whose benefit and improvement must go *pari passu* with that of a new branch of European industry and commerce. Tussur silk is not only being thus used by itself; but in combination with wool, cotton and the finer silk of the *Bombyx Mori*, it has entered on another phase of its varied utility. The question of an improvement and domestication of the Tussur worm, and of the probable results of its crossing with other species is too wide for treatment in this number of our Review.—ED.



THE TUSSUR SILK-WORM.

Larva of *Bombyx Mori* of Italy.
Antheraea Mylitta, or Tussur Moth (Male).
Bombyx Mori of Italy (Female).
 Tussur Cocoons, with their Pedicles, showing natural
 attachment to branches.

5. Tussur Cocoon cut open, with chrysalis inside.
 6. Silk of *Antheraea Mylitta*, or Tussur Silk.
 7. Cocoon of *Bombyx Mori* of Italy.
 8. Silk of *Bombyx Mori* of commerce, showing also
 transverse sections.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

SIAM AND LORD SALISBURY.

(*With a French Map of Siam showing the claims and possessions of France in Indo-China.*)

IN March last the *Bombay Gazette* reported that :

"Lord Rosebery has notified to the Government of Siam that Great Britain will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam. In point of fact, an understanding was arrived at between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington some three years ago, by which, on the one hand, the right of India to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the North-East frontier of Siam, and claimed by the latter country, was conceded, and on the other the claim of the Empire of Annam, which is a French Protectorate, to control the Laotian country lying between the Annamese Hills parallel to the Coast and the Mekong, was recognised by the British Foreign Office."

On this paragraph we observed that it explained "the mystery of our conduct towards Siam and the easy confidence of the French."

The *Spectator* quoted our extract from the *Bombay Gazette* in an able article on "the Siamese question," in which, first among our contemporaries it gave due weight to its "Cambodian" aspect, though a letter in our Review, above that signature, written as early as the 4th of May last, already had, we fear in vain, brought it to the knowledge of the British public, and had also foretold every single item of the forthcoming French demands, besides others that are now being made or are in contemplation. Lord Salisbury then addressed the "Spectator" as follows :

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a statement, quoted by you in the *Spectator* of July 22, from Indian papers, to the effect that "Lord Salisbury, three years ago, came to an understanding with M. Waddington by which India was to occupy the Shan States between Burmah and the north-east frontier of Siam, though claimed by the latter country, while France was to have all the left bank of the Mekong." Will you allow me to say that this is a mistake? No understanding on this subject was come to between M. Waddington and myself.—I am, Sir, etc.,

Hatfield House, Hatfield, July 25th.

SALISBURY.

On this the Editor of the *Spectator* expressed his satisfaction "that our hands are in no way tied by a diplomatic transaction." This we were also glad to find, but as we happen to be informed that the practical absorption of Siam and the construction of a Canal through the Malay Peninsula, had been one of the objects of a "combination" of Baron Reinach [of Panama fame], M. Lanessan (now Governor of French Indo-China) and others pecuniarily interested in this "patriotic" undertaking; as we moreover knew how mistaken Lord Dufferin had been in Burmah and Afghanistan in "greasing the wheels," to quote a compliment to him of the *Times*, we felt that something more was required than the above diplomatic repudiation of an actual "understanding" having been "come to" between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington, in order to cut the ground of "continuity of policy" from under the feet of Lord Rosebery; especially as the *Bombay Gazette* repeated and defined its previous statement in the following article :

"General attention will be directed to the statement of M. Deville that Lord Rosebery and Lord Dufferin have 'frankly declared' that Great Britain will not interfere to hinder France 'protecting' her frontier. . . . What is doubtless meant is that the British Government have *again* declared that they will not interfere in the dispute between France and Siam respecting the left bank of the Mekong. . . . Lord Rosebery had made that declaration and subsequently, stated in the House of Lords that he did not even know what were the claims France was pressing upon the Siamese; he added that the Siamese themselves did not know either. . . . The Siamese question was discussed at considerable length three years ago between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington, at the time when sundry Siamese mandarins interfering in Shan States, which we claimed as belonging of right to Burma, were bundled out by officers of the Indian Government. The desirability of ascertaining the true limits of the Siamese Kingdom, which were once as elastic as a Gladstone bag then became apparent, and there were many *pour-parlers* which led to an understanding. That it was expedient to come to an understanding on the subject was evident when the French Foreign Office suggested that the simplest plan would be for the British Government to do as they pleased in the territory west of a line drawn from north to south through Siam, while the French should do the same east of that line. If we are not greatly mistaken the understanding substituted for this trenchant project was that the French should rectify their Annamese borders as we had rectified our Burmese. This we fancy is the operation which we are now witnessing."

The whole of this article being very much more explicit than its predecessor, we sent it on to Lord Salisbury together with other papers, as it was "being apparently taken for granted that the British Government (and that too a Conservative one) had come to *some* arrangement with France at the expense of Siam and that this fact stood revealed by recent cessions and present negotiations." We had also heard from Siamese sources that, had they some time ago accepted the offer of a French Protectorate, they would not have suffered their present pecuniary and territorial losses, but that, having good reason to believe in British support, the last crisis, with France, which has led to their apparent irreparable injury, had been precipitated by them.

We are glad to say that to our unmistakable questions we received the highly satisfactory reply, repeated in two letters, that no understanding of any kind was arrived at upon the question of Siam during the tenure of office of the late Government. The fact, so unreservedly stated, is very creditable to the Conservative Government and is a complete refutation of the allegation that the present Government merely carried out the secret negotiations entered into by their predecessors, although, of course, everybody thought all along that the present Government had drifted far beyond any possible scope that such negotiations, if any, could have had. Our own knowledge of French public opinion on the subject of Siam for the last few years entirely corroborates Lord Salisbury's statement. It was laid down, time after time, in every French paper and on every French platform, whether of the "Colonial group," or in Geographical and other literary meetings, that on no account, and at no time, would the French allow any advice, much less interference, on behalf of Siam against any French claim of whatever kind, even if it included an avowed French Protectorate of that country, which was "the natural complement of the French empire of Indo-China." The utmost to which moderate counsels, timidly uttered, would go, was to suggest a *modus vivendi* with England in tapping the trade of China from the South, but only *after* France had

settled with Siam in her own way. "Just as you have 250 million customers in India, so we mean to have the 400 million customers of China." It is inconceivable that Lord Rosebery should ignore the numerous admirable works on Indo-China, written by French authors, among which, we wish to bring to special notice "*La France et l'Angleterre en Asie*" by Philippe Lehault published by Berger-Levrault of Paris and Nancy. Its first volume on "Indo-China and the last days of the dynasty of the Kings of Ava" was published in 1892 and contains an immense amount of information as also a number of political and economic maps, including one on the explorations of Mr. Holt Hallett, which alone would have enabled, or would still enable, Lord Rosebery to answer any questions that may be put to him regarding the present, past and future French policy in that part of the East. He might also read with advantage the extract from M. Lehault's second volume, "An Appeal to the Chamber of Commerce on the future of Indo-China." We propose to review in an early issue this work which *inter alia* throws some light on the Marquis of Ava, who ought never to have been appointed to a country in which he had long before been very unpopular.

The great mistake of Siam has been to adopt European methods. As one of the biggest British exporters informs us, "had they never spoken English or French, they could now be in the safe seclusion of barbarous Morocco, although the latter is within easy gun-shot of nearly all the navies of Europe." Had the King of Siam not been more anxious for the preservation of his palace than for that of his country, he could have defied even a bombardment of Bangkok, and French troops would now be dragging themselves out in weariness towards the Mekong frontier. Yet even a bombardment of Bangkok might have been avoided, if, whilst repudiating all intention of interfering in the Franco-Siamese frontier and compensation disputes, we had merely declared that we could not allow Bangkok to be bombarded, for $\frac{1}{10}$ of the trade there belongs to us. To this declaration France could not have raised any objection. Perhaps also Bangkok would have been safe, if the offer of the Chinese residents to sink their Junks in order to block the river passage, had been accepted. French Consuls have always tried to obtain a right "to protect" *all* Chinamen at Bangkok in their dealings with the Siamese, but there are very few real French Indo-Chinese subjects in Siam. The attempt, however, will be renewed and will probably be successful, unless China can prevent it.

In the meanwhile there is a proposal for creating an independent buffer-state between the French possessions (actual and claimed) and those of China and our own, under the fugitive son of Theebaw, the Mingun prince. This would be, indeed, poetic and political justice, which, advocated by a truly Liberal Ministry, might lead to the creation of a Marquis of Bangkok or of Laos or to the revival of the ancient Empire of the Khmers in an extended Cambodia as a reward for its loyalty and sacrifices to its French Protectors.

To make a consummation clear which many Frenchmen devoutly desire, we have much pleasure in presenting our readers with a popular and trustworthy coloured French Map of Siam and neighbouring countries,

showing Tonquin, Cambodia and other French possessions as also the "contested" territory. It has been compiled from French official sources and forms the last page of an illustrated Supplement, which we have purchased for our readers, of the "Petit Journal."

Palmar qui meruit ferat.

The authorities in Burma are at this present time considering the report of Mr. Bagley and his surveying party. Of the three alternate routes over the Shan plateau the line via Maymyo is said to have been selected as the most practicable. The distance between Mandalay and Thibaw has been detailed and sectioned as follows; 1st, Mandalay to Maymyo; 2nd, Maymyo to Gokteik gorge; 3rd, Gokteik including the gorge with the descent near Thabyinge and the ascent to Naungpine; 4th section, Naungpine to Thibaw. Total length of the railway line comes to 124 miles. With temporary bridges it is estimated that the cost will not exceed one lakh of Rupees per mile.

COW-KILLING AND GREASED CARTRIDGES.

The recent riots throughout India which have temporarily subsided in Bombay, where a recrudescence is expected on the return of the Seedees from the Persian Gulf, are solely due to the carelessness or to the ignorance of Government. Indeed, they are an inevitable and ever-recurring result of an Administration that will insist on being a foreign rule, instead of being based on indigenous sympathies and on a thorough knowledge of the languages, the religions, the historical and other associations of an Oriental country. Dr. Forrest has proved to demonstration that the mutiny of 1857 was due to "the greased cartridges," the introduction of which must have been deliberate, unless we accuse the old and experienced Ordnance Department of wilful ignorance. The eventual loss of India to Great Britain is inevitable unless its rulers learn to subordinate English views to Oriental necessities.

Whenever Parsis or Muhammadans sought refuge or hospitality in Hindu territories, their Rajas always made it the *sine qua non* condition of their admission that they should not slaughter kine. In Kashmir, where the bulk of the population is Muhammadan, the killing of a cow used to be punished by starvation to death, and several Europeans, suspected of the deed, were accidentally drowned. In Lhasa the Buddhist Lamas tolerate large settled colonies of Muhammadans, but will not allow the visit of omnivorous Europeans. In some parts even of British India, the wild Nilgai, or so-called "blue cow" is protected from the sportsman. In the "India of the Rajas" the killing of cattle is prohibited. In British India it is allowed, but wise officials try to prevent its ostentatious exhibition. Pieces of beef are not hung out of Muhammadan butchers' shops, the carrying of that meat is concealed under a cloth and the shambles are generally outside the city in a walled enclosure. Where the British Gallo of the place is careless, the Hindu population is in a constant state of alarm. Ignorant or mischievous Muhammadans of the lower classes are apt to push pieces of beef in the face of Hindu passers.

by with the observation, "This is your God;" and Muhammadan butchers are murdered *en masse* as at Amritsur, Raikot and elsewhere by revenging Hindu and Sikh fanatics.

Whether the sacredness of the cow is originally due to economical or purely religious reasons, the fact remains that it is the very basis of the peace and of the agricultural prosperity of India. There are instances to show that whatever invader will promise to prevent the slaughter of kine will at once secure the adhesion of the Hindu masses in any part of India. There are no Russian spies in India, for the Russian Foreign Office can ever obtain information from its British *confrère* that is denied to British officials; but there are, no doubt, Russian emissaries in India, some of whom are received with an overdue courtesy which the natives attribute to fear. It is understood that a Russian rule means the restoration of territories annexed from native chiefs and—old promise of every intending invader—the redress of grievances of every kind, the reduction of taxation especially of that on salt, as in Russia itself; and, above all, the prohibition of the slaughter of kine, and of all missionary interference or propagandas coupled with the perfect equality of all races in admission to civil, political and military offices, *provided they are good Russians*.

To Muhammadans these offers possess no attraction. It is true that the Shah of holy Bokhara still reigns, but he governs less than the Nizám of Hyderabad; it is admitted that there are Muhammadan regiments of the Emperor's Guards, in which from the general to the private, all belong to that faith, but everywhere "native troops" are the first food for powder. It is true that the members of whatever creed, except the Jews, are "hail fellows well met" on the common ground of intoxication in the hospitable circles of Russia, but the orthodoxy of Muslim leaders objects to such fraternization and the "consensus fidelium" must follow. It is true that Iskandar Khan, one of the possible claimants to Herat if not Kabul, was a Colonel in the Russian Guards, but he was soon involved in a duel and had to leave. Colonel Alikhanoff governed Merv as long as he was wanted; he has since been displaced on an apparently trumped-up charge. Muhammadan officers are marched to the religious services of the Greek-orthodox church or are not allowed the use of Mullahs or Imáms of their own persuasions in their regiments, whereas British tolerance permits it. No doubt, the Russian Government has constructed several Mosques, which the English have never done, and has subsidized the public criers of the Ramazán, in newly-conquered territory, but then it has also attempted to hang up the Emperor's effigy in Mosques and it has revised the holy Koran in accordance with the rules of Russian Censorship. No Muhammadan can forgive this, however much in the regions of the *haute politique* of France and Russia, the conciliation of Muhammadans be laid down as an axiom. There is the stillness of death in native Russian Central Asia. Even the Kirghiz are being "Russianized." This means the loss of individuality, so apparent in the late Pamir expedition where the Kossacks could break the ground but were useless as scouts, for which the heavy and stupid Kirghiz shepherds had to be employed as "the Kirghiz militia." Above all, so long as the "Commander of the Faithful," the

Khalifa Sultan of Turkey has not thrown in his lot with Russia, so long will the Sunnis, who constitute the majority of Muhammadans all over the world, rather side with England, its natural foe.

NAWAB A'BDURRAHMAN.

THE DISTURBING EFFECT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

I have pointed out since 1865 that as so-called "English education" extended on purely secular lines, without the previous discipline of Arabic and Sanscrit for Muhammadans and Hindus respectively, every Government School would become a centre of sedition. Indeed, even in villages, the people are now learning to attribute to the Authorities disasters that used to be patiently borne as the inflictions of a wise Providence and where they formerly looked for sympathy, if not redress, to the Deputy-Commissioner as "the father and mother" of the district, they now turn for advice to the local Babu, who knows English. The official, who is on his guard, is now not half so friendly to natives, even if a Radical, as the "Quy hay" of the olden days, and the consequence is mutual distrust. The weakening, moreover, of the village councils or *Panchayets* and even of the trade *Panches*, the harassing effect of English reforms and the growth of litigation, fostered by the decline of the authority of Caste and of the native religions, offer an opportunity to Babus of rising to power by availing themselves of the ever-existing elements of, hitherto, passive discontent, but they have not created these elements. The abolition of the Educational Department is the very first step to take, if we desire to develop in India a love of learning for its own sake, or for practical requirements, to be paid for by those that want it. The rest will keep to their traditional occupations and, within the range of their usefulness, will, at any rate, "think straight," which they cannot now do in a foreign language without its associations. M. Vambéry, who has never been to India, may talk about the blessings of English education, but we who have never known a single original work of merit, and few good deeds emanate from those whom we have denationalized, would welcome back the strengthening, if narrowing, effects of old Oriental education, gradually adapting itself to modern requirements.

True India will then return to its Natural leaders. Local grievances will be redressed locally and there will be no *imperium in imperio* for the organised ventilation of some universal sorrow or reform, whether indigenous or imported. Above all, all public business should be conducted in the vernacular and not in English, if the heart of the people is to be reached and no Viceroy or Secretary of State should be appointed who has not at least a thorough knowledge of Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India. Indeed, an Oriental and aristocratic continent like India deserves a Regal Court and a permanent Head and cannot be governed for ever by fits and starts from over the seas, especially when a powerful arm is being stretched out over unbroken territories by land in order to snatch the finest Jewel in the British Crown. The Duke of Connaught, or, in his default, the Marquis of Lorne, would be the right Viceroy in an "India of Rajas."

A DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

THE COVERT INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY.

J. D. writes as follows :

That Russia is determined upon invading India whenever a chance of success offers itself, and that we should, therefore, put ourselves in a position to repel the intended attack--are propositions universally admitted. Opinions differ only as to the best mode of repelling such an attack, and as this question presumes an actual Russian advance through Afghanistan, it is unconnected with Central Asian politics in general, excepting so far as they involve our relations with the Afghans, whose attachments to our interests in the conjuncture would of course be of inestimable value.

Now, the Indian Govt. despatches of 1866-67 have fully discussed the question in its various aspects, and shown that our best plan is to attack the invading troops as they emerge from the mountain defiles of Afghanistan, before they have time to assemble in considerable bodies or recover from their march through the most inclement and difficult country in the world.

On the other hand, the Cabinet of 1876 initiated the "Forward" or "Scientific frontier" policy, which is still being pursued although its actual features have never been divulged, and the action taken on it has been marked by signal failure, by disasters and by humiliations.

Were these results generally known the nation would certainly stop the further prosecution of a policy obviously impracticable, and which has exhausted the resources of the Indian Exchequer without securing a single step towards the British occupation of Afghan citadels, which is said to be an important part of its programme. But the nation is in the dark ; the results of our frontier expeditions and the cost of the military roads and railways constructed to facilitate the march of our troops into Afghanistan, are sedulously concealed from the public : whilst Parliament, where India has no representative, continues averse to the discussion of the subject.

Under these circumstances, I have been striving solely to induce inquiry into the above-mentioned facts, feeling convinced that the pressure of public opinion alone can compel Parliament to take up the question and do its duty. Referring now to Sir M. Durand's Mission to Cabul, I gather from the *Pioneer* of 8th August that the Mission relates chiefly to questions connected with the Indo-Afghan frontier.

You may remember that last year our situation in the Zhob valley, where our posts and communications were harassed by the Waziris, became so intolerable, that we earnestly requested the Amir to remove an officer whom he had stationed among that tribe and to whose influence we ascribed their active hostility. The Amir, in complying with our request, suggested a delimitation of our frontier, questioning thereby our right to place troops in the Waziri territory, beyond the boundary of India. The suggestion was ignored by us, and it now appears that the annoyance we complained of has continued unabated. You will see from the above-mentioned paper that the Waziris commit outrages on travellers to and from the Gumal Pass ; that British patrols are ambuscaded, British officers attacked, our camp-followers cut up, and that a Ghazi has run *amok* in our encampment. The *Pioneer* adds :

“In the majority of cases the murderers escape. The usual punishment, when identity can be established, is to impose a fine on the clan. It is intended to impose a fine at once for the last murder [that of a non-commissioned officer and a trooper]. If the Waziri chiefs cannot restrain their bad characters, they must be plainly told that our troops will help them to keep the peace. Murder and robbery cannot be tolerated in districts through which our military roads run, and this the Waziris must be made to understand.”

Can a more humiliating situation be imagined for the soldiers of a great nation? Is this all the protection that the Government can afford to British life and British property in time of peace? This miserable situation is, at all events, the outcome of that much vaunted “Forward policy” in the prosecution of which so much blood and treasure has been expended during the last sixteen years.

NEWS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.- The party in Central Asia who are in favour of the deposition of the Amir of Bokhara is a growing one, but it is not likely that they will see their hopes fulfilled for some time to come. When His Highness went to Europe, some of them were foolish enough to imagine that this was intended as a preliminary step towards deposition, but were mortified to discover that the Amir only consented to go in order to obtain a personal statement from the Tzar to the effect that his son should not be thwarted in the succession. Russia finds it very convenient to have such an amenable prince in her dominions, who is always ready to shower decorations and presents at the merest hint, and his deposition would give a great shock to those Indian princes who believe that Russia hopes to give them their liberty some day. At the present moment he is having a severe struggle with a certain party in the Russian Government whose anxiety to oust Indian products has caused them to bring pressure upon the Amir to levy a prohibitive tariff upon Indian tea. This is a very unwise policy for the Russian Government to pursue, as General Kuropatkin, the Governor-General of Transcaspia, and several other authorities are telling them, because it will render the Russian name very odious in the State of Bokhara where the inhabitants have a partiality for the tea which comes from India. The opposition reply however, that if the Amir gives the order, the people will attach all blame to him, but the others see in this an attempt to weaken the power of Seid Abdul Abad. Such is the present condition of affairs.

A high Customs' official recently arrived in Transcaspia in order to superintend the establishment of a better customs' chain between the Russian dominions and Persia and Afghanistan, as it has been found necessary to withhold the bounty on sugar exported from Askabad to Meshed owing to the discovery that some of it had come back four times in order to receive the pecuniary reward. Most of the sugar is therefore now going to Khorasan via Askabad where the bounty is still being paid. Lieutenant H. J. Coningham of the Leinster Regiment has recently been accorded a most enthusiastic reception in Transcaspia where he has been the guest of General Kuropatkin, the Governor-General, who was most kind in giving orders that everything was to be shown to the English officer that the latter might desire to see. General Kuropatkin personally conducted

Lieutenant Coningham over a village near Khairabad which he is endeavouring to establish as a hill sanatorium and also showed him his new schemes for improving the water-supply of Askabad and its neighbourhood. It is with great pleasure that we note this courtesy which is all the more appreciated because the recipient was the bearer of no grand letters from the Foreign Office or St. Petersburg, but simply came to the frontier and informed General Kuropatkin that "he wished to study the Central Asian question on the spot."

We hear from Dardistan that the Russians were, on the date of the despatch of the letter (4th August), still at Murghabi, the Chinese at Sirikol, and the rest of the Pamirs was unoccupied. In the South, the Khans of Nawagai and Jhandol were still fighting, and the ex-Mir of Dir, the able Sirdar Muhammad Sherif Khan, was a refugee at Kabul.

DISILLUSION ABOUT THE INDIAN CURRENCY COMMISSION.

THE following extract from a Calcutta letter will show how much the hopes of those have been disappointed who trusted to the Secretary of State not selling Council Bills under 1s. 4d. for the Rupee.

"The Secretary of State was clearly asleep to have sold 57 lacs of Rupees. The story here is, that the wire from Simla went to Whitehall, and they omitted to close the sale of Councils. It is a little early to venture an opinion, but as it seems that the object ultimately is to get a gold currency for India, and to draw as much gold to India as possible, I take it the Secretary of State will not sell his Councils under a price, say 1s. 4d. plus cost of bringing gold for India after he has sold his requirements of weekly 60 lacs. No doubt for a time it will upset the export trade, but the ultimate benefits for India are incalculable:

"(1). It will bring abundant capital to India for Railways and all industries.

"(2). It will put the Government Rupee securities on a firm basis on your market. I estimate with the securities the Government of India offer and a minimum exchange of 1s. 4d., that rupee paper will become a favourite stock on your market, both for trust and other investments purposes, and will touch nearly £80. I notice when exchange was uncertain at 1s. 4d., paper stood at £72. Surely with the rate fixed it will draw investors and touch a higher level. In this year's budget the Government said 'if exchange touches $\frac{1}{4}$, we shall not require to borrow,' so I take it, that they will not do so, and they will no doubt be anxious so to improve the value of their securities as to be able to bring in a conversion scheme to reduce the rate to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c.

"You are aware that I have always held that the Government would have to close the Mints from their own position. The Herschell Committee have practically followed the views of the Deputation of which I was a humble member.

"X."

ARBITRATION—BEHRING SEA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

The favourable result to Great Britain of the Behring Sea Arbitration is of course a subject of satisfaction to all inhabitants of these

Islands ; and, when we recollect that it has affirmed the old doctrine that the open sea is free to all mankind, our satisfaction is not lessened by the fear that it may displease that "civilized world" to which all are so fond of appealing.

The result being, so far as this legal and most important point, generally satisfactory, and having been advocated beforehand by all the most law-abiding writers in the United States, the advocates of Arbitration as a panacea will be greatly strengthened in their belief. It may, therefore, be worth while to consider how far the success of this Arbitration justifies a belief in the safety of its general application to international quarrels.

The words of Senator Morgan, one of the United States Arbitrators, at once contain a high praise of the three foreign Arbitrators and a warning as to the evil most to be dreaded in arbitrations. He said :

"I am sorry that the Tribunal has not seen its way to depart from the old principles of international law in view of the new character of the circumstances that have been brought before it."

What Senator Morgan then desired was that the Arbitrators should be not judges, but casuists. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, the entrance to a close sea must not be more than 6 miles wide ; but if the United States have an island in a sea, that sea must be a close one though it have a dozen entrances from 30 to 300 miles wide. Such cases are not fit for arbitration, although mediation may be useful, if the mediator is honest and judicious.

Now the great fault of the advocates of arbitration is that they confound negotiation, mediation, and arbitration, and even speak of a quarrel being settled by arbitration when a victory has been first obtained by a pitched battle.

Two things are necessary for a successful arbitration :

1. A dispute in which the rights are absolute. It is not an obstacle that there be rights on each side provided they can be separated. If the British had claimed the right to land on the Pribyloff Islands and kill seals there, the Arbitrators would have refused to admit this absurdity, as well as the absurdities on the other side.

2. Honest and intelligent arbitrators—among whom I do not here include the representatives of the disputants, who, according to the modern system, sit as members of the tribunal and consider themselves at liberty to dissent from its decisions.

Another arbitration is hanging over us in which there seems no possibility of giving satisfaction to any of the three parties concerned—I mean that with France about Newfoundland.

By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the French acknowledged our right to the Island, while we allowed them to fish on a certain part of the coast, and to dry their fish on the whole. The permission given to them was only one concurrent with the right of British fishermen ; but in 1783, though the Treaty of Versailles professed to establish the right given under the Treaty of Utrecht, George III. made a declaration that "he would take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French." This he did ; and the British interpretation of the Treaty from that time has been, and is now, that the French may use as much of the Treaty Shore as they

can ;—and that the British may use the rest—if there is any—but must leave it open for the French in case they should want it next year. This prevents the development of anything in the Island, except the fishery on the purely British shore ; and this is injured by the French Bounties.

The Newfoundlanders demand that the French rights be purchased by arbitration. The French refuse to sell their rights and declare that the Newfoundlanders have no rights in the matter. The British Government, in “Newfoundland,” a Blue Book just published, betrays not the smallest intention of pressing for any redress for the Newfoundlanders, except as regards the claim of the French to catch and to tin lobsters.

Arbitrators could go only according to the Treaties ; and even the British interpretation of these recognises no right in the Newfoundlanders to the use of their own coasts.

Three Arbitrators have been named by an agreement with France. The second and third are presumably impartial and competent jurists. But the first of them is M. de Martens, Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg, the author of that prejudiced pamphlet of the year 1879, “Russia and England in Central Asia.”

C. D. COLLET.

ARTICLES OF DIET SUITED TO DIFFERENT CASTES AND TEMPERAMENTS, AS DESCRIBED IN HINDU SCRIPTURE.

THE BHAGWAT GITA, in the 17th Chapter, has the following about the three kinds of food which are dear to different persons according to the quality or temperament predominant in them :—

The food that is dear unto those of the SATWA-GOON is such as increases their length of days, their power, and their strength, and keeps them free from sickness, happy and contented. It is pleasing to the palate, nourishing, permanent, and congenial to the body. It is neither too bitter, too sour, too salt, too hot, too pungent, too astringent, nor too inflammable. The food that is coveted by those of the RAJO-GOON is bitter, sour, salt, hot, pungent, astringent and inflammable. It giveth nothing but pain and misery. And the delight of those in whom the TAMA-GOON prevaieth, is food that was dressed the day before ; is out of season ; hath lost its taste ; is grown putrid ; the leavings of others, and all things that are impure.

With regard to the three qualities or temperaments predominant in men, the *Bhagwat Gita* has the following in the 14th Chapter—

There are three great *Goon* or qualities arising from *Prakriti* or nature : *Satwa* : truth, *Rajas* : passion, and *Tamas* : darkness. The *Satwa-Goon*, because of its purity, is clear and free from defect, and entwineth the soul with sweet and pleasant consequences, and the fruit of wisdom. The *Rajo-Goon* is of a passionate nature, arising from the effects of worldly thirst and imprisoneth the soul with *consequences produced from action*. The *Tamo-Goon* is the offspring of ignorance, the confounder of all the faculties of the mind, which imprisoneth the soul with intoxication, sloth, and idleness. The *Satwa-Goon* prevaieth in felicity ; the *Rajas* in action, and the *Tamas*, having possessed the soul, in intoxication.

With regard to the Castes or tribes and their duties, the *Bhagwat Gita* has the following in the 18th Chapter :—

The respective duties of the four tribes of Brahman, Kshatreeya, Vaishya and Shoodra are determined by the qualities which are in their constitutions. The natural duty of the *Brahman* is peace, self-restraint, zeal, purity, patience, rectitude, wisdom, learning, and theology. The natural duties of the *Kshatreeya* are bravery, glory, fortitude, rectitude, not to flee from the field, generosity, and princely conduct. The natural duty of the *Vaishya* is to cultivate the land, tend the cattle, and buy and sell. The natural duty of a *Shoodra* is servitude.

The above extracts will show the qualities or temperaments upon which the caste system was originally founded, the duties of each caste, and the foods dear to different persons according to their quality or temperament.

For those who practise HATTA-YOGA,* the following foods are respectively mentioned as those to be avoided and those to be taken (see Hattayoga Pradipika) :

Foods to be avoided.—Bitter things ; sour things ; hot things ; salt things, inflammable things ; vegetables consisting of leaves ; oils and things which give oils ; liquors ; fish ; flesh of sheep, etc. ; curd, onions, etc. ; also cold food reheated, or quite dry food which contains no ghee.

Foods to be taken.—Wheat, rice, milk, ghee, sugar, butter, clarified curd, sugar candy, honey : ginger, some vegetables which are fruits ; some pulses ; pure water.

JANARDAN SAKHARÁM GADGIL, LL.B.,

Judge of the High Court, Baroda.

The following verses, in our last number, from Pandit Indravarma Saraswati's poem "On the Oriental Weather in England in the Year of Centuries, 1893," may be read with interest in connexion with the above and with the article on, and Legend of, "*The Red Rajputs*" in this issue.

4. The dark iron has conquered the yellow gold and gold has acquired the white diamond of learning. The TAMO-GUN (love of strong liquor, beef and slaughter) gives way to the RAJO-GUN (qualities of a ruler, courage, loyalty, etc.) of the Yavana Kshatriyas, the English, who conquered India, but under her benign warmth have developed the SATWA-GUN (intellectual and moral qualities) of the Brahmin, the worshipper of Light, whose colour is white. May cloudless knowledge ever guide the councils of this Empire !

5. In all countries the yellow peasant and the dark grain-dealer complain of the weather in order to raise their prices : but in England the heat has not dried up the food of man. The red Raja and the white Brahmin love the country, but the labourer and trader prefer the town, the devourer of life. Out of its fogs emerge the men of prey who, cold and hungry, destroy Worlds for food and raiment. Their knowledge is that of the lightning which shows false paths in the surrounding darkness. O fertilizing river-goddess, Saraswati, Goddess of Learning, may the peasant, not depending on rain, irrigate his soil and, worshipping its cultivation, derive from it boundless wealth and wisdom with health and happiness, which are not found in the devastation of foreign lands !

A RACE OF HAIRY SAVAGES IN TIBET. •

IN Mr. Rockhill's "Land of the Lamas" (London, 1891), there are several references to a race of savages, said to inhabit some of the remote corners

* The lower form of Yoga practice, which uses physical means for purposes of spiritual self-development. It is the opposite of Raja-yoga, the true system of developing spiritual powers and union with one's Higher Self—or the Supreme Spirit, by the exercise, regulation and concentration of thought.

of Tibet. Mr. Rockhill, however, seems strongly inclined to regard the stories about such people as all based upon encounters with *bears*, seen for the first time by people to whom such animals were unknown. When staying at Lhasa, he fell in with an old lama, then on his return journey from Lhasa.

"He described most graphically the journey of the caravan he had joined, through the desert of northern Tibet, and the attacks made on it by small parties of brigands (*Golok*). Several times, he said, his party had met hairy savages, with long, tangled locks falling around them like cloaks, naked, speechless beings, hardly human, who threw stones at the travellers, but who, having no arms, could do but little harm. This story of hairy savages I had often heard from Tibetans, while at Peking, and I was interested at hearing it again. From many things that happened later, on my journey, I am convinced that this story has its origin in travellers seeing bears standing erect. In northern Tibet these brutes are numerous and large, and people who are in constant dread of meeting brigands take the bears, seen probably at a distance, for them; this notion is further strengthened by the sight of their tracks, which, especially those of the hind paws, have some resemblance to those made by men with naked feet." (Pp. 116-7.)

Although Mr. Rockhill's opinions are deserving of every respect, one is apt, on first reading these statements, to question the soundness of his deductions. It seems odd that people passing through a district where bears are "numerous," should confuse those animals with "brigands." Moreover, would they describe bears as "hardly" human? And, do bears ever "throw stones at travellers"? Nevertheless, Mr. Rockhill supplies further evidence in support of his contention. Another traveller, a Mongol,

"had seen innumerable herds of wild yak, wild asses, antelopes, and *gir'sun bam burshé*. This expression means literally 'wild men'; and the speaker insisted that such they were, covered with long hair, standing erect, and making tracks like men's, but he did not believe they could speak. Then, taking a ball of tsamba he modelled a *gir'sun bamourshé*, which was a very good likeness of a bear. To make the identification perfect, he said that the Chinaman [his companion] cried out, when he saw one, 'Hsiung, hsiung,' 'Bear, bear': in Tibetan, he added, it is called *dre-mon*. The Mongols do not class the bear among ordinary animals; he is to them 'the missing link,' partaking of man in his appearance, but of beasts in his appetites. . . . This is certainly the primeval savage of eastern Tibet, the unwitting hero of the many tales I had heard of palaeolithic man in that country." (Pp. 150, 151.)

These remarks, and the additional statement that "Prjevalsky had in 1871 an experience very similar to mine," seems still further to strengthen Mr. Rockhill's position. But one is again plunged into uncertainty when he goes on to say:—

"There is no doubt, however, that intelligent and educated Chinese, well acquainted with the appearance, habits, etc., of bears, believe there are primitive savages in the mountains of eastern Tibet." "Legends concerning wild men in central Asia were current in the middle ages. King Haithon of Armenia, in the narrative of his journey to the courts of Batu and Mangu Khans in A.D. 1254-1255, speaks of naked wild men inhabiting the desert southeast of the present Urumtsi."

And on a later page (p. 256), Mr. Rockhill mentions that he heard from a Chinese military officer

"many stories about his long and varied experience in Tibet. He had been stationed for three years at Lhasa and about fifteen years in other localities in Tibet, and being an observant man had much of interest to tell about. When speaking of the wild tribes to the north of the Horba country, he assured me that men in a state of primitive savagery were found in Tibet. Some few years ago there was a forest fire on the flank of

Mount Ka-lo, east of Kanzé, and the flames drove a number of wild men out of the woods. These were seen by him; they were very hairy, their language was incomprehensible to Tibetans, and they wore most primitive garments made of skins. He took them to belong to the same race as the Golok, of whom many lived in caves in a condition of profound savagery."

In view of these latter statements, furnished by "intelligent and educated Chinese, well acquainted with the appearance, habits, etc., of bears," it is hardly possible to accept without reserve Mr. Rockhill's dictum that the bear "is certainly the primeval savage of eastern Tibet." It seems clear that the Mongols speak of the bear as a "wild man," but it does not follow therefrom that bears are indicated every time the expression denoting a "wild man" is employed. The Malay *orang utan* is applied to an actual "man of the woods" as well as to *Simia satyrus*. No doubt, to any one who believes in the evolution of man from lower forms, there is a perpetual difficulty in drawing the line between brute-like man and man-like brute. Ortelius calls Yesso "The Island of Satyrs," but that does not justify us in assuming that he understood the Ainos to be no higher than anthropoid apes. The same people were called "*homines sylvestres*" by a Jesuit priest, in 1565, but it is clear that he used that term with the sense which the Malays themselves are said to attach to *orang utan*, not as indicating anthropoid apes but an actual human, although savage race. As in these cases, therefore, a degree of uncertainty exists with regard to the Mongolian application of the term denoting "wild men." But there can be no doubt that some of Mr. Rockhill's evidence points quite clearly to the existence of a race of hirsute savages, in some of the unfrequented regions of eastern Tibet. From the fact that those people are "very hairy," and that their language is "incomprehensible to Tibetans," a possible kinship with the Ainos of north-eastern Asia suggests itself. One would think that much could be learned from Chinese writers, with regard to those hairy men of Tibet. Are there any other accounts, in addition to Mr. Rockhill's, in European literature?

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

In the last number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review our readers will find a reprint of Dardistan Legends regarding animals (published in 1867) in which they will see the prominent place taken by bears, who are supposed to be runaway debtors. Bears are also said to marry human females, to have a marriage ceremony, etc. Our idea is that, quite apart from the human habits of the bear, the name is that of an aboriginal tribe, just as the "gold-digging ants" of Tibet, mentioned by Herodotus, are the tribe called "ants" that used there to dig for gold, till Tibetan wisdom made it a crime.—ED.

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF LEPROSY OWING TO VACCINATION.

MR. WILLIAM TEBB has addressed us on the subject of our notice on his book on the recrudescence of leprosy and its causation. He admits that a comparison of the censuses of 1881 and 1891 does not disclose an increase of leprosy, but attributes it to the sufferers from white leprosy being excluded from the latter. White lepers, however, are numbered by thousands in India. Mr. J. Hutchinson says that this disease is specially conspicuous in dark races and that it has often been included in Indian

statistics. Mr. Tebb impugns the reliability of the last Census which issued the unusual instruction "not to dispute the statements" made by a person or his guardian. This direction, coupled with the announced intention of segregating the lepers in India, which followed the Leprosy Committee in 1889, must, in Mr. Tebb's opinion, have led to the concealment of thousands of lepers from the last Census Report. None but the lepers of the lowest classes will ever admit being lepers, who, besides, are difficult of diagnosis, unless completely stripped and examined by a trained eye, which the unskilled enumerator cannot do. The Medical Reporter of September 1891 gives particulars of 2,345 lepers in Calcutta which were not included in the Census of that year. "It gives," says Dr. Sirkar to the Lt. Governor, "but half the actual number." This is indeed admitted by Mr. Maguire, one of the Census officers. Sir Andrew Clarke stated at a public dinner that leprosy was increasing as Mr. Tebb's book shows to be the case in various parts of the world as mainly due to arm-to-arm vaccination, as, e.g., in Hawai. The Leprosy Commissioners deny this, but Mr. Tebb has furnished cases which he found among natives and Europeans in India and in the West Indies, British Guiana, South Africa and elsewhere. He then gives a long list of witnesses, beginning with Dr. Sir Erasmus Wilson who not only believe that leprosy could be inoculated into healthy persons by vaccination, but also give particulars of medically certified persons. The Select Parliamentary Committee on Vaccination received similar evidence from the Vaccinator General of Trinidad. The Royal Vaccination Commission under Lord Herschell has had similar evidence tendered to it by the late Dr. Hoggan. Dr. Arning traced the alarming increase of leprosy to a general vaccination in Lahaina, Hawai, and other dermatologists have come to a like conclusion. In Honolulu an entire school had been swept away by leprosy vaccination and Mr. Tebb was begged to make this known to the English public. Mr. Tebb concludes: "The leper asylums in nearly all our tropical colonies, as I have found by personal inquiry are full to overflowing, the new wards recently erected being occupied as soon as completed, and leprosy is increasing *pari passu* with the extension of vaccination. Meanwhile the leprosy arm-to-arm vaccine is enforced in India and in the Crown Colonies by penalties more severe than anything known in Europe."

The *Law Magazine* points out that on the 31st July, Lord Stanley of Alderley elicited from Lord Kimberley a reply regarding the Behar Cadastral Survey, which it considers to be discreditable to our Indian Administration, both financially and morally, and which practically admits the implied charge of misappropriation of trust funds. Lord Kimberley said that he approved of the Bengal Tenancy Act and that it answered all expectation, and that there were good reasons for the Cadastral Survey;—a mere irrelevant expression of private opinion;—that Lord Cross had stated, Decr. '91, that half the cost of the Cadastral Survey of Benares had been paid from a special fund contributed by landlords for quite a different purpose; but that there had been no concealment about its use (which

does not make it the less wrong); and that this appropriation had been subsequently authorized by the Govt. of India (a mere self-authorization of misappropriation); that there was no need of producing the papers, which could be found with N.W.P. Administration Reports—publications inaccessible to the general public from their cost, and not at all likely to have been seen by the contributors to the fund. That they intended to conceal the matter would appear from the fact, that even in the act authorizing themselves to misappropriate the fund, the purpose to which it was diverted was not divulged. Lord Kimberley added that there was a strong feeling in the province of the want of this Survey depriving the ryots in several cases of their rights; but this is incorrect; or why would the Ryots have petitioned Govt. not to pass the Bengal Tenancy Act, with its Cadastral Survey clauses?

We have also been favoured with a reprint from *The Law Magazine and Review* of August 1893, comparing the financial position of India with that of France before the Revolution. It draws serious consideration to the parallel offered by Baron F. de Rothschild's two articles on "The Financial Causes of the French Revolution."

Frequent unnecessary and profitless wars, subsidies to tribes to favour our reckless advance, faulty public works, waste of money in bad purchases and the annual flittings of the Indian governments to the Hills are contrasted with similar wasteful acts of the French Kings and court. The division between rulers and ruled, the growing sense of wrong in the hearts of the people in old France find their counterpart in the India of to-day. The incidence of taxation, so high as to paralyze industry without increasing revenue, the evils of the salt monopoly, the excessive borrowing, the increase of debt and the decline of revenue all point to a faulty fiscal policy, parallel to that of old France. The high credit of India is stated to be due to the belief that Great Britain guarantees Indian obligations; but Parliament and the British taxpayer would object to spend their money on India. The exactions and oppressions of officials in France are repeated by our sub-officials, and are not the less real because they are unauthorized. Forced labour, discouragement of industries, neglect of redressing grievances, and the absolute and unchecked control assumed by the Secretary of State are all touched upon. The natives, naturally conservative and law-abiding, will bear much, but the continual bad government must eventually arouse them. Of the three causes assigned for the Mutiny, our interference with the rights of the Chiefs and our spoliation of the native nobility and gentry continue the first. The native army, though seemingly staunch, sends out each year a large number of drilled but disappointed men, who are declared to constitute a little considered danger; and a European or other war may at any time reduce the European troops in India on whose strength our Empire is declared to be based. The suddenness of the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857 is held to show how little our officials know of the under-currents of native thought.

The article, distinctly pessimistic in tone, is still of great importance.

The Indian Census Report for 1891 has just been laid on the Table of the House of Commons. Its accuracy may be estimated from the assertion of the Census Commissioner that the final enumeration of over 250 millions of people was carried out within four hours!! This is like the talk of a former Military Secretary to the Indian Government that the taking of Kandahár by the Russians would be equivalent to their taking Calcutta, or like the tact which sent Lord Roberts of Kandahár to meet the Amir of Kabul and Kandahár.

The analysis of the Census Report in our next issue may show with what wisdom the Indian World is governed. In the meanwhile, a third edition of a pretentious and inaccurate book enlightens the British public as to the geography and politics of "Where Three Empires do *not* meet."

Dr. C. Berdoe has addressed us an article comparing the pity inculcated in Oriental writings for our fellow-creatures, the dumb animals, with the professional cruelty which *dissected living human beings* during the Middle Ages in Europe on precisely the same grounds of the supposed exigencies of science that are advanced now by vivisectionists in favour of subjecting live dogs and rabbits to every circumstance of sustained torture.

The brutalizing effect of such practices in India cannot be overrated. We hear of a case in which a disgrace to the medical profession insisted on a fee of Rs. 5,000 being paid down by a dying native Chief before he would go to see him. The Government of India have not been a moment too soon in publishing a scale of fees to be charged by its Medical servants who may be called to attend native Chiefs.

Another instance is that of a vivisectionist performing an operation for the cataract before a class. He blinded the patient by mistake and then coolly told his audience "Here you see the result of a mistaken operation." Dr. Pasteur is said to have recommended that Siam be tried for experiments in Rabies inoculation on the ground, perhaps, of *fiat experimentum in corpore viro*. Why should Eastern nations be thus experimented on? We are astonished at one Muhammadan State permitting vivisection and at a Maharaja, similarly blinded by pseudo-scientific phraseology, inoculating himself and his Court against Cholera. There will not be much health and caste left in India after the natives are inoculated against Rabies, Cholera, Consumption, Small-pox and every other disease for whose prevention this doubtful process is recommended.

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His Highness Sayad Abd-ul Aziz bin Saeed, sole surviving son of the late Sultan of Zanzibar is a claimant for the throne now occupied by one of his nephews. Sultan Saeed was succeeded in turn by his sons, the last dying in March last. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz was absent in Oman on the last two demises of the crown, and was consequently passed over in favour of younger scions of the family, though he claims to have been the rightful heir, according both to Zanzibar custom and his father's will. It is stated too, that the last Sultan, his brother, named him as the successor to the throne in his will. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz, in an evil moment for him-

self, went to Bombay in 1890, to secure the aid of the Indian Government for his claim. That Government, while declining to help him will not allow him to quit India ; and he complains both of virtual imprisonment and of want of means for a suitable living. He has lately appealed to the Secretary of State. We hope that his case will be fully investigated, and that due redress will be given for what certainly seems, at first sight, a high-handed interference with the personal liberty of a free-born nobleman. Sayad Abd-ul Aziz, we must add, does not seek the deposition of the present Sultan, but only a declaration of his own right of succession, in case of the present Sultan pre-deceasing him.

THE BRITISH MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN.

A LEADING article in the *Times* of September the 19th announced to the World that a British mission was on its way to Kabul, with the object of removing certain causes of uneasiness which disturbed the relations subsisting between the two Governments. The writer of the article, after recording that a similar mission had been arranged in 1888 ; that an interview between the Amir and the Indian Viceroy had afterwards been proposed ; that later, Lord Roberts was to have met the Amir at Jellalabad ; that all those endeavours to obtain a conference had failed through "the dilatory diplomacy of the Afghan Court," goes on to state that

"a strong and stable Government in Afghanistan is the keystone of our frontier policy, and that the fall of Abdurrahman and the establishment of a new order of things at Kabul would bring new dangers upon India."

The particular matters to be discussed with the Amir are referred to in the following sentences, towards the end of the article :—

"The attitude of the Amir with reference to the terminus of the railway from Quetta to the Afghan frontier ; his attempted aggression in the Kussam Valley ; his endeavours to encroach on Mohmand territory ; his insidious advances on the side of Baluchistan—all these are matters that must be cleared up. It ought not to be difficult to convince the Amir that he has absolutely nothing to dread from the supposed forward policy of any Anglo-Indian party."

The drift of these sentences becomes clear when we look back at our recent differences with Abdurrahman. The Amir remonstrated with us for building a railway station in his territory near Chaman ; and, on our side, we complained of annoyances offered to our troops and to the British Agent in the Zhob Valley. Our complaints failed in obtaining from the Amir the least support in favour of the military posts we had established beyond the Indian frontier ; and the annoyances to our troops have greatly increased of late : our patrols have been ambuscaded, our officers attacked on their way to and from our camp, and our post at Kajuri Kach has recently been burnt, with large quantities of grain, forage, saddlery and other stores.

In short, our advance into the border-lands of Afghanistan has been objected to passively by the Amir, but with active hostility from the tribesmen ; and the object of the present mission is to remove the obstacles thus raised against our military occupation and the free movements of our troops. The matter is to be presented to the Amir under various aspects :

he is reminded that, in consideration of the subsidy he receives, he has undertaken to shape his external policy in consultation with us ; and that

“ it is his interest as well as his duty to abstain from anything which would give his formidable neighbours on the North a pretext for resuming the offensive against him.”

He is to be told at the same time that

“ his susceptibilities cannot be permitted to cover proceedings that would throw all our frontier policy into confusion.”

In all this there seems a covert menace as to the action we should take, if our demands are not complied with, and as to the fatal consequences which might ensue for the Amir himself. This menace and the prominence given to the mission, cannot fail to awaken general interest and some anxiety regarding the result of this step now taken in the furtherance of “ the forward policy.” What we require of the Amir is, that he will consent to our occupying Afghan tribal territory and give us at least his moral support in the matter. Abdarrahan’s position is described in the *Times* as “ the ruler of a loosely organised State, peopled by tribes who have no love of the English name.”

We know, moreover, that the tribes of Afghanistan are governed, each by its elected Chief and Council, but are all united by a faith which strictly enjoins the exclusion of a non-Mahomedan power from their land. Amir Yakub Khan in 1879 lost his influence the moment he consented to the permanent residence of a British Envoy at Kabul and to the temporary occupation of the Kurrum Valley by British troops. The concessions he made in the treaty of Gandamak were at once repudiated by the Afghan tribes who rallied under the standard of Islam against the common enemy.

While such conditions prevail in Afghanistan it seems vain to expect that Abdurrahan will comply with our present demands, or that his compliance, if obtained, would promote our policy. Shere Ali, when threatened and attacked by us for purposes precisely similar, retired beyond the Hindu-Kush, and we were left to deal with the tribes, with results which it would be useful to remember at the present conjuncture.

HISTORICUS.

Our readers of a recent article on “ the Kelām-i-pir ” and on the Head of the Ismailian community will be pleased to hear that its present Chief, H.H. Aga Khan, has rendered excellent service to the cause of peace in connexion with the late Bombay riots by “ directing all the Khojas to keep the peace and not to join the riots ” as was prominently brought to notice at the Reception on the 29th August last by Lord Harris of the Muhammadans and Hindus who had assisted the police in suppressing the outbreak and in restoring order. Indeed, it is only by the co-operation of Government with the leaders of the religious communities in India that the *Pax Britannica* can be easily maintained.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., K.C.I.E., at present Governor of Queensland and formerly a member of the Council first of the Supreme and then of the India Office Council, has been announced to succeed, as Viceroy of India, Lord Lansdowne whose term of Service expires in the beginning of next year. To say that this has been a surprise to all is to say little; nor shall we add a word on the subject beyond expressing the hope that his already advanced age may not be an impediment to his placing a worthy coping-stone on the edifice of his already acquired good reputation.* Major General C. E. Nairne, C.B., from Meerut has been nominated to the chief command in Bombay, and Major General C. Mansfield Clarke, C.B., to that of Madras. Sir A. P. MacDonnell succeeds Sir P. Hutchins in the Governor General's Council.

The closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver has not yet produced all the good results expected from it; for the long delay in the signing of the report of the Herschell commission had allowed India to be flooded with enough cheap silver to swamp indefinitely the effects of the closure: practically the mints are still open and have been coining at the rate of Rs. 600,000 per day. But when this flood has been absorbed and the export season necessitates larger remittances to India which India now will decline to take in silver, a steady rise must occur in the rate of exchange. Already there are signs of this. Exchange had touched 1.4d. at the proclamation of the Indian Government; and though forced back to 1.2½ by abnormal dealings in Rupee paper backed by the suicidal policy of the India Office, with its Council Bills, the exchange is already again above 1.3½. The India Office has caused severe loss to India in this matter, which we hope to see fully investigated. And here we must pointedly call attention to the important fact, that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P. for Finsbury, who poses as the representative in Parliament of India, has remained perfectly silent, while India has been thus treated. Silent, too, have been the committee of Members of Parliament—including Sir W. Lawson, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir J. Pease, Messrs. Caine, Paul, and others—who have undertaken to interfere in Indian affairs. The mints in the Native States are closed to silver, or soon will be.

A needless Commission has been appointed, at the outcry of a small knot of pretentious busy-bodies, to investigate the Opium question, and India is to be most unjustly saddled with half the expense—adding a grievous injury to the deliberate insult of a vexatious and uncalled-for interference with Indian administration and finance. This has already provoked adverse criticism in India, and done much to excite ill-feeling among the natives. Any attempt at suppressing the use of Opium will certainly and rightly be resisted by some of the best races of India—the Sikhs and the Rajputs. Apropos of this subject, the report of the Bombay

* As we go to press, we learn that he has withdrawn his acceptance of the offer.

Lunatic Asylums gives 1 inmate from opium, against 21 from alcohol and 44 from Ganja and Bhang.

The British India Association have made a formal protest against it to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who in his carefully worded reply pointed out that if India had (as some of the most vehement supporters of this commission pretended to wish) any extended local or representative government, that Commission and its interference with Indian affairs would be an absolute impossibility. The Hemp Drugs Commission has been a failure, as not a single witness has come forward for examination.

Numerous and important meetings of the respectable natives continue to be held all over India against the resolution of the House of Commons regarding the Civil Service Examinations being held in India, as also against the Secretary of State's action in thwarting the effects of the closure of the India mints to free coinage.

The Committee on the Indian Cantonments Contagious Diseases system have reported that the previous resolution of the House of Commons another of its unwarranted interferences with the internal affairs of India has not been carried into effect. Even its limited application keeps 4,000 British troops continually in hospital—a serious drain on the Indian treasury for absolutely unserviceable material, which is likely to be much increased by further interference.

Very serious riots, attended with loss of life have occurred, in Rangoon, the Azimgarh district and Bombay, between Hindus and Muhammadans, owing to the opposition of the former to the sacrifice of a cow by the latter on their *Id-us-zuhá*. The mutual animosity, well known to be chronic in India between the two religions, has been lately accentuated by the circulation of incendiary pamphlets by Hindus and the persistence by Muhammadans in sacrificing a cow, when other animals would better answer their purpose. We doubt not that the Government will strenuously continue their traditional and wise policy of perfect religious freedom, limited by the prohibition to do anything offensive to the religious feelings of anyone; and that while the actual offenders are punished, their instigators—the writers, publishers and circulators of the incendiary literature—will not be allowed to escape with impunity. These riots do much to show the necessity of the strong and impartial hand of the British Government, to withhold the heterogeneous masses in India from mutual slaughter.

The crops in India have been generally good; but heavy floods have done damage in many places; and notably at Srinagar and in the Kashmir valley, where immense loss was caused, in Gilgit where two bridges on the lately made road were swept away, at the Mud Gorge where another slip occurred, at Hyderabad on the Nizam's Railway and several other lines.

In the native States, we have to chronicle the conferring of an honorary Colonelcy in the British Army, by an autograph letter of her most gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, on His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. This is a graceful act of recognition for the excellent government of that State, the character of its ruler and the ability of its Dewan. The Khan of Khelat has been allowed to abdicate, and has been succeeded by his

son ; but to repress some disturbances that had arisen, a small force of our troops has been sent back to garrison Khetlat itself. The grant by the Maharaja of Patiala of some land to a relative, the Rana of Dholepore, has had to be referred to the Government of India, as such grants are forbidden by treaty. Disturbances were reported from Mandi, owing to the compulsory extension of vaccination. The Sikhim-Tibet treaty is at last concluded : a mart is to be established near the frontier, where all Indian produce may be sold, except Indian Tea, which is excluded for 5 years.

The Samana range is to be occupied permanently by 400 troops, to be raised in summer to 1,000. Rs. 95,000 have been sanctioned for officers' quarters at Cherat ; Rs. 14,000 for a general Hospital at Agra.

Pundit Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna has established associations for encouraging Sanscrit study at Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. The Raja of Morbhanj gives Rs. 8,000 a year for the maintenance of two of them. Sir D. M. Petit of Bombay has given Rs. 25,000 towards the Bengal Veterinary Schools.

In AFGHANISTAN there has been desultory fighting in the Hazarajat, and the rebellion is not yet quite suppressed. The Khushh valley delimitation has been accomplished ; and Col. Yate goes on to his post at Meshed ; but from the fact that many subjects of the Amir are quitting the territory assigned to Russia it is evident that we have once more yielded to Russian aggression. The Amir has loyally accepted the award. He has also consented to receive a mission for arranging several matters which require settlement between him and the Indian Government. Sir Mortimer Durand, the Secretary of the Foreign Department, is the envoy chosen, who with his small staff will be the guest of the Amir till he quits Afghanistan on his return. The ease with which the Amir's consent was obtained and the promptitude with which he has made the preparations for receiving the embassy show, as we thought all along, that his former objections were not to the thing itself but to the person selected by the Viceroy. It speaks little for the tact of the Indian Foreign Office not to have foreseen the very natural objections which prevented the Amir from receiving Lord Roberts of Kandahar and this is one more proof of the present incapacity in high quarters in India. The mission has already been most hospitably and cordially received in Afghan territory, by General Ghulam Haidar Khan. Major Ellis, Lieutenants MacMahon and Manners-Smith, Dr. Fenn, and Mr. Donald accompany Sir Mortimer ; and all go without escort except that of the Amir's troops.

The weak yielding of SIAM to the first unjust and arrogant demands of France has, as was foretold, led France to larger claims and greater pretensions. The first ultimatum being accepted was loyally executed by Siam ; but M. Myre de Vilers, late of Madagascar, now "asks for more" still. It seems strange that the Indian and the Home Governments should continue to show such apathy in a matter which so intimately concerns both Indian and British interests.

At the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, a committee has been formed to see what can and should be done in the matter of silver currency, a great difficulty being that the coining of the current Mexican dollars is beyond

our control. The report of this committee* will be of all the more importance, because till it has been issued and discussed, Lord Herschell's Commission on Colonial Currency, lately sitting at the Colonial office, has adjourned its own action: this commission is composed of the Indian Currency Commission, except that Messrs. Meade and Fairfield have replaced Sir A. Godley and General Strachey. Ceylon and the Mauritius, using Rupees, will be dealt with by the action of India; the Straits and Hong Kong have to face the question of the irresponsible Mexican dollar; and the West Indies present difficulties of their own.

In JAPAN there have been renewed earthquakes and volcanic outbreaks in the Higo and Nasu districts. Two boat crews of emigrants for the Kurile Islands were wrecked. Hawaii has lately received 480 Japanese: and the Imperial Government seem to favour an extensive exodus of their people to foreign countries. Corea has consented to pay the indemnity of 90,000 yen, demanded by Japan.

In CHINA two Swedish missionaries were murdered at Sung pu, about 100 miles north of Hankow. Two others trying to recover their bodies were sent back. The Chinese decline to pay compensation; and it is stated that some mandarins were implicated in the murders. The Italian Catholic Mission of Mien Yong, 90 miles S.W. of Hankow, was destroyed in a riot. An insurrection was reported from the Huaichih district, and was suppressed with a loss of 5,000. A great famine has occurred in Mongolia, when $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the people have either left their homes or have perished of hunger; and women and children have been sold as slaves to save them dying of starvation. It is stated that the Emperor on being informed of their dire distress, ordered that relief should be sent at once, and on the officials replying that the difficulty of doing so was great owing to the distance, said that railways should be used:—a most important utterance, likely to produce great results, if it be a fact. Our minister at Peking has visited Formosa and is gone to Corea also.

From Russian Asia we learn that 24 miles of Railway are opened from Vladivostock westwards, and the preliminary works are completed as far as the Amoor, across which a bridge is to be constructed over 1 mile 5 furlongs in length. For the Grafskoi-Kabaroska section, the rails are being conveyed *via* the Yennisee river. The boats employed in this service have been specially built in Scotland. Along the same route the pioneer effort chronicled by Mr. J. M. Price, whose book is reviewed in our October, 1893, number, is being followed out by both Russian and English enterprise. About the Pamirs, the Russians left Marghilan on 1st June, but the great part of the force is to remain in the Alai valley, while Col. Yonoff goes with reliefs for the troops which had been left last year in the Pamirs. Chinese troops also are said to be moving towards their part of the Pamirs.

In TURKEY, further disturbances are reported from Armenia. Of seventeen implicated at Angora, 2 were pardoned, 10 had their sentences of

* This report has just been issued and is discordant. Some members advocate the use of the Indian Rupee, others the continuance of the Mexican Dollar, and others against the local coinage of a British Dollar.

death commuted to various terms of imprisonment, and the court of appeal confirmed the sentence on the remaining 5, on their own confession of being guilty of bloodshed and murder. The facts were communicated to our minister. A great deal of undeserved sympathy is wasted on the Armenians who appear systematically to cause trouble for the purpose of throwing discredit on the Turkish administration. The last scheme we heard was that of disguising themselves as Kurds, slaying some of their number who for some reason were obnoxious to them, and casting the blame on the Kurds who have doubtless quite enough of their own misdeeds to answer for, without being made responsible for those of the Armenians. A large number of normal schools for girls have been opened by direct order of His Majesty the Sultan, to meet the increased demand for highly educated ladies to be employed as schoolmistresses for female education. Herr Dorpfeld, director of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, has been excavating at Troy, Madame Schlieman contributing 10,000 frcs., and the German government paying the rest of the expenses incurred, up to April next. He has discovered more ruins of Homeric Troy,—Mykenian remains 6 ft. thick, and great Cyclopean walls in the Acropolis. In the recent earthquake in the district of Malatia, 915 persons were killed, 328 wounded, 4,628 houses were destroyed and 4,801 rendered unsafe. Two-thirds of the owners are said to be too poor to repair them. The Sultan and many of the higher officials have subscribed liberally to help them. Cholera has been raging at Jeddah, Mecca and the Hedjaz. The deaths have been counted by the thousand; and the Egyptian medical delegate says the reality is fully double the statements made; and that the scarcity of gravediggers aggravated the horrors of the epidemic.

From EGYPT, H.H. the Khedive paid the customary visit to Constantinople for investiture by H.M. the Sultan, who received him with great favour, and conferred on him the *Nishan i-Imtiaz*. His Highness visited his grandfather, Ismail Pasha, and received visits from the Vizier and the Secretary of the British Embassy. But his reception though most cordial, failed signally to procure him any countenance from the Sultan in his opposition to England. It was asserted that he wished the Sultan to insist on the recall of Lord Cromer, the substitution of Turkish for British troops in Egypt, or at least a Turkish battalion to act as his personal body-guard. The Sultan with great tact is said to have dispelled the illusions under which the Khedive has laboured: and His Highness has returned to Egypt loaded with honours but without any of the demands he had made being complied with. Mukhtar Pasha also continues to represent the Sultan in Egypt. A decree has been published insisting on the Arabic language as the basis of instruction in all branches of the curriculum in Government schools. Till now, though always taught and up to a high standard, it was not the medium for teaching sciences, etc. The last French yellow book shows that Mr. Gladstone has pointedly denied any right of France to interfere specially in the affairs of Egypt.

In MOROCCO, Sir J. West Ridgeway has been replaced by Mr. E. Satow as our minister. The Sultan has prohibited the export of wheat from the 12th of October; and though the consular body have remonstrated, he

has adhered to his decision. There has been some serious fighting between the Sultan's troops and the Himaleen and Sarasheen tribes, the former proving victorious, though suffering heavy loss. The country is still in an unsettled state. Captain Binger has been appointed French governor on the Ivory Coast, and General Dodds, after a hearty reception in France, has returned to Dahomey, where Behanzin, has not yet submitted. The French have got behind Sierra Leone, and are preventing caravans from coming to British territory from the interior, compelling them to go round to French territory.

From the CONGO STATE, it is said that Tippu's sons have been defeated at the Stanley Falls and driven from the fortress of Issangi at the mouth of the Lomani; Capt. Jacques at Albertville has been reinforced by Lt. Long from Tabora, and has driven back the Arabs beyond the Lukuga; and Capt. Decamp is conveying 2 artillery guns, *via* the Shiré, to Tanganyika. Captain Dhanis has succeeded Van Kerckhoven, and has fixed England's sphere of influence at the 24° to 31° degrees, and is about to extend his own operations up to Wadalai, an expedition sent to his aid under Capt. Baert having enabled him to repulse those who barred his way. Emin Pasha, reported to have started for the Congo State direct in October 1892, is at length definitely pronounced to have been slain by the Arabs. Capt. Dhanis has found a box full of interesting documents left by Emin.

At the CAPE the revenue for the year is given at £5,008,241, and the expenditure at £4,689,424: the surplus will be used to extinguish the balance of the 5% debt of 1883. For the ensuing year the revenue is estimated at £5,600,000 and the expenditure at £4,874,071. The anticipated surplus will be used for railways and local expenditure. A loan is proposed of £100,000 for railway betterment. No additional taxes are needed. Diamond stones to the amount of £1,000,000 have been sold by the De Beer's mine to a stone Syndicate in London.

In NATAL Responsible government was proclaimed on 4th July, and came into operation on the 20th, after a general election. The SWAZI AND convention continues to hang fire, but President Kruger is said to be dissatisfied with the action of the British government. Lobenguela's *impis* have been raiding in Mashonaland, and approaching Victoria. On being warned, they refused to retire, and were chased out. Lobenguela himself continued friendly and declared it had been done without his orders; but the situation continues serious. The South Africa Co. who were responsible for the peace, were quite alive to the circumstances. At Lourenço Marques, the greater part of the Postal, Customs, and Railway officials had been dismissed, and traffic was suspended, leading to an acute crisis. The German E. Africa Co. shows a profit of 205,560 mks., for which 117,154 were carried over from last year: the dividend was 5%; and the coffee plantations are prospering. The German Anti-slavery Committee at the request of Major Wissmann have sent presents to the British officers who had helped him in the expedition for the conveyance of their steamers to the Nyassa lake. The Anglo-German delimitation has been ended satisfactorily.

In UGANDA, Sir Gerald Portal has given back to the Catholics some

territory of which they had been deprived by Capt'n. Lugard, and a kind of *modus vivendi* has been established. While on his way back to the coast, he was suddenly recalled to re-establish order which had been seriously threatened by the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans are said to number 20,000; the Protestants about 290,000; and the Catholics about 50,000, of whom about 10,000 have been baptized. The total population is given as 500,000 but is said to be more probably only 300,000. Our government still await Sir Gerald's report, before deciding what they will finally do regarding Uganda.

MAURITIUS has suffered from a severe fire.

The late financial crisis in AUSTRALIA has resulted in the prosecution of several Bank officials and in the reconstruction of several of the collapsed Banks. The last measure is partly to be regretted, as there are far too many Banks for the requirements of the colonies. Retrenchments are being made all round, education and public works both suffering heavily on this score. The gross public debt at the close of 1891 was £192,000,000; of which £131,000,000 had been spent in productive works, £116,000,000 being for railways. The Colonies have objected strongly against the proposed occupation by France of the New Hebrides. Two or three artillery officers are to be sent each year to India to attend the winter camps of exercise of their arm of the service. Australian wines last year were 260,231 gallons against 177,346 last year.

In WEST AUSTRALIA the new Constitution Bill has granted virtual manhood suffrage. The gold product of last year is given at £277,000. A new loan is proposed of £540,000 for completing public works, but will not be floated at once. Though an unfortunate outbreak of small-pox diminished the Customs' receipts, the total revenue increased 10 per cent., and was £205,000, expenditure £142,000—credit balance £63,000.

In SOUTH AUSTRALIA, notwithstanding new taxation, the revenue was only £2,500,000 being a decrease of £280,000. Customs fell off £41,000, railway revenue £56,000 and Land £61,000. The estimate for the coming year is to show a surplus of £6,000. The total deficit which in 1887 was £1,000,000, had by 1893 been reduced to £680,000, but has now increased again.

VICTORIA has reduced its Governor's salary from £10,000 to £7,000 a year, and also the salaries of her ministers, members of parliament and other officials. The financial statement shows a deficit of £960,188; this is to be met by retrenchments, an income tax graduated from 3d. to 6d., a dividend tax and other imposts—3 per cent. on all foreign produce which does not actually pay 4 per cent. The retrenchments are believed to save £175,000; the new primage duty to bring in £100,000. If the estimates prove correct, there will be a balance to the good next year. The income tax was carried after violent opposition, by a majority of 7. The revised estimates just received promise a clear surplus of £471,000 towards reducing the estimated deficit of £1,250,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES has been very indignant at the apathy of the Home government in not insisting on full redress in the matter of the *Costa Rica* ship detained by the Dutch East Indian authorities; and say that the

indemnity of £2,500 paid to the Captain is insufficient. A seamen's strike has collapsed after doing some damage to trade as a matter of course. Additional taxation has been imposed to about £250,000 on wealth and property. The revenue shows a decrease of £497,000.

IN QUEENSLAND, Sir T. Mac Ilwraith, escaping defeat by the casting vote of the Speaker, wished to resign; but his resignation was not accepted, as it was felt that in the present financial situation any dislocation in the government would be a positive calamity. Retrenchments have been made to the amount of £300,000, and 600 officials have been dismissed. The revenue was £3,446,000, or £220,000 below the estimates; expenditure £3,473,716; the deficit was £27,716; making a total debit of £287,000, mostly covered by recent Treasury Bills. The estimates for this year are, revenue £3,375,000 and expenditure £3,378,000. Salaries of Civil Servants over £150 are reduced by 10 per cent.; but salaries fixed by parliament (especially of ministers) remain intact. The creation of North Queensland into a separate colony was rejected by the Legislative Assembly by 31 to 16 votes.

NEW ZEALAND continues her prosperous career, and naturally objects to being federated with Australia—at least just now. She has a surplus of £130,000 to put to that of £283,000 from last year. Of this £250,000 are to be devoted to public works, and a small reduction will be made in taxation. The Bill for Woman's Suffrage has passed.

TASMANIA is still under her financial depression, and her deficit in December will be £30,000. It will be met by increased customs and probate duties, a land tax and a graduated income tax, Sir E. Braddon retires from the office of Agent of the Colony, and his successor is to receive only £500 a year.

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS group, which was already under our protection, is now formally annexed.

The most important event of the quarter regarding CANADA is the Award of the Behring Sea Arbitrators. The court consisted of seven members, 2 for America, 2 for Great Britain (one a Canadian), and one each from France, Italy, and Sweden and Norway. Of these, one American sided throughout with the American claims, the other only on one point, while on all the rest, the decisions were given by 6 to 1. These were:—
1. that though Russia had claimed jurisdiction over the Behring Sea up to 100 Italian miles off its coasts and islands, she had subsequently admitted both to the United States in 1824, and to Great Britain in 1825, that her rights were restricted to "a cannon shot" from the shore, and since then, till the cession of Alaska, had exercised no greater powers;—2. that Great Britain never recognized nor ceded any exclusive jurisdiction of Russia beyond the ordinary 3 mile limit;—3. that the Behring Sea was included in the term Pacific Ocean in the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain and that no exclusive rights beyond territorial waters were held or exercised by Russia;—4. that all Russian rights did pass unimpaired to the United States by the treaty of March 1867 (unanimous);—5. that the United States have no right of protection or property in the seals frequenting the islands belonging to the United States when such seals are found

outside the 3 mile limit (both the American delegates dissenting). The arbitrators continued that these decisions having left it necessary that the British Government should concur for the establishment of any regulations for preserving and protecting the seals frequenting the Behring Sea, they (by 4 votes to 3, the Canadian and the 2 Americans dissenting) agreed to the following articles: 1. Both Governments to forbid sealing within a zone of 60 geographical miles around the Prityloff Islands;—2. to have a close season from 1st May to 31st July on all the high seas north of 35° N. Lat., and 183° E. (Greenwich) Long. till this meridian strikes the water boundary described in Art. I. of the 1867 Treaty, and following that boundary up to Behring Straits;—3. steam vessels to be forbidden to engage in sealing;—4. all sealing vessels to have a special licence from their respective Governments and a special flag;—5. their log is to contain the exact date and place of each sealing operation, and the number and sex of the seals caught each day; and these entries are to be exchanged between the Governments at the close of each sealing season;—6. nets, firearms and explosives to be forbidden, but shot guns may be used outside the Behring Sea at lawful times;—7. the two Governments are to test the fitness and skill of all sealers;—8. these regulations are not to apply to Indians inhabiting the coast, and sealing in open canoes carrying not more than 5 persons, provided they seal for themselves and are not employed by other persons; and this exemption does not extend to the waters of the Behring Sea and the Aleutian Passes;—and 9. this concurrent regulation, which will continue in force till abolished by mutual consent, shall be subjected to examination of its working every 5 years, for the purpose of revision or modification. The award on matters of fact, concerning the seizure and warning off of vessels was also given in favour of England. Finally, the minority (while not withdrawing their recorded negative votes in detail) accepted the whole of the award as decided by the majority, and thus formally constituted it a unanimous award. They added, 1. that Article VII. should be supplemented by detailed regulations by each of the two Governments and be settled by mutual agreement;—2. that they should try to agree to prohibit all killing of seals on land or sea for 3, 2 or at least 1 year, and should repeat such prohibition from time to time;—3. that the mode of carrying out these awards must be settled by the two Powers. The result has given general satisfaction to Great Britain, the United States and the Canadian Government; but the Canadians interested in sealing naturally object to it as restricting their former liberty of action. May all future difficulties between Great Britain and the United States be solved with equal ease, good-will and satisfaction!

Esquimaux is at length to be fortified by the Royal Engineers and to be garrisoned by the Royal Marines. The Canadian Militia is also being reorganized, with 38,000 men, while Halifax remains the only place held by the Imperial troops, in number 1,500. Martini-Metford rifles have been received for the Canadian service. The Intercolonial Railway, owing to the introduction of reforms, has succeeded in wiping out its annual loss—the average for 6 years being \$440,000,—and has shown a small surplus: Income \$3,065,499, and Expenditure \$3,045,317. A strike on the Mani-

to the North Western Railway had injured trade a good deal. Messrs. Huddart and Ward's line of steamers between Canada and Australia has secured a contract for 10 years: a third vessel is to be added at once and the number to be gradually increased. Keppel Bay in Queensland is to be the last Australian point of departure, subject to the payment of a subsidy by the Brisbane government; and the Canadian Pacific Railway officials are to act as Agents for the line in Canada, the United States and England. Messrs. Napier and Sons of Glasgow are treating with Canada for a service of fast steamers across the Atlantic. A great fire at Gibson, N. Brunswick, has destroyed half the town, causing damage valued at \$200,000, but luckily without loss of life; and a great hurricane swept over the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, with great loss in shipping, forests and crops. The total deposits in the Dominion Postal Savings Banks on the 30th June were \$24,153,193, an increase of nearly \$2,000,000. The number of Chinese immigrants was 2,258 against 1,024 last year, giving a Poll tax of \$113,491. It is stated that in future Yokohama, on account of the cheapness of outfitting, will be the new headquarters of the sealing fleets, *vice* Victoria, British Columbia. The crops have been the best since 1882. The revenue for the year ending 30th June shows an increase of \$1,250,000, and the expenditure was reduced by \$600,000, leaving a surplus of \$1,500,000. The Fisheries' report gives the total at \$18,941,171, of which exports were \$9,675,396; the capital invested is \$7,500,000, and employs 63,000 men. The failure of the Commercial Bank of Manitoba will injure only the shareholders, as the depositors are paid in full. There was some religious rioting at Montreal, but luckily not of a serious nature. An American fishing schooner was seized at Cape Egmont, Prince Edward's Island, and admitted poaching, paying \$500, and costs.

At NEWFOUNDLAND the French persist in giving more and more trouble, and pretend to the right of exemption from duty for all things imported for them. The Newfoundland Government object; and having seized some provisions which had not paid duty, they declared that they were treating the French vessels exactly as they treated British vessels. The French, however, were not satisfied; and their admiral, in a childish huff, declined the civilities offered him, and blustered a good deal. The matter is still pending.

From the WEST INDIES, the TRINIDAD Report for 1892 shows an increase of exports and a larger number of visitors and tourists, and of depositors in the Savings Banks. Its revenue was £563,984, and expenditure £554,390, showing a surplus for the first time—£9,793. The public debt was £608,820. The population was 214,496—an increase of 8,787 during the year. Imports were £1,861,027, and Exports £2,005,277. The Pitch lake revenue was £37,232; and is estimated for 1893 at £42,500. Roads are still much wanted. In BARBADOS, the receipts with the surplus in hand covered the expenditure, leaving £10,000 to be carried forward. In both islands the McKinley Tariff Act has failed to injure exports. In TOBAGO there was a deficit of £1,551; and at the end of the year, the assets were £962 and the liabilities £2,596. The population was 19,534.

OBITUARY.—The deaths have been announced during the quarter of :—
 Lt.-Gen. W. G. Gordon, B.S.C., who served in the Sonthal, Mutiny, Bhootan, Assam and Cuttack Campaigns ; Major W. T. Johnson (Crimea, Persia, and Mutiny) ; Jehangirshaw Erakshaw Kohiyar, Assistant Secretary to the Bombay Government, distinguished for scientific, literary, and administrative ability ; General Sir Lothian Nicholson, R.E., K.C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny), Governor of Gibraltar ; Gen. H. Pritchard (Goomsur 1835 and Kolapur 1845) ; H. H. Ali Kemal Pasha, cousin of H. H. the Khedive ; J. G. Grant, C.M.G., sometime Speaker of the Barbados House of Legislature ; Sir Charles P. Layard, K.C.M.G. of the Ceylon Service ; Madame Lemormand, widow of the eminent Orientalist ; Dr. John Rae of Arctic Exploration fame ; Count Terashima, a leading Japanese nobleman and politician ; Captn. Raymond Portal, who died on duty in Uganda ; Gen. Sir Edward Hamley, R.A., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Grand Officer of the Medjidieh, equally distinguished for military and literary work ; Col. G. N. Greene, (Maharajpur, 2nd Punjab and China wars) ; H. G. G. Cadogan, 2nd Secretary of Legation at Teheran ; W. Holloway of the E. India Co., for 14 years Judge of the High Court, Madras ; Sir R. Price Pulleston, Bart. (Kaffir war) ; Col. F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G. Bombay Artillery, Surveyor-General of Ceylon, who had helped in the delimitation of Bulgaria in 1878 and of Turkey in Asia in 1879 ; Lt. Gen. J. R. Gibbon (Crimea and Mutiny) ; Major-Genl. C. C. Johnston, R.E. ; Gen. the Hon. Sir A. A. Spencer, G.C.B. (Portugal and Crimea), Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, 1869-74 ; Col. A. G. B. Ternan (Manipur 1891), Maj.-Gen. W. Ramsay, Madras S.C. ; Sir J. Russell, C.M.G., Chief Justice of Hong Kong ; Genl. W. Arbuthnot, C.B. ; General J. Daubeney, C.B. ; Sir J. P. B. Walsh, B.S.C. (Mutiny), author of several works on India ; Surgeon-Major T. H. Parke, of the Stanley-Emin expedition ; Gen. Sir Arthur Borton, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (1st Afghan, Sutlej and Crimean wars), Governor of Malta, 1878-84 ; General Purwana Khan, Deputy Commander-in-Chief (Naib Sipah Salar) of Afghanistan, who rose to that office from being a slave ; the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert of the Basel Mission, sometime Inspector of Schools in Malabar, and author of an Encyclopædic Dictionary of Malayalim-English, published at Bangalore in 1892 ; the Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., a leading Muhammadan gentleman of Calcutta ; Senator Donald Montgomery of Halifax, N. Scotia ; the Hon. Mr. Justice Telang, C.I.E., of Bombay, a well-known Sanskrit scholar and jurist ; Sir A. Tilloch Galt, G.C.M.G., a leading Canadian statesman ; Col. T. B. Kennion, R.A. (Sutlej and Mutiny) ; Dr. Daniel Jerome MacGowan, the oldest Foreign resident in China, unequalled for his knowledge of the people and their ways ; the Hon. W. Pearson, of Melbourne.

21st September, 1893.

• V.

P.S.—The INDIAN BUDGET, most culpably delayed, was introduced in the House of Commons on the 21st September. A motion was made to allow all officials an appeal to the Home Government, now restricted to the higher grades. The Under-Secretary said it would only cause an enormous increase of work, but he was willing to consider any practical plan. The motion was negatived without a division. Another motion was then made, for a Royal Commission to investigate the condition of India. It was

seconded by Mr. D. Naoroji who dwelt on the poverty of India and the evils of a foreign administration. This motion became merged in the general discussion of the Budget on the 22nd, after being opposed by Sir G. Chesney who showed the incompetency of Mr. Naoroji to pose as a representative of India, from want of general experience of the country, by Sir J. Gorst who defended the Indian Services, by Sir W. Harcourt who dwelt on the unmerited slur to the Indian Government, citing Lord Beaconsfield who declined to entrust the British Empire to select committees and commissions; and by Mr. Goschen who endorsed that view. Sir W. Wedderburn supported Mr. Naoroji and, when challenged as to what practical good the Congress party had done, attributed to it his own life-long labours for the relief of agricultural distress in the Deccan, a remarkable instance of self-effacement for party purposes!

The Under-Secretary for India then made the Budget statement, which we condense. The surplus in 1891-2 had been Rx. 467,000 or Rx. 113,435 over the estimate. In 1892-3, the net revenue had increased by Rx. 1,891,000,—net expenditure by Rx. 3,120,000,—and the anticipated surplus had been changed into a deficit of 1,081,900. Half the increase of revenue had been owing to reduced sales of opium causing increased prices; the remainder, from Land, salt, Excise, stamps, etc. Of this increase, Rx. 451,000 were credited to the Provincial Governments, and Rx. 1,440,600 to the Imperial Government. The chief increase of expenditure was due to forestalling some of the following year's expenses, in (1) the conversion of 4 per cents.—(2) changing Forfeitures and Pensions to monthly payments,—(3) Settlement of accounts with the War Office (£175,000 = Rx. 280,000). Exchange, calculated at 1s. 4d.; had been just under 1s. 3d.; and the fall of a penny on the net expenditure in England meant Rx. 2,055,500. The increase in military expenditure was Rx. 464,400. The calculations for 1893-4 were:

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>Rx.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Rx.</i>
Departmental Receipts	29,500,000	Army	23,000,000
Land	25,200,000	Railways	21,500,000
Salt	8,600,000	Civil Governments	14,500,000
Opium	7,300,000	Buildings and Roads	6,100,000
Excise	5,200,000	Interest on debt	4,100,000
Stamps	4,400,000	Canals	2,900,000
Provincial Rates	3,700,000	Post Office and Telegraphs	2,600,000
Minor Sources	6,100,000	Miscellaneous	6,500,000
Total Rx.	90,000,000	Total Rx.	91,600,000
Deficit		Rx.	1,600,000.

"The Home Charges" had increased from Rx. 3,000,000 in 1891-2, to Rx. 10,500,000, in 1893-4!!! The Under Secretary then went into a commonplace statement of the question of exchange and the closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver, and mentioned, but gave no justification of, the extraordinary sale of Council Bills just in the nick of time to smother the rising exchange at the close of last June. The official exchange for remittances had been fixed at 1s. 6d. at a cost of Rx. 480,000. The estimates revised to date gave an increase in revenue of Rx. 1,640,000 and in expenditure of Rx. 13,500, leaving a clear improvement of Rx. 290,000 and reducing the estimated deficit to Rx. 1,305,100. The opium outlook was bad.

From 1891-2 to 1893-4, Rx. 19,850,000 had been sanctioned for railways and irrigation, with an addition of only Rx. 3,406,000 to the debt; and Rx. 5,500,000 had been spent by companies, the interest being guaranteed by government. The present value of the assets of public works covered the debt of India, except about Rx. 28,000,000, or half a year's net revenue; $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loans and debentures had been and were still being converted to 3 per cents. at favourable rates; 490 miles of railway had been opened during the year,—the total mileage on 31st March being 18,042. Evidence of the prosperity of India was found in the increase of imports and exports, in accumulation of treasure, in enhanced material comforts, art and ornaments in houses, the greater quantities of food and salt consumed and in the higher prices paid for land. Much remained to be done for education and hygiene, and the Government were sincerely desirous to do everything possible for India.

Sir R. Temple pointed out the fallacy of the alleged depreciation of silver hoarded by the people of India and their asserted misery. Mr. Keay spoke about ruin to India from the closing of its mints to free coinage. Mr. Goschen stated that the Indian Government were very careful not to be overcharged by the British Government, that India did not pay its due share for its protection by the Imperial navy, and that the Colonies ought also to pay more, not India less. He approved of the closing of the mints as there was no alternative, but doubted if unmixed good would result. Mr. Everett spoke about the closing of the mints having contracted the currency of India; and Mr. Montagu refuted him. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Government had acted on the best advice possible; and Sir J. Gorst approved of that action. Mr. Egerton Allen complained of the inadequate machinery for administering justice in Burma. Mr. Russell summed up and said that this point would be considered; and the resolution accepting the Budget was passed. The formal report was brought up and agreed to, on the 23rd September.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Our Indian Protectorate*, by C. L. TUPPER, I.C.S. (London: Longmans and Co., 1893; 16s.). This bulky book is none too large for the very important question which it treats. Mr. Tupper is master of his subject, and he discusses, with great knowledge and marked ability, the relations between the British Government in India and the Feudatory Indian Chiefs. The progress of time, developing and consolidating what had already been achieved, must render more close and intimate the present bond of union between us and these Chiefs, if India is to be made a peaceful, prosperous, contented and powerful Empire. On what lines shall this intimate union be established? Arbitrary interference and domineering high-handedness must have no part in our dealings. We must study history, and the texts of our treaties with these Chiefs, and the advantage of both rulers and ruled, in order to establish the principles on which we are to deal with our feudatories. This is what Mr. Tupper has ably tried to do; and considering that his is almost the first attempt to do justice to this vast and important subject, he has done his work excellently and thoroughly. He touches on International Law, as connected with this matter; he glances at the history of the protectorate—including (at greater length) the annexation of Oudh; he treats of Lapse and Adoption; and he gives clearly our present policy and mode of dealing with native States. The nature of sovereignty and feudalism in India is next given at length, with its difference in various parts of India. Chapter XVII states very fairly some of the advantages of native rule; and Chapter XX is on India in relation to Imperial Federation. Many things laid down by Mr. Tupper are simply applications of Western legal ideas to the special circumstances of India; and these, though sound enough in themselves, must rather rank as what should be than as what actually is the law at present. We have the power to lay down laws; and so long as we do this with due consideration for the rights, feelings and susceptibilities of our Indian feudatories and subjects, they will accept our regulations willingly, act up to them honestly, and be loyal to our paramount power. But we must be just and prudent. Mr. Tupper tells us plainly that his book is unofficial. It is a "study" to help towards the settlement of a question as important and complicated as it is difficult and delicate. As a help to this desirable conclusion, his work is invaluable to British and Indian politicians; and we congratulate Mr. Tupper on having written with much pains a book deserving of deep and careful study, free from serious blemishes, and stating his case ably and clearly. We hope that he will be followed by other writers, on the lines which he has here opened out and made practicable for them, with one strong, admirable effort.*

2. *Ceylon in 1893*, by JOHN FERGUSSON (London: John Hadden and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.) is a well-illustrated Handbook to Ceylon, brought up to date from former editions, and enlarged by the addition of the statistics of the census of 1891. The appendices which form the bulk of this stout

* We have just received an article on the above work which, with every appreciation of its able writer, differs from the opinion of its reviewer in this issue in pointing out that it will lead to the still further lowering of the status of our Indian Feudatories. We propose to examine this subject in our next issue.—ED.

volume, deal, at length, with many matters concerning Ceylon, its products, sports and resources, and they are generally very interesting reading. Appendix VII, where under the title of Christianity and Missions in Ceylon, we had expected to find much interesting detail, gives little beyond a panegyric of the author's own sect and his efforts at disestablishment. There is a rather long drawn description of an "Elephant Kraal," by which we suppose he means a Keddah; but he errs in saying that it is peculiar to the Island. Appendix VI, on Anarudhapura is the most interesting part of the book. There is too much tendency to giving a *coulour de rose* view of things; and those who have been in the island, will hardly agree that there are no leeches or snakes in Ceylon.

3. *Round the Black Man's Garden*, by ZÉLIE COLVILLE, F.R.G.S. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 16s.). This book is excellently got up by the publishers; it is well-written and well-illustrated by the authoress; and it has two good maps,—one of Africa and the other, on a larger scale, of Central Madagascar. The accidental spoiling of many of the negatives taken by the authoress of typical natives in various places, was a serious loss, with which the reader will sympathize. She gives us a personal account, interspersed with good descriptions of places and peoples, of a journey from Alexandria, *via* Suez, Mombasa and the inevitable Zanzibar, to Madagascar, which she traversed from East to West. This is the most interesting part of the book, because it deals with an almost unattempted country; and in the lively pages describing her journey, some space is occupied by M. Myre de Vilers, who, transferred from Madagascar for no special qualification as far as our authoress can tell us, is now engaged in trying to bully and outwit Siam. From Madagascar our authoress and her husband went to Mozambique, Quilmané, Lourenço Marques and Durban, whence they visited Pretoria, Joannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town. Thence going by steamer to the Canaries, they proceeded to Senegambia, and visited Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Accra, Bonny and Libreville, and ended their long and eventful journey at Lisbon. Mrs. Colville writes well and pleasantly, and is a good observer and a plucky traveller; and her book will be read with great pleasure by the general reader, who besides the entertainment provided by the varied incidents depicted in its pages will find no small amount of knowledge of the lands and peoples visited by the authoress.

4. *Lord Auckland*, by CAPTAIN L. J. TROTTER (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.: *Rulers of India Series*). The different volumes of a Series like this are necessarily of varying merit, according to the capacity of each individual author. In the volume here noticed, Captain Trotter maintains the high position secured to him as an author by his previous works. As a biography, however, it is decidedly wanting. We are told little regarding Lord Auckland himself, either before, during or after his Governor-Generalship; and even the sketch of his character is brief, fragmentary and incomplete: we have the right to expect, in such a work, a good deal more regarding both the man and the ruler. Captain Trotter gives us, in fact, little beyond a history of the first Afghan war, with its fortuitous concourse of singularly blundering and incapable actors. This

our author has told in an excellent manner—clearly, boldly and truthfully, though the share of the blame deserved by Lord Auckland himself is rather minimized. The story is very opportune in the present year, when the same "Forward Policy" is being again advocated and pursued, notwithstanding the warning voices of numerous able and experienced men; and when young politicians eager for distinction and ignorantly earnest for the security of our North-western Frontier, are again being allowed to meddle and muddle, and to worry and harry on our extreme frontiers in that direction, while the Amir of Afghanistan is being needlessly interfered with and abused. Among some other defects of Captain Trotter's book, we note his having taken, at full value, Broadfoot's *Career of Major George Broadfoot*, which thrusts the latter gentleman into an undeserved prominence. We would recommend the reading of Sir A. Lyall's just strictures on that work and his remarks on the proved character of its hero. The attempt to damage the reputation of Sale should not have found a place in this account of the Afghan war.

5. *Lord Clive*, by COL. G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). This other volume of the *Rulers of India Series*, more than maintains the high character of its predecessors; and nothing less could be expected from the talented author, who is so thoroughly at home in every part of Indian History. He throws new light on Clive's history from some documents lately published by Dr. Forrest. The account of the battle of Plassey is of deep interest: Col. Malleison shows clearly how little of real fighting settled the already arranged fate of the betrayed ruler of Bengal; and how, for once in his life, Clive, utterly unnerved, simply drifted into safety on a tide of events over which, after he had started them, he was unable to exercise any control. Other parts of the book are equally well done. But the defect, which we have pointed out in other volumes of the series is not absent from this; we see Clive beautifully delineated as the dashing soldier, the daring leader, the inflexible governor, and the prudent reformer; but of Clive as a husband, a father, a friend, as a man in one word, little or nothing is given except what one may read between the lines of the history. His private domestic life remains so much under a veil, that Lady Clive is barely mentioned; and here at least we have no hint how many children they had, when she died, and how they lived together. There are some blemishes of diction. One cannot gather who murdered Chanda Sahib (p. 73), or what was "the insidious disease which rarely left him" (p. 142), what it was he proposed to do with his jaghir, nor how the Clive fund in 1858 came to Clive's descendants (p. 178). There are some peculiar and faulty constructions as at pp. 40, 65, 153. The "stiver" at p. 173 may pass; but a grove cannot be correctly described as diagonal to a river (p. 95) nor a man as "resolving to act *in petto*," (p. 66); and to sue in forma pauperis (p. 118) is quite a different thing from being merely a humble suppliant. Surely it was not the Subahdar but the Subah which was put up for sale (p. 162). There are misprints as 111 for 113 (page 87), Doh for Dah at p. 118, India Office for India House, several times. But what becomes of Sir W. Hunter's transliteration, when Shah 'Alam (King of the World) is changed *passim*,

into Shah Alim (Learned King); and the Mogul Emperor, well known as Aurungzebe becomes Aurungzib under Col. Malleeson's pen and Aurungzib under that of Captain Trotter. "These are, however, minor defects, which we point out rather for the sake of correction by the gifted author in subsequent editions of the book, which are sure to be called for, as new documents are unearthed. We have to thank Col. Malleeson for a book as delightful to read as it is correct and exact.

6. *Aurungzib*, by STANLEY LANE POOLE, B.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). In this work, another of the *Rulers of India Series*, the author gives us an excellent portrait of the great Imperial bigot, who though not the greatest of the Mogul Emperors reigned over a larger extent of Indian territory than did any of his race. Yet amid the glory of his surroundings and the amount of his revenues, the star of Mogul domination had already passed the zenith. Our author believes in the entire sincerity of Aurungzib's bigotry and religiousness, and he certainly presents strong arguments for it; but they are not absolutely convincing, and we still feel that a certain amount of hypocrisy was not absent from the character of the "Namázi" as Dara called him. The word-portrait of the man and ruler given us by our author is as excellent as the engraving from an Indian artist's pencil which forms the frontispiece of the volume. There is an opportune disquisition at p. 120 proving that the Rupee of Aurungzib's time was fully from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. Not only the Emperor himself, but the circumstances of his times and the changes then taking place in India are clearly given, making the whole a very readable volume of this excellent series. We object, however, to the by no means proved charge of immorality against Jehanara Begum, whose loyal filial devotion during her unfortunate father's captivity ought to have ensured the veiling of this irrelevant scandal. The mention, too, of *bhang* (p. 49 and elsewhere) in connexion with deeds of Rajput valour is historically incorrect and calumnious. Rajput chivalry needs no stimulant beyond its own high sense of honour, and to say that they need intoxicants is as untrue as the assertion that the French charge on Champagne, or the British resist to the death on Whisky or Beer. But the most serious blot in Mr. Poole's work is his description of Delhi and of the Mogul's palace, where, while professing to follow the generally accurate Bernier, there is no excuse for his placing the Chandni Chauk (Silver Street) inside the Fort, any more than for placing on the wrong walls the "*Agar firdous bar ru-i zamin ast, Hamin ast, o hamin ast, o hamin ast*." It would be well for Mr. Poole to correct his pages of description of the great Imperial city with the help of some—and there are still a few alive—who knew Delhi and especially the Imperial palace before the time of the Indian mutiny.

7. *Lord Wellesley*, by the REV. W. A. HUTTON, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 2s. 6d.). This—the last issued volume of the *Rulers of India Series*—is superior to several of its companions in giving us a better biography of its hero, and thus placing before the reader not only Wellesley the Ruler, but also Wellesley the man. Mr. Hutton had to contend not with the want but with the exuberance of the materials for his work; but the selections already published—and these he candidly

acknowledges—placed valuable matter ready to his hands, and he has used it skilfully and ably. Wellesley's great qualities are impartially noted with all his little foibles; his accomplished services and his proposed reforms—especially for the education of officers—are well shown; the circumstances of the times are carefully delineated, their difficulties clearly stated, and the vexatious action of the Court of Directors, hampering him as they hampered others both before and after him, are duly dwelt upon. That Wellesley did really found the British Indian Empire and thus did an inestimable service to England, and by no means a less one for India itself, is an admitted fact; the justification of his predetermined scheme of aggrandizement at the expense of Indian states is by no means an easy task. It may be said that if he had not founded the British Indian Empire someone else would have established a French one, may make his action politically justifiable: but we must distinguish between his case and that of some of his compeers who acted under the necessity of self-preservation, whereas he deliberately planned and perseveringly executed an aggressive system of extension, which, whatever its innate worth and resulting benefits, began and ended with many acts of questionable justice:—e.g. his action towards the Nizam. But apart from this consideration, which is not inopportune amid the present craze for another "Forward Policy," he certainly was a great man, who achieved a great work, and left to his followers, despite themselves, the task of consolidating and extending it. It logically resulted in the present developed state of this great dependency of the British Empire. Lord Wellesley and his work have found a good historian in Mr. Hutton. We must, however, note, as usual, a few defects. The dates at p. 44 are incorrect and confused; Madhava Rao becomes Mahadaji and Nana is used as a name instead of being a title, at p. 83: we have Jadhpur at p. 98; and Omdal ul Omrah for Omdat ul Omrah in several places. We hope to see these and similar blemishes eliminated in future editions; for one of the services rendered by this *Rulers of India* Series is the stimulating of a taste for Indian literature which is proved by the call for successive editions of most of the volumes of the series, already published.

8. *The Book of Enoch*, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893; 10s.). Mr. Charles has given us a most valuable work, the knowledge of which is necessary to all students of the Bible; for the ideas in it must have existed in the minds of the writers of the New Testament, and of both Jewish and Christian writers down to the fourth century. Our translator has been preceded by several and notably by Professor Dillmann, whose learned and exhaustive work, indispensable to all who succeed him, Mr. Charles has mainly followed, supplementing it by the many discoveries since made. Mr. Charles gives the text of Dillmann's translation, adding in notes, his own corrections from the Ethiopian MS. discovered by him in the British Museum. This modest plan is by no means good, and we should have preferred Mr. Charles' continuous translation from the British Museum MS., with Dillmann's variations in the notes; and we hope this will be done in any future editions that may be called for. Fragments of the Greek and Latin versions, also recently discovered,

have helped to make the result of Mr. Charles' learned labours more satisfactory; and his book is a complete exposition of all that we yet know regarding the Book of Enoch. His introductions, general and special, his notes and critical apparatus, his excursus and appendices are all valuable contributions both to philology and Exegesis; and we recommend it warmly to our readers. A very interesting study is that of the origin of evil spirits from the souls of the slaughtered giants, the descendants of the angels and of the daughters of men—which seems to constitute a link between demons, Jinns and Devils.

9. *The Story of Abibal the Tsourian*, by Val C. PRINSEP, A.R.A. (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1893; 2s. 6d.), has eighty pages of an insipid story of the imaginary find by the pretended translator of the false papyrus of a pointless story of Abibal; a Phœnician supposed to be shipwrecked and offered as a sacrifice to the gods in ancient Britain. There is nothing novel or interesting in either the plots or the results of the two stories, or parts of one story. Historical fiction is all right, when the author avows his literary offspring; but the statements of giving pretended translations from imaginary ancient documents goes beyond fiction; and as it may misguide the general reader, it approaches dangerously near becoming a falsehood.

10. *The Life and Enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps*, by G. BARNETT SMITH (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 7s. 6d.) The sad darkness enveloping the evening of the life of this truly grand Frenchman gives to this book a deep and melancholy interest. The author begins with an account of the distinguished family of which Ferdinand has been the most distinguished. He then relates Ferdinand's successful and brilliant diplomatic career, in which his tact, energy, honesty and kind-heartedness are conspicuous in a remarkable degree. That career closed with an undeserved censure by a Ministerial Court who were really the parties meriting blame. It drove Ferdinand to the great work of his life—the Suez Canal; and we are told, at length, the single-handed firmness of purpose, the indefatigable labours, the undaunted perseverance, and the unconquerable energy which accomplished that enterprise in the teeth of the senseless resistance of England. Next follows, in equal detail, the unfortunate Panama Canal scheme. That it was undertaken imprudently—especially as regards the inevitable loss of life in that terrible climate—is now an acknowledged fact. But beyond that, Ferdinand de Lesseps himself seems to be clear of blame, on whomsoever that may ultimately rest. Among the causes of failure, sufficient prominence is not given to the great earthquake of September 1882 (p. 271). The late trial and its results are given at great length; with touching scenes of the present child-like condition of the Great Engineer: what the French deserve for their action against Ferdinand personally, no words can say. The book is well written, occasionally a little prolix, but full of interest. There are some easily rectified mistakes—as Ciceronaccio for Ciceruacchio the Roman demagogue, and a hopelessly confused sentence at p. 17; and sufficient credit is not given to Lord Beaconsfield's statesmanly purchase of the Canal Shares in 1875 (pp. 177 *et seq.*). The book, however, will be read

with a sad pleasure by all. The text of the treaty of Paris in 1888, which fixes the international status of the Suez Canal is of permanent value.

11. *Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern*, by ELIZABETH A. REED (Chicago : S. G. Griggs and Co., 1893 ; \$2.50). As a popular compilation of much information, this book does a service to the general reader by placing before him in a condensed form—with occasional inaccuracies—what he would otherwise have to seek in many and not easily accessible books. The authoress deals with Cuneiform, Pahlavi, and Persian, including—goodness only knows why—the Qurán. There is a good deal of the style known in America as “High falutin” which often degenerates into sounding nonsense. The authoress continually speaks of the “feet” of mountains, but does not specify how many each has ; and trips in her mythology, and, of course, in her Oriental words. Canopus, she says, “was a star” : what it has become now who may tell. At p. 224 she condescends to call the Shah Nameh “a valuable Persian Classic,” and that “in the Persian tongue it exists only in manuscript form,” evidently ignorant of the book’s true place in Persian literature, its peculiar purity of style, and the fact of its having been, long ago, printed in France and in India, not to mention other countries. We wish, nevertheless, to compliment her on her diligence and perseverance. She gives us frequent extracts from Persian books, and thus presents to her readers specimens of some of the gems of oriental thought and language. The book is utterly useless to orientalists, as wanting both in depth and accuracy ; but it will benefit the general reader, because in generally following approved authors—e.g., Sayce and Rawlinson—our authoress is not often astray.

12. *Canadian Poems and Lays*, edited by W. D. LIGHTHALL, M.A., of Montreal (London : Walter Scott, 1893 ; 1s.). A dainty little volume of selected poetry by Canadian authors, arranged under nine distinct heads, illustrative of Canadian national life and aspirations, Canadian history and scenery, Canadian sports and seasons. The versification throughout is as correct, varied and charming as the subject matter. The beautiful ballad form lies side by side with lordly Spenserian stanzas and the nervous long measure rendered familiar in Macaulay’s Lays of Ancient Rome. The double nationality with its double history is well and justly reflected, as is also the blending of the two together in the new spirit of the united nation, loyal and true to British Imperialism. At pages 8 and 9 is a stirring popular song, of which we quote the concluding verse :

“ O triune kingdom of the brave,
O Sea-girt Island of the free,
O Empire of the land and wave,
Our hearts, our hands are all for thee.
Stand, Canadians, firmly stand
Round the flag of Fatherland.”

Our readers will appreciate the poetic spirit and sentiment of this little gem from p. 120 :

“ O light canoe ! where dost thou glide ?
Below thee gleams no silvered tide,
But concave heaven’s chiefest pride.

Above thee burns Eve's rosy bar :
 Below thee throbs her darling star ;
 Deep 'neath thy keel her round worlds are !
 Above, below, O sweet surprise !
 To gladden happy lovers' eyes :—
 No earth, no wave,—all jewelled skies !"

We strongly recommend this charming collection of beautiful poems.

13. *The Story of a Dacoity*, etc., by G. K. BETHAM (London : W. H. Allen, 1893 ; 6s.). This book consists of two parts. The first relates, in a graphic and pleasant style, a tale of Indian life fortunately of rare occurrence—the night attack by robbers on a village head-man's house, attended with unusual and harrowing fatalities,—the tracing of the murderous outrage to its actors and abettors,—their pursuit, capture, and execution. The characters are well drawn, and the narrative spirited and smooth. The second part describes the gaieties into which most Indian stations break out, at least once a year, when dances and dinners, races and athletic sports reign, amid some flirting and much merriment. Here too the narrative is graphic and good ; and though it lacks the excitement of the dacoity story, it presents a well-drawn picture of Anglo-Indian life. The whole is a pleasant and interesting book. Publishers should remember that books on India require the revision of their proofs by competent readers. Here we are treated to "Trickinopoly," and "Sahib-tok," "fines (ficus) Indica," "maidaa" ; and so on. These might pass ; but the unconscious use of an improper Hindustani word on page 258 should be rectified at once.

14. *Parthia*, by PROF. GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S. (London : T. Fisher Unwin ; New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893 ; 5s.). This new volume,—the 34th of the *Story of the Nations* Series which is doing good work in popularizing ancient History in detail— is worthy of a place in the Series, and worthy of the high reputation of its author. A good map of Ancient Parthia and its surrounding countries accompanies the work, with several illustrations, especially of Parthian coins. Prof. Rawlinson first gives the geography of Parthia and its surroundings, and what is known of the ethnography of the people, whom he decides to belong to the Turanian race. Then he correctly traces their history in a clear, and pleasant style, through all its vicissitudes, from after the death of Alexander, its contests with its Seleucidan, Bactrian and Armenian neighbours, and its wars with the Romans, to its downfall from a revolt of the Persians, under Artaxerxes. The last chapter—Parthian Art, Religion and Customs—forms a most interesting portion of a wholly interesting work, which, with the other publications of which it forms a part, we can sincerely recommend.

15. *Hindustani as it Ought to be Spoken*, by J. TWEEDIE, Beng. C.S., 2nd Ed. (Calcutta and London : Thacker and Co., 1893 ; 6s.). We are glad to welcome anything which is at all likely to help the study of Oriental languages. In this work, the last 225 pages consist of a double vocabulary, English-Hindustani and *vice versa*. Of the first 100 pages, no small part is made up of columns of words with their meanings, which the author, in his preface, tells us, one *must* learn. We hope not ; otherwise he will learn much that is not Hindustani at all :—Barun (brown), Kauch (Couch), names

of European wines and articles of clothing, etc., which one wonders to find in such a book. Glancing at random, we find numerous mistakes:—*Hisab likhna* for *doing* accounts, p. 24; *cha, e* for *Cha*, p. 12; *chiz sab* for furniture; *ghuzl* for bath; several names of months and days at p. 66; and several ordinals at p. 103. Even the vocabularies are not trustworthy: firmness is not *sakhti*, and *Aru* is a better word for peach than *Shaftalu*.

16. *Etudes économiques sur la république de Nicaragua, par Desiré Pector* (Neufchâtel, 1893), is a detailed report on this Central American State, containing useful and reliable information on its geography, politics and commercial statistics, very important for intending emigrants and investors, and interesting to the general reader.

17. *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, by DR. A. G. PASPATES (London and Paisley: Alexander Gardener, 1893; 10s. 6d.). Mr. William Metcalfe presents us with an excellent translation, from the modern Greek, of the erudite work of the lamented Dr. Paspates. The stout 8vo. volume, accompanied by a map showing the position of the ancient buildings, is of commanding interest to archaeologists and, though in a less degree, to readers and students of Byzantine history, which it enables us now to study more clearly by the assignment of localities, that were hitherto little more than mere names. Personal observations and excavations, where practicable, have been supplemented by a rare familiarity with Byzantine writers, whose works have been exhaustively studied for topographical references; and though these works are at times vague and even contradictory, their collation has enabled the erudite author to fix, at least approximately, the sites of most of the places mentioned in Byzantine history. He follows in the main Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Yet studying the text side by side with the map, we cannot but see that a great deal is guess-work and does not quite tally with the description quoted—take, as an instance, the Hall of the Pearl, p. 216. It is not to be expected that one author alone could fix definitely, in one effort, the position of buildings of which all traces are either completely lost, or the sites are covered with modern abominations. Students of Roman Topography will understand the difficulty; and hence we are all the more grateful to Dr. Paspates and his translator for the present attempt, successful as it is almost beyond all hope.

18. *Chips by an Old Chum* (London: Cassell and Co., 1893; 1s.) is a light and airy sketch of the author's experiences in Australia, some 40 years ago. Things have, of course, changed greatly in the meantime; and the Australia here described can no more be a guide to the colony at the present time, than it can be to ancient Britain; but it is a clear and detailed account of life in Australia in the olden days; and as the author tried town and country life and gold-digging, there is much variety as well as interest in the 94 pages of this well got-up little work.

19. *The Spoilt Child*, by PEARY CHAND MITTER (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 1893; 4s. 6d.). Mr. Oswell has done well in presenting the English reader with a genuine Bengali novel, written by a Bengali and dealing with Bengali life. Almost all the characters are natives of India, of various castes, religions and states of life. The story is meant to show the evil of excessive parental love, which, by indulging every whim and

neglecting to punish, forms that very common evil in India,—a spoilt child. The incidents narrated by the author are good, the tale is full of interest and is well told. Being a didactic tale, however, it, as a matter of course, is rather prosy and goody-goody. Its chief merit consists in the insight which it gives into native manners of life and thought—generally unknown quantities to most Europeans. The translator has done his part well, though there is an occasional slip, as at p. 152; when the visitor snaps his fingers when Matilal *sighs*—a practice with Hindus, when one *yarens*. The book is well got up; and we recommend it to our readers as one in which they will find much interest and amusement.

20. From Messrs. C. J. Clay we have received Book VIII. of *Herodotus*, with an introduction and notes by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press; London: C. J. Clay, 1893; 4s.). This volume fully maintains the character of the well-known and justly admired Pitt Press Series. Mr. Shuckburgh's notes are both numerous and good, and the Geographical and Historical Index is both full and valuable.

21. *A Short History of China*, by DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 12s. 6d.). Mr. Boulger's larger History of China is favourably known: and this shorter one, which, as he tells us, is more than a mere abridgment of the former, is a book we can recommend to those of our readers, who wish to form a correct idea of the present condition and government of the great Eastern Empire. Ten pages—and quite enough—dispose of the semi-mythical history of the centuries before our era: the next 24 pages bring us nearly to the close of the viiith century A.D., when we reach more trustworthy sources of knowledge; and 12 more pages land us at the Mongol conquest in the xiiith century. The character and deeds of Genghiz Khan are well commented on at pp. 54—56. The Manchu conquest brings us to p. 125; and in the remaining 294 pages, Mr. Boulger treats, in increasing detail, the modern history of China; and more than half the volume deals with the present century. The decline of the Manchu power, the increasing contact with foreigners, the wars and troubles resulting therefrom, the military operations and rebellions that ensued, are all given in good order and proportion. Nor are the internal affairs of the Empire, its intricate system of government and policy, so unintelligible to the ordinary Western reader, neglected: all these points are brought down to date and are treated fairly and impartially. A chronological table of the dynasties and emperors, and, as an appendix, the texts of various treaties between England and China complete a very useful and well-written book. There are blemishes which few works are quite free from. At p. 12, Mr. Boulger who ought to know better repeats the shocking bad character given to Lucrezia Borgia chiefly by Victor Hugo—a character unknown to her good and faithful people of Ferrara. He often calls the Chinese troops opposed to the Taipings the “ever victorious army,” forgetting that the name applied to them only after Gordon assumed their direction; and this misnomer is used even on the page where he himself records their defeat. Matteo Ricci, the well-known Jesuit Astronomer, becomes an astrologer at p. 101. The diction, too, is at times prolix, and often capable of useful condensation. But on the whole Mr. Boulger gives

us a very readable and exact history, in which we note as a special characteristic, the justice with which he apportions blame, where blame is due, to the foreigners who have themselves pretty often caused that very hatred of the Chinese which they then decry. Instances will be found at pp. 100, 160, 248, etc. There is a useful map; and the work is an excellent book of reference for Libraries.

22. *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al Medinah and Meccah*, by CAPTAIN SIR RICHARD BURTON, 2 vols. (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893: 12s.). Lady Burton has undertaken to issue, as a memorial to her late husband, a new edition of his works, at reasonable prices; and Messrs. Tylston and Edwards here give us the first instalment, in a re-issue of perhaps the best known and most popular of Burton's many writings. The two volumes are excellently got up, with the illustrations and maps well executed, and give a good earnest of the rest of Burton's works being made easily accessible to the general reader, in a very creditable form. Of the book itself, but little need be said here as a recommendation, as it had already reached a fourth edition before the author's death. The incidents of a journey, as daringly planned as it was perseveringly and ably conducted, are graphically set down: the author's notes of manners and customs are of the deepest interest; and Burton's many great and good qualities shine forth very prominently. The sustained pretence of being a Muhammadan when he was not, is a matter for more condemnation than it has met with. Many will agree that no amount of knowledge acquired or information procured can compensate for the moral evil done by travestying things sacred for profane purposes. Of course this pretence of being a Musliman reduced considerably both the difficulty and the danger of the undertaking, though we have no intention of derogating from the one or the other. Burton went as an Afghan Muhammadan: and we doubt whether there would have been any more danger for one who professed to be an English or a French Muhammadan. Worthy of all admiration are his talent for disguise, his powers of observation, his readiness in difficulty, his perseverance, tact, endurance and energy which have procured to the world so deeply interesting a narrative of a journey through countries and a description of places which had been till his visit almost—but not quite—a sealed book to the West. Our readers will peruse, with pleasure, even if it be not for the first time, Sir Richard's visit to the Hejjaz.

23. *The Life of Sir R. F. Burton, K.C.M.G.*, by his wife (LADY) ISABEL BURTON; 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893: 42s.). These two very bulky volumes, which reflect every credit on the publishers, contain a most elaborate and detailed account of their hero, with copious extracts from his writings published and unpublished, the whole of his own autobiography, and a good deal of Lady Burton's additions, explanations and *excursus*. The result, though heavy and tiresome to read, is a perfect picture of Sir Richard, with all his gifts and all his defects. Not that Lady Burton ever could see any defect in him: to her he was, most excusably, the one man created while all others only grew. But in her blind adoration, she has given much which a more judicious biographer would have omitted; and her indiscriminating publication of all that she can recall of

his words and deeds, presents us the man as he really was : strong-minded, strong-bodied and learned in many oriental tongues ; passionate, pushing, plucky and persevering ; headstrong, venturesome, obstinate and eccentric ; lively, jovial, and highspirited ; a good friend and a bitter enemy ; an excellent writer, a daring traveller, a successful explorer ; self-opinionated, if not vain ; with many fine qualities and great gifts, but also with no small defects. What Lady Burton says of the Press writers, that the Burton of their ideas was not the real Burton at all, but a man she had never seen or known (ii. p. 409) is true of herself. From the puerilities related of her first seeing him (i. p. 166) to the moment of going to press with her book, she has worshipped before an ideal idol, unable to see the reality before her ; and so far as her biography goes, the Nile, for him and of course for her, really issues out of the Tanganyika Lake, which Burton discovered ! It goes without saying that Sir Richard's Biography in Lady Burton's hands becomes also a concurrent biography of Lady Burton : that in trying unconsciously to paint him in false colours, she unwittingly shows more of his nature than the most skilful painter could have done ; and that her own character is laid bare before the reader of her pages as plainly as that of her husband. There is a good deal of unnecessary padding—e.g., long pages of extracts from his published works, extracts from his diary having no connexion with his life (as the Casa Micciola earthquake and other things at ii. p. 253) ; absurd details such as doses of medicine administered and their effects, newspaper extracts, and the like. Far more serious faults are the attempts to lower the characters of well-known men, whether because Burton disliked them, or came into contrast with them, as the great Outram, W. G. Palgrave, Speke, Grant, Sir W. Williams of Kars, Monsignor Valerga, etc. Lady Burton's book, full of blemishes as a mere literary production and a conventional biography, is a perfect reproduction of her husband (and of herself), and as such is all the more interesting to read, as it is invaluable for acquiring a thorough knowledge of a remarkable and distinguished man, who is a profitable subject for study, if we admit that "The greatest study of mankind is man."

24. *The Chronicles of Budgepore*, by LTUDUS PRITCHARD, F.S.S., F.R.G.S. (London: H. Allen and Co., 1893 ; 6s.). We welcome this new edition of a book which excited much attention and did much good at its first appearance. The facile and graceful pen of the sometime editor of the *Delhi Gazette* not only charmingly describes the varied phases of Anglo-Indian life, but records also the evils of some workings of the Indian departmental service and especially the condition of our courts of justice and administration where the European officers are so completely under the thumb of their native officials or Amla, that they see and hear only with the latter's eyes and ears. Many things have changed since these *Chronicles* were first published at Agra ; but we have no reason for thinking that India has changed in this last particular. On the contrary, the throwing open of the service to natives under the competitive system often brings forward to even more prominent positions and places in more influence and power classes of Indians who, except in the matter of knowing English, are utterly unfitted to govern or even to help in governing. The

amount of injustice and oppression resulting from the old system and if possible now aggravated under the new development may be seen and guessed in the lively pages of Mr. Pritchard, who, as a practising Barrister in the Indian courts, was much behind the scenes, and, known to be unconnected with the Government, allowed to see and hear much which most Europeans resident in India little dream of. His *Chronicles* pass from grave to gay and from sad to amusing; red tape and official routine, strict integrity and false accusations, absurd schemes and laughable occurrences, incredible folly and horrible injustice pass before the eyes of the reader in a long and brilliant array of varying incidents. The book is of equal value both to those who know India and those who do not.

25. *Abridgment of the History of India*, by J. C. MARSHMAN, C.S.I. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1893; 6s.). We welcome this abridgment of Marshman's well-known and much valued work, very neatly published in one handy volume. The early and the Muhammadan periods have been condensed, while the British epoch, as of much greater importance, has been expanded into fuller detail. It forms an accurate History of India, for reference regarding leading events, notable persons and important circumstances, from the earliest times to the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown directly. A subsequent section gives in 30 pages a summary of events from 1858 to 1891—appropriately concluding with the last census. Very unaccountably the date of 27th March 1893 is placed immediately after the statement that the Imperial census was taken "*this year*"!

26. *The Indian Mutiny: Selections from State Papers*, edited by G. W. FORREST, B.A., Vol. I. (Calcutta: Military Dept. Press, 1893). Mr. Forrest is so well known for his painstaking and judicious selections from the records of the Government of India, over which he so ably and diligently presides as Director, that we need only say here that this volume—the first of a series to follow—is well worthy of his high reputation. The Series is to present to the public all the available State papers relating to the Mutiny. He has divided the mighty mass into three classes; and the present volume gives us the first of these, relating to the Barrackpur, Berhampur, Meerut and Delhi revolts, down to the capture of the last named city. We have not space except for a brief review of this bulky book—pp. 493 + clviii + ci. The introduction gives an admirably clear and succinct account of the events till the capture of Delhi; but a few corrections are needed. At the Cashmere gate (p. 25) there was no "long" drawbridge; for it crossed only the moat, here but a few feet wide. Some Christians were left unmolested in Delhi (p. 30), mostly belonging to families that had served previous emperors. The Kussauli range does not rise abruptly from the plains (p. 32), but lies beyond the Sewalik ridge. A far more important mistake is that of decrying Lord Lawrence's advice of pushing straight for Delhi, and saying it must have led to disaster, forgetful of the fact that it was the delay in the attack which gave strength to the defence. The selection of papers is very good, and besides some new matter, furnishes most interesting details of the Siege of Delhi; but the chief interest centres naturally round the vexed question of the cartridges.

Regarding this we note first that more information is required: why, for instance, are we not given the papers on which the Governor General's minute of the 27th March 1857 was based, p. 88: "Enquiry was immediately made as to the composition of the grease. The tallow used had been supplied by a contractor, and it was ascertained that no sufficient precautions had been taken in the Arsenal to ensure the absence in it of all matter which might be objectionable to the Sepoys." The only other paper bearing on this point is the rather off-hand D.O. of Col. A. Abbott, C.B., Inspector General of Ordnance, given at pp. 3 and 4: "I hear that objection has been made by the Sepoys to use the cartridges . . . because one end is . . . greasy. It is absolutely necessary that grease should be used. . . . It was of cocoanut oil and bees wax. The present grease is tallow. I think that a committee should decide what grease should be employed." Surely there is more than this in the Indian archives. In fact, our impression is strengthened that, no matter how much designing malcontents may have utilized the feeling to provoke a rebellion, the chief and in truth the only thing that drove the soldiers to a mutiny was the supposed attack on their caste and religious system. General Hearsey seems to have been the only one to understand from the beginning that more than the Sepoys themselves were concerned in the matter; and that even when they became convinced that the cartridges were innocent of all pollution, they still could not use them so long as their relatives and friends all over India, were persuaded that their use entailed loss of caste. Mr. Forrest fails to see this even now; for at p. 6 he says: "Concessions made to the murmurs and threats of an ignorant race only increase their perversity and folly." Should we then act on the principle that when the culpable folly of a few officers, as in 1857, has excited a universal fear of religious interference, we should do nothing to allay it? Who can say if Abbott and his assistants had been dismissed with ignominy from the service, and a plain straightforward proclamation been made to all India, the mutiny would not have been averted? Mr. Forrest's own pages show that the Sepoys literally had no other grievance; that, to the last, they continued subordinate and respectful; and that only the blindness of the Government in failing to see that they had to deal with the public opinion of India, even more than with the demands of the Sepoys, forced the reluctant soldiery to their fatal act. When the 19th Regiment was disbanded, in the General Order read at that sad parade, there is some very vague generality, but no categorical denial of an attempt to tamper with the caste of the men. The disbanding, moreover, was about the best means that could have been adopted for spreading the evil. Had General Hearsey and Major J. Bontein's recommendations been followed in place of the ignorant and shortsighted ideas of higher placed officials, much evil might have been avoided. The book is sure to be studied with the greatest care, and will be read with the deepest interest; for not only has lapse of time failed to lessen the captivating grasp of the story of the Indian Mutiny, but the papers here given both show more clearly its inner working, and convey lessons of care and caution in the details of administration which our officers, both Civil and Military, in India will do well to keep in mind. In England the book can be got at the India Office.

27. *A Practical Arabic Grammar*, Part I., compiled by MAJOR A. O. GREEN, R.E., 3rd edition (Oxford: The Clarendon Press). The circumstance that this Grammar should, in so short a time have passed through a third edition, would lead one to suppose that it is a work of great excellence. No doubt, the book has its sphere of usefulness, but otherwise we have not been able to discover anything very remarkable in it. If this Grammar reaches a fourth edition the following corrections should, we think, be made: Page 5, No. 11—ك is not a servile letter; p. 10, Lesson 2, in as much as there is nothing more regular in the Arabic language than the feminines of Adjectives denoting colour, it is absurd to call this an *irregular* formation; on the same page انتي with ي is a blunder and so is كنتي on page 14; p. 20, واسع cannot form its plural واسعين; p. 22, nation is ملة, with Kasra not Damma, the same on p. 23 عراى should have the Kasra and no Damma. P. 27 بلد is not a village, but a town. p. 64 "illustrious" is مجيد not محدد. P. 120, 172, the مـ is also regularly changed into د after د and ز as اردان and ددكر; this should have been mentioned. P. 120, the form افعـل is used to express any quality which is very conspicuous, especially colour or distortion, so اسود is to become *intensely* black, not merely to become black.

28. *English Arabic Vocabulary*, by LIEUT.-COLONEL E. V. STACE, C.B. (London: Bernard Quaritch), 218 pp., 8vo. The author of this vocabulary takes pains to impress upon his readers that he is treating of *colloquial* and not *classical* Arabic, as if the former were not, at least three-fourths, in perfect accord with classical usage. To accentuate, no doubt, as much as possible the difference supposed to exist between so called *colloquial* and *classical* Arabic, the author carefully registers in his vocabulary the vulgarest and lowest expressions in preference to more refined—though not less *colloquial* terms—whenever he has the choice. It appears from a perusal of this book that the charmed circle of true colloquialism is somewhat narrow in *Aden*, for the following words seem to be unknown there, or perhaps the author has purposely omitted them on account of their *classical* associations: absent from Colonel Stace's colloquial vocabulary is the word *Heaven*—but *Hell* is well represented by three incisive Arabic words, all, no doubt, thoroughly in use. *Mosque*, *Synagogue* and *Church* are also, it seems, words that it is unnecessary to know in *Aden* Society. But what may be considered their opposites are conscientiously registered in the compilation before us. *Prophet*, *Priest* and *Apostle* are omitted but *Missionary* figures and so do useful words like *Intriguer*, *Pimp*, etc. *Moslem*, *Christian* and *Jew* are left unmentioned in these select colloquial leaves, as the author probably found that the term "*Infidel*" takes the place, in common parlance, of these three words. We believe the work aims at some completeness for we find an out-of-the-way word with an out-of-the-way spelling, to wit, "*huckledy-pickledy*." We wish the student joy in his study of this vocabulary; if eminently successful, he may in time aspire to rival the language of an Arab menial. The plan of the author of illustrating the use of words by short phrases is excellent.

29. *Village Communities*, by SIR H. MAINE (London: John Murray).

We are glad to see a new edition of this standard work. The excellence of the former edition has, it appears, left no room for improvement in the new issue.

30. سواطع الالهام *Sawāṭi' Al Iḥām* (Radiant inspiration). This bulky volume issued from the famous Nawul Kishore Press, Lucknow, is a commentary on the Qurān written by Abul Feid Feidi in the year 1582 A.D. A lengthy prologue and a piece of poetry introduce the work, which is distinguished by the peculiarity that the author has throughout restricted himself to words which are composed of "unpointed" letters, thus omitting one half of the letters composing the Arabic Alphabet. It goes without saying that the commentary is, in consequence, to be regarded chiefly as a curiosity and as a valuable collection of obsolete words and difficult constructions.

31. *The Wisdom of Naushirwān the Just*—commonly called *Tauqiyat-i-Kisrawiya* (Lucknow, Nawul Kishore Press, 1892). Students of Persian will feel grateful to Mr. W. Young, B.A., C.S.I., for having edited, transliterated and translated this most interesting, though somewhat difficult work: the book reflects credit alike on the editor and the publisher.

32. *Krypto-Monothéismus in den Religionen der Alten Chinesen und anderer Völker von* FERD. ADALBERT JUNKER VON LANGEGG (Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig; and Williams and Norgate, London). This is an exceedingly interesting book on the consistent Monothéism hidden in Oriental religions—chiefly that of the Ancient Chinese—discoverable by esoteric inquiry and research into the sacred religious books and traditions that are available to the student of Comparative Religion. The learned author was principally stimulated to these inquiries by travels in the East and association with indigenous Oriental scholars—who, after all, generally possess a more accurate knowledge of their respective religions than their European critics at home, who often do not even know the language in which any particular form of religious belief, on which they pose as authorities, is expressed.

The book before us treats of a vast subject into which considerations of space do not permit us here to enter; we must content ourselves with recommending its perusal to all whose studies lie in this direction. The chapter on Zoroastrian "supposed" dualism, but real monothéism, is especially interesting though it is, perhaps, not so thorough and accurate as other chapters are.

33. The latest addition to the series of works, issued under the distinguished editorship of Karl Dziatzko of Göttingen, on Bibliography and the collection of books, is a booklet by the editor, sent to us by the publisher M. Spirgatis of Leipzig, on the development and present state of Scientific libraries in Germany (*Entwicklung und gegenwertiger Stand der wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken Deutschlands*). The historical portion of the little work is much more interesting than what might be supposed from the title.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have on our table : *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (Simla Times Press, May, 1893), containing a very full and interesting geography of Russian Turkestan, by N. V. Ostroumoff, translated by Lt. E. Peach ; *A Dream, and other poems*, by Hafid (Madras : Srinavasa, Vavadachari, 1893)—three little poems in rhyme preceded by a long dream, apparently symbolic, in blank verse ; *Annual report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for 1892* (Bombay : Government Central Press, 1893, 4 as.), an institution with just over 100 inmates, where we note that the mark system has been introduced with good effect ; *The Tracing Board in Modern Oriental and Medieval Operative Masonry*, by C. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E. (Margate : Kebles Gazette Office, 1893), a learned technical discussion printed in 4to. with 6 full page illustrations ; *The Allahabad Review* (Church Mission Press, July, 1893), by M. Hamidullah, Barrister-at-law, in English and Urdu ; *The Currency Question*, by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. (London : E. Wilson and Co. ; Manchester : J. E. Cornish, 1893), a very good statement of Bimetallism, but leaving unexplained why the Conservative Party have taken up an attitude of opposition against the closing of the Indian mints to free coinage of silver at the goodwill of any importer ; *Bostan-i-Khiyal* - بوستان خیال (Lucknow : Nawul Kishore Press, 2 vols.).

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following works : 1. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Fortenot), among the articles of which, always valuable, are the continuation of the history of Gibraltar since 1779 and an interesting note on Andrew de Morales and his observations on Ocean-currents at the close of the 15th century ; 2. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 1892-93, by the Secretary, where British Federation, New Guinea, British Guiana, Australia, and British Columbia are discussed in addition to much other matter, including Mr. F. C. Sellous' Incidents of a Hunter's Life in S. Africa ; 3. *The Geographical Journal*, January to June, 1893 (London, E. Stanford), which among the usual details regarding the Royal Geographical Society contains, as matter of great special interest for our readers, Mr. W. M. Conway's Hisper Pass, C. Hore's journey in Borneo, F. C. Sellous' South Africa, Captain Bowers' Across Thibet, E. A. Floyer's Routes in the deserts of Egypt, and Alfred Sharpe's Central African Explorations ; 4. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, containing among other articles the continuation of Fr. de Caras' Hittites, and of the Historical novel "The Day after the Deluge," which grows in interest ; 5. *The Contemporary Review* (London, Isbister and Co.) ; 6. *The National Review* (London, W. H. Allen and Co.) ; 7. *La Minerva* (Roma, Società Laziàle), a monthly extract from English and other Reviews ; 8. *Biblia*, the New York monthly Biblical and Oriental Magazine ; 9. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris : Rue St. Simon) ; 10. *The Review of Reviews* (London) ; 11. *The Strand Magazine* and 12. *The Picture Magazine*, both of which are excellent ; 13. *The Religious Review of Reviews* (London : Catherine Street) ; 14. *The Missionary Review of Reviews*, New York : Funk and Wagnalls) ; 15. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris) ; 16. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles : Société Belge de Librairie) ; 17. *The Library Review* (London :

Hutchinson and Co.); 18. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable); 19. *Tung Pao*, the Leyden bi-monthly Chinese magazine (E. J. Brill); 20. *Comptes-Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris); 21. *Lucifer* (London); 22. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 23. *The Antiquary* (London: Elliot Stock); 24. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore); 25. *The Royal Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh); 26. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris), and 27. *La Marine et les Colonies* (Paris); 28. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London); 29. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York); 30. *Public Opinion* (London); 31. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart); 32. *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress.

We have just (20th Sept.) received from Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., H. C. Keene's *History of India*, 2 vols.; and from Messrs. Thacker and Co., May Edwood's *Autobiography of a Spin*; they will be duly noticed in our next issue. Messrs. W. H. Allen have just favoured us with a copy of "the Dictionary of Islâm" by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, to which we hope to devote a special review in our next issue.

